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THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

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HISTORY OF
ENGLISH POETRY

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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WITH A PREFACE BY RICHARD PRICE, AND NOTES VARIORUM.

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WITH INDEXES OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS.

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The Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.

SECTION XVIII.

IT is not my intention to dedicate a volume to Chaucer, how much ſoever he may deſerve it; nor can it be expected that, in a work of this general nature, I ſhould enter into a critical examination of all Chaucer's pieces. Enough has been ſaid to prove that in elevation and elegance, in harmony and perſpicuity, of verſification he ſurpaſſes his predeceſſors in an infinite proportion: that his genius was univerſal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety: that his merit was not leſs in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the paſſions, and in repreſenting the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and ſublimity. In a word, that he appeared with all the luſtre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to ſtruggle with a barbarous language and a national want of taſte; and when to write verſes at all was regarded as a ſingular qualification. It is true, indeed, that he lived at a time when the French and Italians had made conſiderable advances and improvements in poetry: and although proofs have already been occaſionally given of his imitations from theſe ſources, I ſhall cloſe my account of him with a diſtinct and comprehenſive view of the nature of the poetry which ſubſiſted in France and Italy when he wrote: pointing out, in the mean time, how far and in what manner the popular models of thoſe nations contributed to form his taſte and influence his genius.

I have already mentioned the troubadours of Provence, and have obſerved that they were fond of moral and allegorical fables. A taſte for this ſort of compoſition they partly acquired by reading Boethius and the *Pſychomachia* of Prudentius, two favourite claſſics of the dark ages: and partly from the Saracens their neighbours in Spain, who were great inventors of apologues. The French have a very early metrical romance *De Fortune et de Felicité*, a tranſlation from Boethius, *De Conſolatione* by Regnier de Saint-

Trudon, a Dominican friar.[1] From this ſource came the *Tournament of Antichriſt* above mentioned, which contains a combat of the Virtues and Vices: the Romaunt of Richard de Liſle, in which Modeſty fighting with Luſt[2] is thrown into the river Seine at Paris: and above all, the *Romaunt of the Roſe*, tranſlated by Chaucer, and already mentioned at large in its proper place. Viſions were a branch of this ſpecies of poetry, which admitted the moſt licentious excurſions of fancy in forming perſonifications, and in feigning imaginary beings and ideal habitations. Under theſe we may rank Chaucer's *Houſe of Fame*, which I have before hinted to have been probably the production of Provence.

But the principal ſubject of their poems, dictated in great meaſure by the ſpirit of chivalry, was love: eſpecially among the troubadours of rank and diſtinction, whoſe caſtles, being crowded with ladies, preſented perpetual ſcenes of the moſt ſplendid gallantry. This paſſion they ſpiritualiſed into various metaphyſical refinements, and filled it with abſtracted notions of viſionary perfection and felicity. Here too they were perhaps influenced by their neighbours the Saracens, whoſe philoſophy chiefly conſiſted of fantaſtic abſtractions. It is manifeſt, however, that nothing can exceed the profound pedantry with which they treated this favourite argument. They defined the eſſence and characteriſtics of true love with all the parade of a Scotiſt in his profeſſorial chair: and bewildered their imaginations in ſpeculative queſtions concerning the moſt deſperate or the moſt happy ſituations of a ſincere and ſentimental heart.[3] But it would be endleſs, and indeed ridiculous, to deſcribe at length the ſyſtematical ſolemnity with which they clothed this paſſion.[4] The *Romaunt of the*

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[1] See [Brunet, laſt edit. i. 1034-5. This was printed at Bruges in 1477.] I have before mentioned John of Meun's tranſlation of Boethius. It is in verſe. Jean de Langres is ſaid to have made a tranſlation in proſe, about 1336. It is highly probable that Chaucer tranſlated Boethius from ſome of the French tranſlations. In the Bodleian library [and elſewhere] there is a gloſs on Boethius by our countryman Nicholas Trivett [a Dominican,] who died before 1329. [This is not a rare MS.]

[2] Puterie. Properly bawdry, obſcenity. Modeſty is drowned in the river, which gives occaſion to this concluſion, "Dont vien que plus n'y a Honte dans Paris." The author lived about the year 1300.

[3] In the mean time the greateſt liberties and indecencies were practiſed and encouraged. Theſe doctrines did not influence the manners of the times. In an old French tale, a counteſs in the abſence of her lord having received a knight into her caſtle, and conducted him in great ſtate to his repoſe, will not ſuffer him to ſleep alone; with infinite politeneſs ſhe orders one of her damſels, "la plus cortoiſe et la plus belle," into his bed-chamber, "avec ce chevalier geſir." *Mem. Cheval.* ut ſupr. tom. ii. p. 70, not. 17.

[4] This infatuation continued among the French down to modern times. "Les gens de qualitè," ſays the ingenious M. de Sainte Palaye, "conſervoient encore ce goût que leurs pères avoient pris dans nos anciennes cours: ce fut ſans doute pour complaire a ſon fondateur, que l'Academie Françoiſe traita, dans ſes premiers ſéances, pluſieurs ſujets qui concernoient l'Amour; et l'on vit encore dans l'hotel du Longueville les perſonnes les plus qualifées et les plus ſpirituelles du ſiecle de Louis XIV. ſe diſputer a qui commenteroit et raffineroit le mieux ſur la delicateſſe du cœur et des ſentimens, a qui feroit, ſur ce chapitre, les diſtinctions les plus ſubtiles." *Mem. Cheval.* ut ſupr. tom. ii. p. v. pag. 17.

Roſe, which I have juſt alleged as a proof of their allegoriſing turn, is not leſs an inſtance of their affectation in writing on this ſubject: in which the poet, under the agency of allegorical perſonages, diſplays the gradual approaches and impediments to fruition, and introduces a regular diſputation conducted with much formality between Reaſon and a lover. [The later proſe work called the] *Teſtament of Love*[1] [which has been miſtakenly attributed to Chaucer], is alſo formed on this philoſophy of gallantry. It is a lover's parody of the work of Boethius *De Conſolatione* mentioned above. [The] poem called *La Belle Dame ſans Mercy*[2] and [the] *Aſſemble of Ladies*, [both thoughtleſſly aſſigned to Chaucer by ſome writers,] are from the ſame ſchool.[3] Chaucer's *Prioreſs* and *Monk*, whoſe lives were devoted to religious reflection and the moſt ſerious engagements, and while they are actually travelling on a pilgrimage to viſit the ſhrine of a ſainted martyr, openly avow the univerſal influence of love. They exhibit, on their apparel, badges entirely inconſiſtent with their profeſſion, but eaſily accountable for from theſe principles. The Prioreſs wears a bracelet on which is inſcribed, with a crowned A, *Amor vincit omnia*.[4] The Monk ties his hood with a true lover's knot.[5] The early poets of Provence, as I before hinted, formed a ſociety called the *Court of Love*, which gave riſe to others in Gaſcony, Languedoc, Poictou, and Dauphiny: and Picardy, the conſtant rival of Provence, had a ſimilar inſtitution called *Plaids et Gieux ſous l'Ormel.* Theſe eſtabliſhments conſiſted of ladies and gentlemen of the higheſt rank, exerciſed and approved in courteſy, who tried with the moſt conſummate ceremony, and decided with ſupreme authority, caſes in love brought before their tribunal. Mareçhal d'Auvergne, an old French poet, for the diverſion and at the requeſt of the Counteſs of Beaujeu, [publiſhed a collection of theſe ſuppoſed Decrees in proſe under the title of] *Arreſta amorum*, or the Decrees of Love, which is a humorous deſcription of the *Plaids* of Picardy. Fontenelle has recited one of their proceſſes, which conveys an idea of all the reſt.[6] A queen of France was appealed to from an unjuſt ſentence pronounced in

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[1] ["We do not propoſe here to dwell upon this queſtion, but rather to throw out a hint, and to make a quotation from the end of the *Teſtament of Love*, in which the writer (if Chaucer) is made to beſtow upon himſelf and upon one of his works moſt extravagant laudation. It ſeems to us impoſſible to ſuppoſe that a man of Chaucer's genius and modeſty (always coupled) would thus have written of himſelf."—Collier, *Introd. to Seven Poetical Miſcellanies*, 1867.]

[2] Tranſlated or imitated from a French poem of Alain Chartier, v. 11:

> "Which Maiſtir Alayne made of remembrance
> Chief ſecretary to the king of France."

He was ſecretary to Charles the Sixth and Seventh. But he is chiefly famous for his proſe. [Alain Chartier was certainly living near fifty years after Chaucer's death, which makes it quite incredible that the latter ſhould have tranſlated anything of his. In MS. Harl. 372, La belle Dame ſans Mercie is attributed to Sir Richard Ros.—*Tyrwhitt.* Mr. Tyrwhitt alſo rejects the Aſſemble of Ladies from the liſt of Chaucer's works.—*Price.*]

[3] So is Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

[4] v. 162. [4] v. 197.

[6] *Hiſt. Theat. Franc.* p. 15, tom. iii. *Oeuvr.* Paris, 1742.

the love-pleas, where the Counteſs of Champagne preſided. The queen did not chooſe to interpoſe in a matter of ſo much conſequence, nor to reverſe the decrees of a court whoſe deciſion was abſolute and final. She anſwered, "God forbid, that I ſhould preſume to contradict the ſentence of the Counteſs of Champagne!" This was about the year 1206. Chaucer has a poem called the *Court of Love*, which is nothing more than the love-court of Provence:[1] it contains the twenty ſtatutes which that court preſcribed to be univerſally obſerved under the ſevereſt penalties.[2] Not long afterwards, on the ſame principle, a ſociety was eſtabliſhed in Languedoc, called the *Fraternity of the Penitents of Love*. Enthuſiaſm was here carried to as high a pitch of extravagance as ever it was in religion. It was a contention of ladies and gentlemen, who ſhould beſt ſuſtain the honour of their amorous fanaticiſm. Their object was to prove the exceſs of their love, by ſhewing with an invincible fortitude and conſiſtency of conduct, and with no leſs obſtinacy of opinion, that they could bear extremes of heat and cold. Accordingly the reſolute knights and eſquires, the dames and damſels, who had the hardineſs to embrace this ſevere inſtitution, dreſſed themſelves during the heat of ſummer in the thickeſt mantles lined with the warmeſt fur. In this they demonſtrated, according to the ancient poets, that love works the moſt wonderful and extraordinary changes. In winter, their love again perverted the nature of the ſeaſons: they then clothed themſelves in the lighteſt and thinneſt ſtuffs which could be procured. It was a crime to wear fur on a day of the moſt piercing cold; or to appear with a hood, cloak, gloves, or muff. The flame of love kept them ſufficiently warm. Fires, all the winter, were utterly baniſhed from their houſes; and they dreſſed their apartments with evergreens. In the moſt intenſe froſt their beds were covered only with a piece of canvaſs. It muſt be remembered, that in the mean time they paſſed the greater part of the day abroad, in wandering about from caſtle to

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[1] See alſo Chaucer's *Ten Commandments of Love*.

[2] *Vie de Petrarque*, tom. ii. not. xix. p. 60. Probably *the Cour d'Amour* was the origin of that called *La Cour Amoreuſe*, eſtabliſhed under the gallant reign of Charles VI. in 1410. The latter had the moſt conſiderable families of France for its members, and a parade of grand officers, like thoſe in the royal houſehold and courts of law. See *Hiſt. Acad. Inſcript.* tom. vii. p. 287, *ſeq.* 4to. See alſo *Hiſt. Laugued.* tom. iii. p. 25, *ſeq.*

The moſt uniform and unembarraſſed view of the eſtabliſhment and uſages of this *Court*, which I can at preſent recollect, is thrown together from ſcattered and ſcarce materials by the ingenious author of *Vie de Petrarque*, tom. ii. p. 45, *ſeq.* not. xix. But for a complete account of theſe inſtitutions, and other curious particulars relating to the ancient manners and ancient poetry of the French, the [reader may be referred to] the hiſtory of the Provençal poets written by Sainte Palaye, who has copied moſt of their MSS. with great care and expenſe. [The only authentic ſource of information on this ſubject is a work written about the year 1170 and publiſhed (among other places) at Dorpmund in 1610. *Erotica ſeu Amatoria* Andreæ capellarii regis, &c. See [Raynouard's] *Poeſies des Troubadours*, von Aretins *Auſpruche der Minnegerichte München*, 1813, and No. v. of the *Retroſpective Review*.—Price. See alſo Cochrane's *Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1835.—*Rye*.]

caſtle; inſomuch that many of theſe devotees, during ſo deſperate a pilgrimage, periſhed by the inclemency of the weather, and died martyrs to their profeſſion.[1]

The early univerſality of the French language greatly contributed to facilitate the circulation of the poetry of the troubadours in other countries. The Frankiſh language was familiar even at Conſtantinople and its dependent provinces in the eleventh century, and long afterwards. Raymond Montaniero, an hiſtorian of Catalonia, who wrote about the year 1300, ſays that the French tongue was as well known in the Morea and at Athens as at Paris. "E parlavan axi belle Francis com dins en Paris."[2] The oldeſt Italian poetry ſeems to be founded on that of Provence. The word *ſonnet* was adopted from the French into the Italian verſification. It occurs in the *Roman de la Roſe*, "Lais d'amour et *ſonnets* courtois."[3] Boccaccio copied many of his beſt tales from the troubadours.[4] Several of

[1] See D. Vaiſette, *Hiſt. du Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 184, *ſeq.*

[2] *Hiſt. Arragon.* c. 261. [3] v. 720.

[4] Particularly from Rutebeuf and Herbers. Rutebeuf was living in the year 1310. He wrote tales and ſtories of entertainment in verſe, [a collected edition of which was publiſhed by Jubinal, 1839, two vols., 8vo.] It is certain that Boccaccio took from this old French minſtrel Nov. x. Giorn. ix. And perhaps two or three others. Herbers lived about the year [1260. See Raynouard, *ut ſupr.*] He wrote a French romance in verſe, called *Dolopathos*. He tranſlated it from the Latin of [Jean, moine de Hauteſville:

"blans moinnes de bone vie,
De Haute-ſelve l'abaie,
A ceſte eſtoire novellée;
Par biau latin l'a ordenée.
Herberz la velt en romanz trère,
Et del romanz . I . livre fere."

Dolopathos, edit. 1856, p. 4.]

It has great variety, and contains ſeveral agreeable ſtories, pleaſant adventures, emblems, and proverbs. Boccaccio has taken from it four tales, viz., Nov. ii. Giorn. iii. Nov. iv. Giorn. vii. Nov. viii. Giorn. viii.; and the Tale of the Boy who had never ſeen a woman, ſince finely touched by Fontaine. An Italian book called *Eraſtus* is compiled from this *Romance of the Seven Sages*. It is ſaid to have been firſt compoſed by Sandaber the Indian, a writer of proverbs: that it afterwards appeared ſucceſſively in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Greek; was at length tranſlated into Latin by the monk above mentioned, and from thence into French by Herbers. It is very probable that the monk tranſlated it from ſome Greek manuſcript of the dark ages, which Huet ſays was to be found in ſome libraries. Three hundred years after its compoſition, the *Roman* of Herbers was tranſlated into Dutch, and again from the Dutch into Latin. There is an Engliſh abridgment of it, which is a ſtory-book for children. See *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 731. Fauchet, p. 106, 160. Huet, *Orig. Fab. Rom.* 136. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 339. Maſſieu, *Poes. Fr.* p. 137. Creſcimben. *Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. v. p. 332.

The ground-work of *Dolopathos* is a Greek ſtory-book called *Syntipas*, often cited by Du Cange, whoſe copy appears to have been tranſlated from the Syriac. See *Gloſs. Med. et Infim. Græcitat.—Ind. Auctor*, p. 33. In Harl. MSS. 5560, is another, which is ſaid to be tranſlated from the Perſic. Fabricius ſays, that *Syntipas* was printed at Venice, *lingua vulgari. Bibl. Gr.* x. 515. On the whole, the plan of *Syntipas* appears to be exactly the ſame with that of *Les Sept Sages*, the Italian *Eraſto*, and our own little ſtory-book the *Seven Wiſe Maſters;* except that, inſtead of Diocleſian of Rome, the king is called *Cyrus of Perſia;* and, inſtead of one Tale, each of the philoſophers tells two. The circumſtance of Perſia is an argument, that *Syntipas* was originally an oriental compoſition. See what is collected on this

Dante's fictions are derived from the ſame fountain. Dante has honoured ſome of them with a ſeat in his Paradiſe :[1] and in his tract *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, has mentioned Thibault, King of Navarre, as a pattern for writing poetry.[2] With regard to Dante's capital work, the *Inferno*, Raoul de Houdane, a French bard, about the year 1180, wrote a poem, entitled *Le Voye ou le Songe d'Enfer*.[3] Both Boccaccio and Dante ſtudied at Paris, where they much improved their taſte by reading the ſongs of Thibault, King of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Couçy, and other ancient French fabuliſts.[4] Petrarch's refined ideas of love are chiefly drawn from thoſe amorous reveries of the Provençals which I have above deſcribed; heightened, perhaps, by the Platonic ſyſtem, and exaggerated by the ſubtiliſing ſpirit of Italian fancy. Varchi and Pignatelli have written profeſſed treatiſes on the nature of Petrarch's love. But neither they, nor the reſt of the Italians who to this day continue to debate a point of ſo much conſequence, conſider how powerfully Petrarch muſt have been influenced, to talk of love in ſo peculiar a ſtrain, by ſtudying the poets of Provence. His *Triomfo d'Amore* has much imagery copied from Auçelm Fayditt, one of the moſt celebrated of theſe bards. He has likewiſe many imitations from the works of Arnaud Daniel, who is called the moſt eloquent of the troubadours.[5] Petrarch, in one of his ſonnets, repreſents his miſtreſs Laura ſailing on the River Rhone, in company with twelve Provençal ladies, who at that time preſided over the *Court of Love*.[6]

Paſquier obſerves, that the Italian poetry aroſe as the Provençal declined.[7] It is a proof of the decay of invention among the French in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that about that period

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curious ſubject, which is intimately concerned with the hiſtory of the invention of the middle ages by [Tyrwhitt, Wright, and others]. There is a tranſlation of this romance in octoſyllable verſe, *MSS. Cotton. Galb.* E ix. It is entitled *The Proces of the Seven Sages*, and agrees entirely with *Les Sept Sages de Rome* in French proſe. *MSS. Harl.* 3860. See alſo MSS. C. C. Coll. Oxon. 252. The Latin book, called *Hiſtoria Septem Sapientum Romæ*, is not a very ſcarce MS.; it was printed before [1480], ſee Mr. Wright's *Diſſert. on the Seven Sages*, prefixed to the preſent work, where the whole ſubject is much more ſyſtematically and ſatisfactorily handled than in the incidental and deſultory note introduced by Warton here rather out of place.] Many of the old French minſtrels deal much in tales and novels of humour and amuſement, like thoſe of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. They call them *Fabliaux*. [It is from theſe Fabliaux that Boccaccio has borrowed many of his tales, and not from the Troubadours, who were, more properly ſpeaking, the poets of Provence.—*Douce.*]

[1] Compare Creſcimben. *Volg. Poes.* l. i. c. xiv. p. 162.

[2] *Commed. Infern.* cant. 22. [3] Fauch. *Rec.* p. 96.

[4] See Fauchet, *Rec.* pp. 47, 116; and Huet, *Rom.* pp. 121, 108.

[5] He lived about 1189. Beauchamps, *Recherch.* p. 5. Noſtradamus aſſerts, that Petrarch ſtole many things from a troubadour, called Richard ſeigneur de Barbezeiuz, who is placed under 1383. Petrarch, however, was dead at that time.

[6] Sonnet clxxxviii. *Dodici Donne*, &c. The Academici della Cruſca, in their *Dictionary*, quote a MS. entitled *Libro d'Amore* of the year 1408. It is alſo referred to by Creſcimbeni in his *Lives of the Provençal Poets.* It contains verdicts or determinations in the *Court of Love.*

[7] Paſq. *Recherch. de la France*, vii. 5, pp. 609, 611, edit. 1633.

they began to tranſlate into proſe their old metrical romances: ſuch as the fables of King Arthur, of Charlemagne, of Ogier le Danois, of Renaud de Montauban, and other illuſtrious champions, whom their early writers had celebrated in rhyme.[1] At length, about 1380, in the place of the Provençal a new ſpecies of poetry ſucceeded in France, conſiſting of Chants Royaux,[2] Balades, Rondeaux, and Paſtorales.[3] This was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the New Poetry: and Froiſſart, who has been mentioned above chiefly in the character of an hiſtorian, cultivated it with ſo much ſucceſs, that he has been called its author. The titles of Froiſſart's poetical pieces will alone ſerve to illuſtrate the nature of this poetry; but they prove, at the ſame time, that the Provençal caſt of compoſition ſtill continued to prevail. They are, *The Paradiſe of Love*, *A Panegyric on the Month of May*, *The Temple of Honour*, *The Flower of the Daiſy*, *Amorous Lays*, *Paſtorals*, *The Amorous Priſon*, *Royal Ballads in honour of our Lady*, *The Ditty of the Amorous* [*Eſpinette*, or little Thorn,] *Virelais*, *Rondeaus*, *and The Plea of the Roſe and Violet*.[4] Whoever examines Chaucer's ſmaller pieces will perceive that they

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[1] Theſe tranſlations, in which the originals were much enlarged, produced an infinite number of other romances in proſe; and the old metrical romances ſoon became unfaſhionable and neglected. The romance of *Perceforreſt*, one of the largeſt of the French romances of chivalry, was written in verſe about 1220. It was not till many years afterwards tranſlated into proſe. M. Falconet, an ingenious inquirer into the early literature of France, is of opinion, that the moſt ancient romances, ſuch as that of the *Round Table*, were firſt written in Latin proſe: it being well known that Turpin's *Charlemagne*, as it is now extant, was originally compoſed in that language. He thinks they were tranſlated into French rhymes, and at laſt into French proſe, *tels que nous les avons aujourduy*. See *Hiſt. Acad. Inſcript.* vii. 293. But part of this doctrine may be juſtly doubted.

[2] With regard to the *Chaunt Royal*, Paſquier deſcribes it to be a ſong in honour of God, the holy Virgin, or any other argument of dignity, eſpecially if joined with diſtreſs. It was written in heroic ſtanzas, and cloſed with a *l'Envoy*, or ſtanza containing a recapitulation, dedication, or the like. Chaucer calls the *Chant royal* above mentioned a *Kyngis Note*. *Mill. T.* v. 111, p. 25. His *Complaint of Venus* [as well as the] *Cuckow and Nightingale* and *La belle Dame ſans Mercy*, [both wrongly attributed to him] have all a *l'Envoy*, and belong to this ſpecies of French verſe. Chaucer's *l'Envoy* to the *Complaint of Venus*, or *Mars and Venus*, ends with theſe lines:

> "And eke to me hit is a grete penaunce,
> Syth ryme in Engliſsh hath ſuch *ſkarceté*,
> To folowe worde by worde the curioſité
> Of Graunſon floure of hem that make, in Fraunce."

[Morris's *Chaucer*, vi. 247, v. 377.] *Make* ſignifies to *write* poetry; and here we ſee that this poem was tranſlated from the French. See alſo [the poem called] *Chaucer's Dream*, v. 2204. Petrarch has the *Envoi*.

[3] About this time, a Prior of S. Genevieve at Paris wrote a ſmall treatiſe entitled, *L'Art de Dictier Ballades et Rondelles*. See Beauchamp's *Rech. Theatr.* p. 88. Maſſieu ſays this is the firſt *Art of Poetry* printed in France. *Hiſt. Poes. Fr.* p. 222. See [Pelletier,] *L'Art Poetique*, 1555, liv. 11, ch. i. *De l'Ode*. [Compare *infra*, iv. 252-3.]

[4] Paſquier, *ubi ſupr.* p. 612. Who calls ſuch pieces *Mignardiſes*. [In vol. vii. of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions*, p. 287, there is an account of a manuſcript deſcribing a ſociety called "La Cour amoureuſe des Rois des Eſpinettes."—*Douce*.]

are altogether formed on this plan, and often compounded of theſe ideas. Chaucer himſelf declares that he wrote

many an ympne for your holy dayes
That highten Balades, Roundels, Virelayes.[2]

But above all, [the] *Flower and the Leaf*, [attributed to Chaucer, but moſt probably written many years after he died], in which an air of rural deſcription predominates, and where the allegory is principally conducted by myſterious alluſions to the virtues or beauties of the vegetable world, to flowers and plants, excluſive of its general romantic and allegoric vein, bears a ſtrong reſemblance to ſome of theſe ſubjects. The poet is happily placed in a delicious arbour, interwoven with eglantine. Imaginary troops of knights and ladies advance: ſome of the ladies are crowned with flowers, and others with chaplets of agnus caſtus, and theſe are reſpectively ſubject to *a Lady of the Flower and a Lady of the Leaf*.[3] Some are clothed in green, and others in white. Many of the knights are diſtinguiſhed in much the ſame manner. But others are crowned with leaves of oak or of other trees: others carry branches of oak, laurel, hawthorn, and woodbine.[4] Beſides this profuſion of vernal ornaments, the whole proceſſion glitters with gold, pearls, rubies, and other coſtly decorations. They are preceded by minſtrels clothed in green and crowned with flowers. One of the ladies ſings a bargaret, or paſtoral, in praiſe of the daiſy:

A bargaret[5] in praiſing the daiſie[6]
For, as me thought, among her notes ſwete,
She ſaid, *Si douſe eſt la Margarete.*[7]

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[1] Here is an ellipſis. He means, *And Poems.*

[2] [*Prol. Leg. Good Women.* Morris's *Chaucer*, v. 289, ver. 422.] He mentions this ſort of poetry in the *Frankelein's Tale*, ver. [218, edit. Morris.]

" Of ſuche matiere [love] maden he many layes,
Songes compleignes, roundeletes, virrelayes."

Compare *Chaucer's Dreme*, ver. 973. In the *Floure and Leafe* we have the words of a French Roundeau, ver. 177.

[3] In a deciſion of the Court of Love cited by Fontenelle, the judge is called *Le Marquis des fleures et violettes*. Font. *ubi ſupr.* p. 15. [4] ver. 270.

[5] Rather *Bergerette*. A ſong *du Berger*, of a *ſhepherd*. [Hence alſo perhaps the Barginet (or paſtoral) of Antimachus in England's Helicon, 1600. Bargenet is mentioned as a dance by Sir T. Elyot and Geo. Gaſcoigne, whence Mr. Steevens conjectured that the phraſe might be equivalent to our *Nancy Dawſon's jig*, and might ſignify a ſhort metrical performance as well as a dance. See note on the term in *Cens. Lit.* i. 422.—*Park.*]

[6] [Morris's *Chaucer*, iv. 99, ver. 348.]

[7] A panegyric on this flower is again introduced in the Prologue to the *Leg. of G. Wom.* ver. 180:

" The longe day I ſhoope me for tabide
For nothing ellis, and I ſhal nat lye,
But for to loke upon the dayſie;
That men by reſon wel it callè may
The daiſie, or elles the ye of day,
The emperice, and floure of floures alle," &c.

Speght ſuppoſes that he means to pay a compliment to Lady Margaret, counteſs of Pembroke, King Edward's daughter, one of his patroneſſes. See the *Balade* beginning In Fevrere, &c., ver. 688. Froiſſart's ſong in praiſe of the daiſy might

This might have been Froiſſart's ſong: at leaſt this is one of his ſubjects. In the mean time a nightingale, ſeated in a laurel-tree, whoſe ſhade would cover an hundred perſons, ſings the whole ſervice, "longing to May." Some of the knights and ladies do obeyſance to the leaf, and ſome to the flower of the daiſy. Others are repreſented as worſhipping a bed of flowers. Flora is introduced "of theſe flouris goddeſſe." The lady of the leaf invites the lady of the flower to a banquet. Under theſe ſymbols is much morality couched. The leaf ſignifies perſeverance and virtue: the flower denotes indolence and pleaſure. Among thoſe who are crowned with the leaf, are the knights of King Arthur's round table, and Charlemagne's Twelve Peers; together with the knights of the order of the Garter [lately] eſtabliſhed by Edward III.[1]

But theſe fancies ſeem more immediately to have taken their riſe from the Floral Games inſtituted in France in the year 1324,[2] which filled the French poetry with images of this ſort.[3] They were founded by Clementina Iſaure, counteſs of Toulouſe, and annually celebrated in the month of May. She publiſhed an edict, which aſſembled all the poets of France in artificial arbours dreſſed with flowers: and he that produced the beſt poem was rewarded with a violet of gold. There were likewiſe inferior prizes of flowers made in ſilver. In the mean time the conquerors were crowned with natural chaplets of their own reſpective flowers. During the ceremony, degrees were alſo conferred. He who had won a prize three times was created a doctor *en gaye Science*, the name of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. The inſtrument of creation was in verſe.[4] This inſtitution, however fantaſtic, ſoon became common through the whole kingdom of France: and theſe romantic rewards, diſtributed with the moſt impartial attention to merit, at leaſt infuſed an uſeful emulation, and in ſome meaſure revived the languiſhing genius of the French poetry.

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have the ſame tendency: for he was patronized both by Edward and Philippa. Marguarite is French for Daiſy. Perhaps the ſame compliment is intended by the "Margarite perle," *Teſt. Love*, p. 483, col. i. &c. Urr. See alſo *Prol. Leg. G. Wom.* v. 218, 224. That Prologue has many images like thoſe in the *Flower and the Leaf.*

See *Le dit de la fleur de lis et de la Marguerite*, by Gillaume Machaut, *Acad. Inſcript.* xx. p. 381, x. 669. On the whole, it may be doubted whether either Froiſſart or Chaucer means Margaret, counteſs of Pembroke. For compare *Append. Pref. Canterb. Tales*, vol. i. p. xxxiv. [edit. Tyrwhitt.] I add, that in the year 1547, the poetical pieces of Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, were collected and publiſhed under the title of *Marguerite de la Marguerite des princeſſes, tres illuſtre royne de Navarre*, by [Symon] de la Haye, her valet de chambre. It was common in France to give the title of Marguerites to ſtudied panegyrics and flowery compoſitions of every kind, both in proſe and verſe.

[1] ver. 516, 517, 519.

[2] *Mem. Lit.* tom. vii. p. 422, 4to.

[3] Hence Froiſſart in the *Epinette Amoureuſe*, deſcribing his romantic amuſements, ſays he was delighted with

"Violettes en leur ſaiſons
Et roſes blanches et vermeilles," &c.

See *Mem. Lit.* x. 665, 287.

[4] *Recherches ſur les poetes couronnez.* (*Mem. Lit.* x. 567.)

The French and Italian poets, whom Chaucer imitates, abound in allegorical perſonages: and it is remarkable that the early poets of Greece and Rome were fond of theſe creations. Homer has given us *Strife*, *Contention*, *Fear*, *Terror*, *Tumult*, *Deſire*, *Perſuaſion*, and *Benevolence*. We have in Heſiod *Darkneſs*, and many others, if the Shield of Hercules be of his hand. *Comus* occurs in the *Agamemnon* of Æſchylus; and in the *Prometheus* of the ſame poet *Strength* and *Force* are two perſons of the drama, and perform the capital parts. The fragments of Ennius indicate that his poetry conſiſted much of perſonifications. He ſays, that in one of the Carthaginian wars the gigantic image of *Sorrow* appeared in every place: "Omnibus endo locis ingens apparet imago *Triſtitias*." Lucretius has drawn the great and terrible figure of *Superſtition*, "Quæ caput e cœli regionibus oſtendebat." He alſo mentions, in a beautiful proceſſion of the Seaſons, *Calor aridus*, *Hyems*, and *Algus*. He introduces *Medicine muttering with ſilent fear*, in the midſt of the deadly peſtilence at Athens. It ſeems to have eſcaped the many critics who have written on Milton's noble but romantic allegory of *Sin* and *Death*, that he took the perſon of Death from the *Alceſtis* of his favourite tragedian Euripides, where Θανατος is a principal agent in the drama. As knowledge and learning increaſe, poetry begins to deal leſs in imagination: and theſe fantaſtic beings give way to real manners and living characters.

[Of Laurence Minot, the contemporary of Chaucer, who in the beginning of the year 1352 wrote, or at leaſt completed,[1] a ſeries of poems on the wars of Edward III., ſome ſhort account may be here not unfitly introduced. Minot appears to have been a native of one of the northern counties. "The lateſt event they (his poems) commemorate, is the capture of Guiſnes-Caſtle, which happened, according to Aveſbury, on St. Vincent's day, the 22nd of January, 1351-2."]

The ſtanza of one of Minot's poems on the wars of Edward III. is the ſame as Chaucer's *Sir Topas*:[2]

Edward oure cumly king
In Braband has his woning,
With mani cumly knight,
And in that land, trewly to tell,
Ordains he ſtill for to dwell,
To time he think to fight.

Now God that es of mightes maſte,
Grant him grace of the Haly Gaſte,
His heritage to win;
And Mari moder of mercy fre,
Save oure king, and his menȝe,
Fro ſorow, ſchame, and ſyn.

Thus in Braband has he bene,
Whare he bifore was ſeldom ſene,
For to prove thaire japes;

[1] [Minot's *Poems*, ed. 1795, *Introd.*]

[2] MSS. Cott. *Galb.* E. ix.

Now no langer wil he ſpare,
Bot unto Fraunce faſt will he fare,
To confort him with grapes.

Furth he ferd into France,
God ſave him fro miſchance,
And all his cumpany;
The nobill duc of Braband
With him went into that land,
Redy to lif or dy.

Than the riche floure de lice
Wan thare ful litill priſe,
Faſt he fled for ferde;
The right aire[1] of that cuntre
Es cumen with all his knightes fre
To ſchac[2] him by the berd.

Sir Philip the Valayſe,
Wit his men in tho dayes,
To batale had he thoght;
He bad his men tham purvay
Withowten lenger delay,
Bot he ne held it noght.

He broght folk ful grete wone,
Ay ſevyn ogains one,
That ful wele wapind[3] were;
Bot ſone when he herd aſcry,
That king Edward was nere tharby,
Than durſt he noght cum nere.

In that morning fell a myſt;
And when oure Ingliſs men it wiſt,
It changed all thaire chere:
Oure king unto God made his bone,
And God ſent him gude confort ſone,
The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held the felde,
Stalworthly with ſpere and ſchelde,
And thoght to win his right;
With lordes and with knightes kene,
And other doghty men bydene,
That war ful frek to fight.

When ſir Philip of France herd tell,
That king Edward in feld walld dwell,
Than gayned him no gle;
He traiſted of no better bote,
Bot both on hors and on fote,
He haſted him to fle.

It ſemid he was ferd for ſtrokes,
When he did fell his grete okes
Obout his pavilyoune.
Abated was than all his pride,
For langer thare durſt he noght bide,
His boſt was broght all doune.

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[1] heir. [2] ſhake. [3] weaponed, armed.

The king of Beme had cares colde,
That was ful hardy, and bolde,
A ſtede to umſtride:
[He and] The king als of Naverne
War faire ferd in the ferne
Thaire heviddes for to hide.

And leves wele, it is no lye,
The felde hat Flemangrye
That king Edward was in;
With princes that war ſtif ande bolde,
And dukes that war doghty tolde,
In batayle to begin.

The princes that war riche on raw,
Gert nakers ſtrikes and trumpes blaw,
And made mirth at thaire might;
Both alblaſt and many a bow,
War redy railed opon a row,
And ful frek for to fight.

Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,
So that thai ſuld the better ſwink,
The wight men that thar ware:
Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,
And hied him hame with all his rout,
Coward, God giff him care.

For thare than had the lely flowre
Lorn all halely his honowre,
That ſo gat fled for ferd;
Bot oure king Edward come ful ſtill,
When that he trowed no harm him till,
And keped him in the berde.[1]

[A few other ſpecimens of Minot may here be added]:

Men may rede in Romance[2] right,
Of a grete clerk that Merlin hight:
Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
Als thir clerkes wele may witten;
And ȝit in many prevé nokes
May men find of Merlin bokes.
Merlin ſaid thus with his mowth,
Out of the north into the ſowth,
Suld cum a bare over the ſe,
That ſuld mak many man to fle;
And in the ſe, he ſaid ful right,
Suld he ſchew ful mekill might;
And in France he ſuld bigin
To mak tham wrath that er tharein:
Untill the ſe his taile reche ſale,
All folk of France to mekill bale.

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[1] [This and the following ſpecimens from Minot have been corrected by Mr. Ritſon's edition of his poems.]

[2] In another place Minot calls the book on which his narrative is founded, the *Romance:*

"How Edward, als the Romance ſaies,
Held his ſege before Calais."

Thus have I mater for to make
For a nobill prince ſake.
Help me god, my wit is thin,
Now Laurence Minot will bigin.
A Bore es broght on bankes bare,
With ful batail bifor his breſt,
For John of France will he noght ſpare.
In Normondy to tak his reſt.—
At Creſſy when thai brak the brig,
That ſaw Edward with both his ine;
Than liked him no langer to lig,
Ilk Inglis-man on others rig;
Over that water er thai went,
To batail er thai baldly big,
With brade ax, and with bowes bent,
With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,
For to fell of the Frankiſch-men.
Thai gert tham lig with cares colde.
Ful ſari was ſir Philip then:
He ſaw the toun o ferrum bren,
And folk for ferd war faſt fleand:
The teres he lete ful rathly ren
Out of his eghen, I underſtand.
Than cum Philip, ful redy dight,
Toward the toun with all his rowt:
With him come mani a kumly knight,
And all umſet the bare obout:
The bare made tham ful law to lout,
And delt them knokkes to thaire mede
He gert tham ſtumbill that war ſtout.
Thare helpid nowther ſtaf ne ſtede
Stedes ſtrong bilevid ſtill
Biſide Creſſy opon the grene
Sir Philip wanted all his will
That was wele on his ſembland ſene,
With ſpere and ſchelde, and helmis ſchene
The bare than durſt thai noght habide.
The king of Beme[1] was cant and kene,
Bot thare he left both play and pride.
Pride in preſe ne prais I noght.
Omong thir princes prowd in pall,
Princes ſuld be wele bithoght
When kinges ſuld tham tyll counſail call.

The ſame boar, that is, Edward [Baliol], is introduced by Minot as reſiſting the Scotiſh invaſion in 1347, at Nevil's Croſs, near Durham.[2]

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[1] John, king of Bohemia. By Froiſſart he is called inaccurately the king of Behaigne, or Charles of Luxemburgh. See Froiſſart, *ut ſupr.* fol. lxiv. b. The Lord Charles of Bohemia, his ſon, was alſo in the battle and killed, being lately elected emperor. Holinſh. iii. 372.

[2] The reader will recollect that this verſification is in the ſtructure of that of the *Lives of the Saints*, where two lines are thrown into one, viz. *Vndecim millia virginum*, MSS. Col. Trin. Oxon. 57.

"Ellevene thouſand virgines, that fair companye was,
Imartird wer for godis ſone, ich wille telle that cas.
A kyng ther was in Bretaygne, Maur was his name,
A douȝter he hadde that het Vrſe, a mayde of good fame.

Sir David the Bruſe[1]
Was at diſtance,
When Edward the Baliolfe,[2]
Rade with his lance:
The north end of Ingland,
Teched him to daunce,
When he was met on the more,
With mekill miſchance.
Sir Philip the Valayſe,
May him noght avance,
The flowres that faire war,
Er fallen in Fraunce;
The flowres er now fallen,
That fers war and fell,
A bare with his bataille,
Has done tham to dwell.
Sir David the Bruſe,
Said he ſulde fonde
To ride thurgh all Ingland,
Wuld he noght wonde:
At the Weſtminſter Hall,
Suld his ſtedes ſtonde,
Whils oure king Edward
War out of the londe.

Edward's victory over the Spaniards in a ſea-fight, in 1350, was a part of Minot's general ſubject:

I wald noght ſpare for to ſpeke,
Wiſt I to ſpede,

So fair woman me nyſte non, ne ſo guod in none poynte,
Criſtene was al hire ken, ſwithe noble and queynte:
Of hire fairhede and guodneſſe me told in eche ſonde ſide,
That the word com into Engelonde, and ſelle wher wide.
A kyng ther was in Engelonde, man of gret powèr,
Of this maide he herde telle gret nobleiȝe far and ner."

The minſtrel, who uſed the perpetual return of a kind of plain chant, made his pauſe or cloſe at every hemiſtick. In the ſame manner the verſes of the following poem were divided by the minſtrel. MSS. Cott. Jul. V. fol. 175. [The tranſcript is not later than the year 1300:]

"Als ẏ yod on ay Monday, by twene Wiltindon and Walle,
Me ane after brade way, ay litel man ẏ mette withalle,
The leſte that ever ẏ ſathe, to ſay oither in boure oither in halle,
His robe was noither grene na gray, bot alle yt was of riche palle.
On me he cald and bad me bide, wel ſtille ẏ ſtode ay litel ſpace;
Fro Lancheſter the Parke ſyde, ẏeen he come wel faire his pace: &c.
I biheld that litel man, bi the ſtrete als we gon gae,
His berde was ſyde ay large ſpan, and glided als the fether of pae.
His heved was wyte as any ſwan, his higehen were gret and grai, &c.
His robe was al golde biganne, well criſtlik maked i underſtande,
Botones aſurd everilke ane, from his elbouthe on til his hande."

They enter a caſtle:

"The bankers on the binkes lay, and faire lordes ſette ẏ fonde,
In ilk ay hirn ẏ herd ay lay, and levedys ſouthe me loud ſange."

[1] David Bruce, king of Scotland. See Langtoft, p. 116.

[2] [Edward de Baliol. Edward III. was not in England when the affair at Nevill's Croſs happened.—*Ritſon.*]

Of wight men with wapin,
And worthly in wede.
That now er driven to dale,
And ded all thaire dede,
Thai ſail in the ſee-gronde,
Fiſſches to fede!
Fele Fiſſches thai fede,
For all thaire grete fare,
It was in the waniand
That thai come thare.
Thai ſailed furth in the Swin
In a ſomers tyde,
With trompes and taburns,
And mikell other pryde.

SECTION XIX.

IF Chaucer had not exiſted, the compoſitions of John Gower, the next poet in ſucceſſion, would alone have been ſufficient to reſcue the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. from the imputation of barbariſm. His education was liberal and uncircumſcribed, his courſe of reading extenſive, and he tempered his ſeverer ſtudies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he laboured to reform its irregularities, and to eſtabliſh an Engliſh ſtyle. In theſe reſpects he reſembled his friend and contemporary Chaucer:[1] but he participated in no conſiderable portion of Chaucer's ſpirit, imagination, and elegance. His language is tolerably perſpicuous, and his verſification often harmonious; but his poetry is of a grave and ſententious turn. He has much good ſenſe, ſolid reflection, and uſeful obſervation. But he is ſerious and didactic on all occaſions: he preſerves the tone of the ſcholar and the moraliſt on the moſt lively topics. For this reaſon he ſeems to have been characterized by Chaucer with the appellation of the *moral* Gower.[2] But his talent is not confined to Engliſh verſe only. He wrote alſo in Latin, and copied Ovid's *Elegies* with ſome degree of purity, and with fewer falſe quantities and corrupt phraſes than any of our countrymen had yet exhibited ſince the twelfth century.

Gower's capital work [or, as he calls it, *Cronica Tripartita*,] conſiſts of three parts, only the laſt of which properly furniſhes matter

[1] It is certain that they both lived and wrote together. But I have conſidered Chaucer firſt, among other reaſons hereafter given, as Gower ſurvived him [ſeveral years.] Chaucer died October 25, 1400, aged 72 years. Gower died [between the 15th of Auguſt and the 24th of October, 1408. See *Confeſſio Amantis*, ed. 1857, i. xvii.-xviii.]

[2] *Troil. and Creſs.* ad calc.

for our preſent inquiry. It is entitled *Speculum Meditantis, Vox Clamantis, Confeſſio Amantis.* [The laſt] was finiſhed in 139[2-3].[1] The *Speculum Meditantis* [is not known to exiſt.][2] The *Vox Clamantis*, or the *Voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs*, which [has been printed for the Roxburghe Club,] contains ſeven books of Latin elegiacs. This work is chiefly hiſtorical, and is little more than a metrical chronicle of the inſurrection of the Commons in [1381.] The beſt and moſt beautiful manuſcript of it is in the library of All Souls College at Oxford, with a dedication in Latin verſe, addreſſed by the author, when he was old and blind, to Archbiſhop Arundel.[3] The *Confeſſio Amantis*, or the *Lover's Confeſſion*, is an Engliſh poem, in eight books, firſt printed by Caxton in 1483. It was written at the command of Richard II. who, meeting our poet Gower rowing on the Thames near London, invited him into the royal barge, and after much converſation requeſted him to *book ſome new thing*.[4]

This tripartite work is repreſented by three volumes on Gower's curious tomb in the conventual church of Saint Mary Overy in Southwark, [lately reſtored to ſomething like] its ancient ſtate; and this circumſtance furniſhes me with an obvious opportunity of adding an anecdote relating to our poet's munificence and piety, which ought not to be omitted. Although a poet, he largely contributed to rebuild that church in its preſent elegant form, and to render it a beautiful pattern of the lighter Gothic architecture; at the ſame time he founded, at his tomb, a perpetual chantry.

It is on the laſt of theſe pieces, the *Confeſſio Amantis*, that Gower's character and reputation as a poet are almoſt entirely founded. This poem, which bears no immediate reference to the other two diviſions, is a dialogue between a lover and his confeſſor, who is a prieſt of Venus, and, like the myſtagogue in the *Table* of Cebes, is called Genius. Here, as if it had been impoſſible for a lover not to be a good Catholic, the ritual of religion is applied to the tender paſſion,

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[1] *Confeſs. Amant.* Prol. fol. 1, a, col. 1. [Bulleyn, in his *Dialogue both pleſaunt and pitefull*, firſt printed before 1564, introduces a viſionary deſcription of old "moral Goore," with pen in hand, commending honeſt love without luſt, and pleaſure without pride, &c. And the dedication to Henry VIII., before Berthelet's edition of the *Confeſſio Amantis*, ſuperadds to his eſtabliſhed *moral* epithet the terms "worthy olde writer, and noble autour."—*Park.*]

[2] [Gower's *Speculum Meditantis* has never, I believe, been ſeen by any of our poetical antiquaries, nor does it exiſt in the Bodleian Library. Campbell, the author of Gower's article in the *Biographia Brit.*, and Warton, who profeſs to give an account of its contents, were deceived by the ambiguity of a reference in Tanner; and, inſtead of the work in queſtion, deſcribe a much ſhorter poem or *balade* by the ſame author.—*Ellis.* See alſo Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis*, ed. 1857, Introd. xxv.-vi. "At the end of the Bodl. MSS. N. E. F, 819, and Fairfax, 8, is ſubjoined," ſays Mr. Park, "a notice in Latin of Gower's three principal works, and ſo much as relates to the Speculum is given by Mr. Ellis."]

[3] MSS. Num. 26. It occurs more than once in the Bodleian Library, and, I believe, often in private hands. There is a fine MS. of it in the Britiſh Muſeum. It was written in the year 1397, as appears by the following line, MSS. Bodl. 294:

"Hos ego bis deno Ricardi regis in anno."

[4] *To the Reder*, in Berthelet's edition. From the *Prologue*.

and Ovid's *Art of Love* is blended with the breviary. In the courſe of the confeſſion, every evil affection of the human heart, which may tend to impede the progreſs or counteract the ſucceſs of love, is ſcientifically ſubdivided, and its fatal effects exemplified by a variety of appoſite ſtories, extracted from claſſics and chronicles. The poet often introduces or recapitulates his matter in a few couplets of Latin long and ſhort verſes. This was in imitation of Boethius.

This poem is ſtrongly tinctured with thoſe pedantic affectations concerning the paſſion of love, which the French and Italian poets of the fourteenth century borrowed from the troubadours of Provence, and which I have above examined at large. But the writer's particular model appears more immediately to have been John of Meun's celebrated *Roman de la Roſe*. He has, however, ſeldom attempted to imitate the picturesque imageries and expreſſive perſonifications of that exquiſite allegory. His moſt ſtriking portraits, which yet are conceived with no powers of creation, nor delineated with any fertility of fancy, are *Idleneſs*, *Avarice*, *Micherie* or Thieving, and *Negligence*, the ſecretary of *Sloth*.[1] Inſtead of boldly clothing theſe qualities with corporeal attributes, aptly and poetically imagined, he coldly yet ſenſibly deſcribes their operations, and enumerates their properties. What Gower wanted in invention, he ſupplied from his common-place book, which appears to have been ſtored with an inexhauſtible fund of inſtructive maxims, pleaſant narrations, and philoſophical definitions. It ſeems to have been his object to crowd all his erudition into this elaborate performance. Yet there is often ſome degree of contrivance and art in his manner of introducing and adapting ſubjects of a very diſtant nature, which are totally foreign to his general deſign.

In the fourth book our confeſſor turns chemiſt; and diſcourſing at large on the Hermetic ſcience, developes its principles and expoſes its abuſes with great penetration.[2] He delivers the doctrines concerning the vegetable, mineral, and animal ſtones, to which Falſtaff alludes in Shakeſpeare,[3] with amazing accuracy and perſpicuity;[4]

[1] Lib. iv. f. 62, a, col. 1; lib. v. f. 94, a, col. 1; lib. iv. f. 68, a, col. 1; lib. v. f. 119, a, col. 2.

[2] Lib. iv. f. 76, b, col. 2.

[3] Falſtaff mentions a philoſopher's or chemiſt's two ſtones. See 2nd P. Henr. IV. act iii. ſc. 2. Our author abundantly confirms Doctor Warburton's explication of this paſſage, which the reſt of the commentators do not ſeem to have underſtood. See Aſhm. *Theatr. Chemic.* p. 484, 1652.

The nations bordering upon the Jews, attributed the miraculous events of that people to thoſe external means and material inſtruments, ſuch as ſymbols, ceremonies, and other viſible ſigns or circumſtances, which by God's ſpecial appointment, under their myſterious diſpenſation, they were directed to uſe. Among the obſervations which the oriental Gentiles made on the hiſtory of the Jews, they found that the Divine will was to be known by certain appearances in precious ſtones. The Magi of the Eaſt, believing that the preternatural diſcoveries obtained by means of the Urim and Thummim, a contexture of gems in the breaſt-plate of the Moſaic prieſts, were owing to ſome virtue inherent in thoſe ſtones, adopted the

[4] Lib. iv. f. 77, a, col. 1.

although this doctrine was adopted from ſyſtems then in vogue, as we ſhall ſee below. In another place he applies the Argonautic expedition in ſearch of the golden fleece, which he relates at length, to the ſame viſionary philoſophy.[1] Gower very probably conducted his aſſociate Chaucer into theſe profound myſteries, which had been juſt opened to our countrymen by the books of Roger Bacon.[2]

In the ſeventh book, the whole circle of the Ariſtotelic philoſophy is explained; which our lover is deſirous to learn, ſuppoſing that the importance and variety of its ſpeculations might conduce to ſooth his anxieties by diverting and engaging his attention. Such a diſcuſſion was not very likely to afford him much conſolation: eſpecially, as hardly a ſingle ornamental digreſſion is admitted, to decorate a field naturally ſo deſtitute of flowers. Almoſt the only one is the following deſcription of the chariot and crown of the ſun; in which the Arabian ideas concerning precious ſtones are interwoven with Ovid's fictions and the claſſical mythology:

Of golde gliſtrend ſpoke and whele
The ſonne his carte[3] hath faire and wele,
In whiche he ſitte, and is coroned
With brighte ſtones environed,
Of which if that I ſpeke ſhall
There be to-fore in ſpeciall
Set in the front of his corone
Thre ſtones, whiche no perſone
Hath upon erthe, and the firſt is
By name cleped licuchis.
That other two be cleped thus
Aſtrices and ceramius
In his corone, alſo behinde,
By olde bokes as I finde,
There ben of worthy ſtones thre
Set ech of hem in his degre,
Wherof a criſtall is that one,
Which that corone is ſet upon.

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knowledge of the occult properties of gems as a branch of their magical ſyſtem. Hence it became the peculiar profeſſion of one claſs of their ſages, to inveſtigate and interpret the various ſhades and coruſcations, and to explain, to a moral purpoſe, the different colours, the dews, clouds, and imageries, which gems, differently expoſed to the ſun, moon, ſtars, fire, or air, at particular ſeaſons, and inſpected by perſons particularly qualified, were ſeen to exhibit. This notion being once eſtabliſhed, a thouſand extravagancies aroſe, of healing diſeaſes, of procuring victory, and of ſeeing future events, by means of precious ſtones and other lucid ſubſtances. See Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* xxxvii. 9, 10. Theſe ſuperſtitions were ſoon ingrafted into the Arabian philoſophy, from which they were propagated all over Europe, and continued to operate even ſo late as the viſionary experiments of Dee and Kelly. It is not in the mean time at all improbable, that the Druidical doctrines concerning the virtues of ſtones were derived from theſe leſſons of the Magi: and they are ſtill to be traced among the traditions of the vulgar, in thoſe parts of Britain and Ireland, where Druidiſm retained its lateſt eſtabliſhments. See Martin's *Weſt. Iſles*, p. 167, 225. And Aubrey's *Miſcell.* p. 128. When Richard I. in 1191 took Cyprus, he is ſaid to have found the caſtles filled with rich furniture of gold and ſilver, "necnon lapidibus pretioſis, et plurimam virtutem habentibus." G. Vines. *Iter Hieroſol.* cap. xli. p. 328, *Hiſt. Anglic. Script.* vol. ii. Oxon. 1687.

[1] Lib. v. f. 101, a, *ſeq.* [2] See *ſupra.* [3] chariot.

The seconde is an adamant.
The thridde is noble and avenaunt,
Which cleped is ydriades,
And over this yet netheles
Upon the sides of the werke,
After the writing of the clerke,
There sitten five stones mo,
The smaragdine is one of tho,
Jaspis and elitropius
And vendides and jacinctus.
Lo, thus the corone is beset,
Wherof it shineth well the bet,
And in such wise his light to sprede
Sit with his diademe on hede
The sonne shinend in his carte.
And for to lede him swithe and smarte
After the brighte daies lawe
There ben ordeined for to drawe
Four hors his chare and him withall,
Wherof the names telle I shall.
Eritheus the first is hote,
The which is red and shineth hote,[1]
The second Acteos the bright,
Lampes the thridde courser hight,
And Philogeus is the ferth,[2]
That bringen light unto this erth
And gone so swifte upon the heven, &c.[3]

Our author closes this course of the Aristotelic philosophy with a system of politics: not taken from Aristotle's genuine treatise on that subject, but from the first chapter of a spurious compilation, entitled, *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*,[4] addressed under the name of Aristotle to his pupil Alexander the Great, and printed at Bologna in 1516. This work was treated as genuine, and explained with a learned gloss by Roger Bacon:[5] and was of such high reputation in Gower's age, that it was transcribed, and illustrated with a commentary, for the use of Edward III. by his chaplain Walter de Millemete, prebendary of the collegiate church of Glaseney in Cornwall.[6] Under this head, our author takes an opportunity of giving advice to a weak yet amiable prince, his patron Richard II., on a subject of the most difficult and delicate nature, with much freedom and dignity. It might also be proved, that Gower, through this detail of the sciences, copied in many other articles the *Secretum Secretorum*, which is a sort of an abridgment of the Aristotelic philosophy, filled with many Arabian innovations and absurdities, and enriched with an appendix concerning the choice of wines, phlebotomy, justice, public notaries, tournaments, and physiognomy, rather than from the Latin translations of Aristotle. It is evident, that he copied from this work the doctrine of the three chemical stones,

[1] named. [2] fourth. [3] [*C. F.* ed. 1857, iii. 112-13.]
[4] [A prose translation (about 1450) is in Lambeth MS. 501.—F.]
[5] See Wood, *Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 15, col. 1.
[6] Tanner, Bibl. p. 527. It is cited by Bradwardine, a famous English theologist, in his grand work, *De Causa Dei.* He died 1349.

mentioned above.[1] That part of our author's aſtronomy, in which he ſpeaks of the magician Nectabanus inſtructing Alexander the Great, when a youth, in the knowledge of the fifteen ſtars, and their reſpective plants and precious ſtones, appropriated to the operations of natural magic, ſeems to be borrowed from Calliſthenes, the fabulous writer of the life of Alexander.[2] Yet many wonderful inventions, which occur in this romance of Alexander, are alſo to be found in the *Secretum Secretorum:* particularly the fiction of Alexander's Stentorian horn, mentioned above, which was heard at the diſtance of ſixty miles, and of which Kircher has given a curious repreſentation in his *Phonurgia,* copied from an ancient picture of this gigantic inſtrument, belonging to a MS. of the *Secretum Secretorum,* preſerved in the Vatican.[3]

It is pretended by the myſtic writers, that Ariſtotle in his old age reviewed his books, and digeſted his philoſophy into one ſyſtem or body, which he ſent, in the form of an epiſtle, to Alexander. This is the ſuppoſititious tract[4] of which I have been ſpeaking; and it is thus deſcribed by Lydgate, who has tranſlated a part of it.

> Title of this boke Lapis Philoſophorum,
> Namyd alſo De Regimine Principum,
> Of philoſophres Secretum Secretorum.—
> The which booke direct to the kyng
> Alyſaundre, both in the werre and pees,
> Lyke his requeſt and royall commanding,
> Fulle accompliſhid by Ariſtotiles.
> Feeble of age.

Then follows a rubric "How Ariſtotile declareth to kynge Alyſandre of the ſtonys."[5] It was early tranſlated into French proſe,[6] and printed in Engliſh.[7] This work will occur again under Lydgate. There is alſo another forgery conſecrated with the name

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[1] There is an Epiſtle under the name of Alexander the Great, *De Lapide Philoſophorum,* among the *Scriptores Chemici artis auriferæ,* Baſil. 1593, tom. i. See next note.

[2] Or from fictitious books attributed to Alexander the Great, *De ſeptem Herbis ſeptem Planetarum,* &c. See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* tom. ii. 206. See *ſupra.* Calliſthenes is mentioned twice in this poem, Lib. vii. f. 139, b. col. 2; and vi. f. 139, b. col. 2. See a chapter of Calliſthenes and Alexander, in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes,* b. iv. ch. 1, *ſeq.* fol. 99, edit. *ut infra.*

[3] Pag. 104. See *Secretum Secretorum,* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. D. i. 5, Cap. *penult,* lib. 5.

[4] [Harl. MSS. 2251 and 7333; Sloane MS. 2027.—F.]

[5] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud, B. 24, K. 53. Part of this manuſcript is printed by Aſhmole, *Theatr. Chemic.* ut ſupr. p. 397. See Julius Bartolocc. tom. i. *Bibl. Rabbinic.* p. 475; and Joann. a Lent, *Theol. Judaic.* p. 6.

[6] *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xvii. p. 737, 4to.

[7] [*The ſecret of ſecrets of Ariſtotyle with the gouernale of princes,* &c., tranſlated and printed by R. Copland, 1528, 8vo.] A work called [*Ariſtotles Politiques, or Diſcourſes on Gouernment*], from the French of Louis le Roy, printed in [1597], and dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, is Ariſtotle's genuine work. In Greſham college library there is "Alexandri M. Epiſtolæ ad preceptorem Ariſtotelem, Anglice factæ." MSS. 52. But [this can ſurely have nothing to do with] Lydgate's [imperfect] poem on the ſubject, [printed by Aſhmole].

of Ariſtotle, and often quoted by the aſtrologers, which Gower might have uſed: it is *de Regiminibus coeleſtibus*, which had been early tranſlated from Arabic into Latin.[1]

Conſidered in a general view, the *Confeſſio Amantis* may be pronounced to be no unpleaſing miſcellany of thoſe ſhorter tales which delighted the readers of the middle age. Moſt of theſe are now forgotten, together with the voluminous chronicles in which they were recorded. The book which appears to have accommodated our author with the largeſt quantity of materials in this article, was probably a chronicle entitled *Pantheon*, or *Memoriæ Seculorum*, compiled in Latin, partly in proſe and partly in verſe, by Geoffrey of Viterbo, a chaplain and notary to three German emperors, who died in the year 1190.[2] It commences, according to the eſtabliſhed practice of the hiſtorians of this age, with the creation of the world, and is brought down to the year 1186. It was firſt printed at Baſle in 1569.[3] The learned Muratori has not ſcrupled to inſert the five laſt ſections of this univerſal hiſtory.[4] The ſubject of this work, to uſe the laborious compiler's own expreſſions, is the Old and New Teſtament; and all the emperors and kings, which have exiſted from the beginning of the world to his own times: of whom the origin, end, names, and achievements are commemorated.[5] The authors whom our chronicler profeſſes to have conſulted for the gentile ſtory, are only Joſephus, Dion Caſſius, Strabo, Oroſius, Hegeſippus, Suetonius, Solinus, and Julius Africanus, among whom not one of the purer Roman hiſtorians occurs. Gower alſo ſeems to have uſed another chronicle written by the ſame Godfrey, never printed, called *Speculum Regum* or the *Mirror of Kings*, which is almoſt as multifarious as the laſt; containing a genealogy of all the potentates, Trojan and German, from Noah's flood to the reign of the emperor Henry VI., according to the chronicles of the venerable Bede, Euſebius, and Ambroſius.[6] There are, beſides, two ancient collectors of marvellous and delectable occurrences to whom our author is indebted, Caſſiodorus and Iſidorus. Caſſiodorus[7] wrote, at the command of the Gothic King Theodoric, a work named *Chronicon*

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[1] Hotting. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 255. See Pic. Mirandulan, *contra Aſtrolog.* lib. i. p. 284.

[2] Jacob. Quetif. i. p. 740.

[3] Again, among *Scriptor. de Reb. Germanicis*, by Piſtorius, 1584. Laſtly in a new edit. of Piſtorius, by Struvius, Ratiſbon, 1726, fol. There is a chronicle, I believe ſometimes confounded with Godfrey's *Pantheon*, called the *Pantaleone*, from the creation to 1162, about which time it was compiled by the Benedictine monk of Saint Pantaleon at Cologne, printed by Eccard, with a German tranſlation, in the firſt volume of *Scriptores Medii Ævi*, pp. 683, 945. It was continued to 1237, by Godfridus, a Pantaleoniſt monk. This continuation, which has conſiderable merit as a hiſtory, is extant in Freherus, *Rer. Germanicar.* tom. i. edit. Struvius, p. 335.

[4] [*Rerum Ital. Script.* vii. p. 346.

[5] *in proem.* [6] See Lambecc. ii. p. 274.

[7] See *Confes. Amant.* lib. vii. f. 156, b, col. 1. And our author to King Henry, v. 330. In the prologue to the *Fructus Temporum*, printed at St. Alban's in 1483, one of the authors is "Caſſiodorus of the actys of emperours and biſshoppys."

Breve, commencing with our firſt parents, and deduced to the year 519, chiefly from Euſebius, the chronicles of Proſper and Jerom, and Aurelius Victor's Origin of the Roman nation.[1] An Italian tranſlation by Lodovico Dolce was printed in 1561.[2] Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis, cited by [the author of the *Life of Alexander*] and by Chaucer, in the ſeventh century framed from the ſame author a Latin Chronicle, from Adam to the time of the Emperor Heraclius, firſt printed in [an Italian tranſlation at Aſcoli in 1477, and republiſhed at Friuli in 1480. The original Latin was printed in 1593].[3]

Theſe comprehenſive ſyſtems of all ſacred and profane events, which in the middle ages multiplied to an exceſſive degree, ſuperſeded the uſe of the claſſics and other eſtabliſhed authors, whoſe materials they gave in a commodious abridgment, and in whoſe place, by ſelecting thoſe ſtories only which ſuited the taſte of the times, they ſubſtituted a more agreeable kind of reading: nor was it by theſe means only, that they greatly contributed to retard the acquiſition of thoſe ornaments of ſtyle and other arts of compoſition, which an attention to the genuine models would have afforded, but by being written without any ideas of elegance, and in the moſt barbarous phraſeology. Yet productive as they were of theſe and other inconvenient conſequences, they were not without their uſe in the rude periods of literature. By gradually weaning the minds of readers from monkiſh legends, they introduced a reliſh for real and rational hiſtory; and kindling an ardour for inquiring into the tranſactions of paſt ages, at length awakened a curioſity to obtain a more accurate and authentic knowledge of important events by ſearching the original authors. Nor are they to be entirely neglected in modern and more poliſhed ages. For, beſides that they contain curious pictures of the credulity and ignorance of our anceſtors, they frequently preſerve facts tranſcribed from books which have not deſcended to poſterity. It is extremely probable that the plan on which they are all conſtructed, that of deducing a perpetual hiſtory from the creation of the writer's age, was partly taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoſes*, and partly from the Bible.

In the meantime there are three hiſtories of a leſs general nature, which Gower ſeems more immediately to have followed in ſome of his tales. Theſe are Colonna's [*Geſt Hiſtorial* of the *Deſtruction of*] *Troy*, the *Romance of Sir Lancelot*, and the *Geſta Romanorum*.

From Colonna's hiſtory, which he calls *The Tale of Troy*, *The Book of Troy*,[4] and ſometimes *The Cronicle*,[5] he has taken all that relates to

[1] [*Chronica ab Adamo*, &c. *Opera*, 1729, i.]

[2] *Compendio di Seſto Ruffo, con la Cronica di Caſſiodoro, de Fatti de Romani*, &c. 4to.

[3] [See Brunet, iii. 464.]

[4] Of Palamedes and Nauplius, "The *boke of Troie whoſo rede*." Lib. ii. f. 52, b. col. 2. The ſtory of Jaſon and Medea, "whereof the tale in ſpeciall is in the *boke of Troie* writte." Lib. v. f. 101, a, col. 2. Of the Syrens ſeen by Ulyſſes, "which in the *tale of Troie* I finde." Lib. i. f. 10, b, col. 1. Of the eloquence of Ulyſſes, "As in the *boke of Troie* is funde." Lib. vii. f. 150, a, col. 1, &c. &c. See *ſupra*.

[5] In the ſtory of the Theban chief Capaneus, "This knight as the *Cronike* ſeine."

the Trojan and Grecian ſtory, or, in Milton's language, *The Tale of Troy Divine*. This piece was firſt printed at Cologne [before] 1477.[1] An Italian tranſlation appeared at Venice in 1481. It was tranſlated into Italian ſo early as 1324 by Filippo Ceffi, a Florentine,[2] [according to ſome, or, as others ſay, not till 1333, and by Matteo Bellebuoni]. By ſome writers it is called the Britiſh as well as the Trojan ſtory;[3] and there are MSS. in which it is entitled the hiſtory of Medea and Jaſon. In the Italian tranſlation it is called *La Storia Trojana*. This hiſtory is repeatedly called the *Troie Boke* by Lydgate, who tranſlated it into Engliſh verſe.[4]

As to the romance of *Sir Lancelot*, our author, among others on the ſubject, refers to a volume of which he was the hero: perhaps that of Robert [de] Borron, altered ſoon afterwards by Godefroy de Leigny, under the title of *Le Roman de la Charette*, and printed with additions in 1494:

> For if thou wilt the *bokes* rede
> Of Launcelot and other mo,
> Then might thou ſeen how it was tho
> Of armes, for this wolde atteine
> To love, which, withouten peine
> Maie not be gette of idleneſs;
> And that I take to witneſſe
> An old cronique in ſpeciall
> The whiche into memoriall
> Is write for his loves ſake,
> How that a Knight ſhal undertake.[5]

He alludes to a ſtory about Sir Triſtram, which he ſuppoſes to be univerſally known, related in this romance:

> In every mannes mouth it is
> How Triſtram was of love drunke
> With Bele Iſolde, whan they dronke

Lib. i. f. 18, b. col. 2. Of Achilles and Teucer, "In a *Cronique* I fynde thus." Lib. iii. fol. 62, a, col. 1. Of Peleus and Phocus, "As the *Cronique* ſeithe." Lib. iii. f. 61, b, col. 1. Of Ulyſſes and Penelope, "In a *Cronique* I finde writte." Lib. iv. f. 63, b. col. 2. He mentions alſo the *Cronique* for tales of other nations. "In the *Cronique* as I finde, Cham was he which firſt the letters fonde, and wrote in Hebrew with his honde, of naturall philoſophie." Lib. iv. f. 76, a, col. 1. For Darius's four queſtions, Lib. vii. f. 151, b, col. 1. For Perillus's brazen bull, f. &c. See below.

[1] [See Brunet, laſt edit. ii. 169.]

[2] See Haym's Bibl. Italian. p. 35, edit. Venez. 1741, 4to.

[3] Sandius and Hallerwood, in their Supplement to Voſſius's Latin Hiſtorians, ſuppoſe Colonna's Trojan and Britiſh chronicle the ſame. In Theodoric Engelhuſen's *Chronica Chronicarum*, compiled about the year 1420, where the author ſpeaks of Troy, he cites Colonna *de Bello Trojano*. In the Preface he mentions Colonna's *Chronica Britannorum*. See Engelhuſen's firſt edit. Helmſt. 1671; or rather, *Scriptor. Brunſvic. Leibnit.* p. 977. See alſo Fabyan and other hiſtorians.

[4] Bochas, B. i. ch. xvi. *How the tranſlatoure wrote a booke of the ſiege of Troy, called Troye Boke.* And *ib.* St. 7, 17, 20, edit. Wayland, fol. xxx. b. xxxi. a. And in Lydg. *Deſtr. of Troy.*

[5] [Edit. 1857, ii. 70.]

The drink, which Brangweine hem betok,
Er that king Mark, &c.[1]

And again, in the aſſembly of lovers:

Ther was Triſtram which was beleved
With Bele Iſolde, and Lancelot
Stood with Gunnor,[2] and Galahot
With his lady.[3]

The *Geſta Romanorum*, [of which a ſufficiently ample account has been furniſhed in one of the preliminary Diſſertations,] ſomewhat reſembles the plan of Gower's poem. In the rubric of the ſtory of Julius and the poor knight, our author alludes to this book in the expreſſion, *Hic ſecundum* Geſta, &c.[4] When he ſpeaks of the emperors of Rome paying reverence to a virgin, he ſays he found this cuſtom mentioned, "Of Rome among the *Geſtes* olde."[5] Yet he adds, that the Geſts took it from Valerius Maximus. The ſtory of Tarquin and his ſon Arrous is uſhered in with this line, "So as theſe olde Geſtes ſeyne."[6] The tale of Antiochus, as I have hinted, is in the *Geſta Romanorum*; although for ſome parts of it Gower was perhaps indebted to Geoffrey's *Pantheon* above mentioned. The foundation of Shakeſpeare's ſtory of the three caſkets in the *Merchant of Venice* is to be found in this favourite collection: this is likewiſe in our author (yet in a different form) who cites a *Cronike*[7] for his authority. I make no apology for giving the paſſage ſomewhat at large, as the ſource of this elegant little apologue, which ſeems to be of Eaſtern invention, has lately ſo much employed the ſearches of the commentators on Shakeſpeare, and that the circumſtances of the ſtory, as it is told by Gower, may be compared with thoſe with which it appears in other books.

The poet is ſpeaking of a king whoſe officers and courtiers complained that, after a long attendance, they had not received adequate rewards, and preferments due to their ſervices. The king, who was

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[1] [*Ibid.* iii. 17.] [2] Geneura, Arthur's queen. [3] [*Ibid.* iii. 359.]

[4] Lib. viii. f. 153, a, col. 1. And in other rubrics. In the rubric there is alſo *Geſta Alexandri*, lib. iii. f. 61, a, col. 1. And in the ſtory of Sardanapalus, "Theſe olde Geſtes tellen us," lib. iii. 167, a, col. 1. [But, as Ritſon pointed out, the term *Geſta*, here repeatedly uſed, may be applicable merely to the *hiſtories* or *chronicles* conſulted by Gower.]

[5] Lib. v. f. 118, a, col. 2. [6] Lib. vii. f. 169, a, col. 1.

[7] He refers to a *Cronike* for other ſtories, as the ſtory of Lucius king of Rome, and the king's fool. "In a Cronike it telleth us." Lib. vii. f. 165, a, col. 2. Of the tranſlation of the Roman empire to the Lombards. "This made an emperour anon, whoſe name, the Chronicle telleth, was Othes." Prol. fol. 5, b, col. 2. Of Conſtantine's leproſy. "For in Cronike thus I rede." Lib. iii. f. 46, b, col. 2. For which he alſo cites "the *bokes* of *Latine*," ib. f. 45, a, col. 1. In the ſtory of Caius Fabricius, "In a Cronique I fynde thus." Lib. vii. f. 157, a, col. 2. Of the ſoothſayer and the emperor of Rome. "As in Cronike it is witholde."—"Which the Chronike hath autorized." Lib. vii. f. 154, b, col. 1, f. 155, b, col. 2. Of the emperour's ſon who ſerves the Soldan of Perſia. "There was as the Cronique ſeith, an emperour," &c. Lib. ii. f. 41, b, col. 1. For the ſtory of Carmidotoirus conſul of Rome, he refers to theſe *olde bokes*. Lib. vii. f. 157, b, col. 2, &c.

no ſtranger to their complaints, artfully contrives a ſcheme to prove whether this defect proceeded from his own want of generoſity, or their want of diſcernment.

Anone he let two cofres make
Of one ſemblaunce and of o make
So lich, that no life thilke throwe
That one may fro that other knowe.
They were into his chambre brought,
But no man wot why they be wrought.
And netheles the king hath bede,
That they be ſet in prive ſtede,
As he that was of wiſdom ſligh.
Whan he therto his time ſigh
All privelich, that none it wiſt,
His owne hondes that o kiſt
Of fine golde and of fine perrie,
The which out of his treſorie
Was take, anone he filde full,
That other cofre of ſtrawe and mull
With ſtones meind he filde alſo.
Thus be they fulle bothe two.

The king aſſembles his courtiers, and ſhewing them the two cheſts, acquaints them, that one of theſe is filled with gold and jewels; that they ſhould chooſe which of the two they liked beſt, and that the contents ſhould inſtantly be diſtributed among them all. A knight by common conſent is appointed to chooſe for them, who fixes upon the cheſt filled with ſtraw and ſtones:

This king than in the ſame ſtede
Anone that other cofre undede,
Where as they ſighen great richeſſe
Wel more than they couthen geſſe.
Lo, ſaith the king, now may ye ſe,
That there is no defaulte in me,
Forthy[1] my ſelf I woll acquit
And bereth ye your owne wit
Of that fortune hath you refuſed.[2]

It muſt be confeſſed, that there is a much greater and a more beautiful variety of incidents in this ſtory, as it is related in the *Geſta Romanorum* which Shakeſpeare has followed, than in Gower: and were it not demonſtrable, that this compilation preceded our author's age by ſome centuries, one would be tempted to conclude, that Gower's ſtory was the original fable in its ſimple unimproved ſtate. Whatever was the caſe, it is almoſt certain that one ſtory produced the other.

In ſpeaking of our author's ſources, I muſt not omit a book tranſlated by the unfortunate Antony Widville, Earl Rivers, chiefly with a view of proving its early popularity. It is the *Dictes [or Sayengis] of [the] Philoſophres*, which Lord Rivers tranſlated from the French

[1] therefore.

[2] [Ed. 1857, ii. 206-7.] The ſtory which follows is ſomewhat ſimilar, in which the Emperor Frederick places before two beggars two paſties, one filled with capons, the other with florins. *Ibid.*

of William de Thignonville, provoſt of the city of Paris, [who died in 1414,] entitled *Les dictes moraux des philoſophes, les dictes des ſages et les ſecrets d'Ariſtote.*[1] The Engliſh tranſlation was printed [thrice] by Caxton, [with the date] 1477 [and again by W. de Worde in 1528]. Gower refers to this [book,] which firſt exiſted in Latin, more than once; and it is moſt probable, that he conſulted the Latin original.[2]

It is pleaſant to obſerve the ſtrange miſtakes which Gower, a man of great learning and the moſt general ſcholar of his age, has committed in this poem concerning books which he never ſaw, his violent anachroniſms, and miſrepreſentations of the moſt common facts and characters. He mentions the Greek poet Menander, as one of the firſt hiſtorians or "firſt enditours of the olde cronike," together with Eſdras, Solinus, Joſephus, Claudius Sulpicius, Termegis, Pandulfe, Frigidilles, Ephiloquorus, and Pandas. It is extraordinary that Moſes ſhould not be here mentioned, in preference to Eſdras. Solinus is ranked ſo high, becauſe he recorded nothing but wonders;[3] and Joſephus, on account of his ſubject, had long been placed almoſt on a level with the Bible. He is ſeated on the firſt pillar in Chaucer's *Houſe of Fame*. His *Jewiſh Hiſtory*, tranſlated into Latin by Rufinus in the fourth century, had given riſe to many old poems and romances:[4] and his *Maccabaics*, or Hiſtory of the ſeven Maccabees martyred with their father Eleazar under the perſecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, a ſeparate work tranſlated alſo by Rufinus, produced the *Judas Maccabee* of Belleperche in the year 1240, and at length enrolled the Maccabees among the moſt illuſtrious heroes of romance.[5] On this account too, perhaps, Eſdras is here ſo reſpectably remembered. I ſuppoſe Sulpicius is Sulpicius Severus, a petty annaliſt of the fifth century. Termegis is probably Triſmegiſtus, the myſtic philoſopher, certainly not an hiſtorian, at leaſt not an ancient one. Pandulf ſeems to be Pandulphus of Piſa, who wrote lives of the popes, and died in the year 1198.[6] Frigidilles is perhaps Fregedaire, a Burgundian, who flouriſhed about the

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[1] See *Mem. de Litt.* xvii. 745, 4to.

[2] Among theſe other "*tales wiſe of philoſophers* in this wiſe I rede," &c. lib. vii. f. 143, a, col. 1, f. 142, b, col. 2, &c. See Walpole's *Cat. Royal and Noble Authors*. There is another tranſlation done in 1450, dedicated to Sir John Faſtolfe, knight, by his ſon-in-law *Stevyn Scrope Squyer*. MSS. Harl. 2265. William de Thignonville is here ſaid to have tranſlated this book into French for the uſe of King Charles VI. [See Blades' *Caxton*, ii. 37.]

[3] Our author has a ſtory from Solinus concerning a monſtrous bird, lib. iii. f. 62, b, col. 2.

[4] There is *Joſephus de la Battaille Judaique* [tranſlated from Latin into French, and printed at Paris, 1492, folio.] All Joſephus's works were printed in the old Latin tranſlation, at Verona, 1480, folio. They were tranſlated into French, German, Spaniſh, and Italian, and printed, between the years 1492 and 1554. See [Brunet, laſt edit. in v.] A French tranſlation was made in 1460, or 1463. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris. 7015.

[5] In the Britiſh Muſeum there is "Maccabeorum et Joſephi Hiſtoriarum Epitome, metrice." 10 A viii. 5. MSS. Reg. See MSS. Harl. 5713.

[6] See the ſtory, in our author, of Pope Boniface ſupplanting Celeſtine. "In a Cronyke of tyme ago." Lib. ii. f. 42, a, col. 2.

year 641, and wrote a Chronicle from Adam to his own times; this has been often printed, and contains the beſt account of the Franks after Gregory of Tours.[1] Our author, who has partly ſuffered from ignorant tranſcribers and printers, by Ephiloquorus undoubtedly intended Eutropius. In the next paragraph, indeed, he mentions Herodotus: yet not as an early hiſtorian, but as the firſt writer of a ſyſtem of the metrical art, "of metre, of ryme, and of cadence."[2] We ſmile, when Hector in Shakeſpeare quotes Ariſtotle: but Gower gravely informs his reader, that Ulyſſes was a *clerke*, accompliſhed in a knowledge of all the ſciences, a great rhetorician and magician: that he learned rhetoric of Tully, magic of Zoroaſter, aſtronomy of Ptolemy, philoſophy of Plato, divination of the prophet Daniel, proverbial inſtruction of Solomon, botany of Macer, and medicine of Hippocrates.[3] In the ſeventh book Ariſtotle, or the *philoſopher*, is introduced reciting to his ſcholar Alexander the Great a diſputation between a Jew and a Pagan, who meet between Cairo and Babylon, concerning their reſpective religions: the end of the ſtory is to ſhew the cunning, cruelty, and ingratitude of the Jew, which are at laſt deſervedly puniſhed.[4] But I believe Gower's apology muſt be, that he took this narrative from ſome chriſtian legend, which was feigned (for a religious purpoſe) at the expenſe of all probability and propriety.

The only claſſic Roman writers which our author cites are Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Tully. Among the Italian poets, one is ſurpriſed he ſhould not quote Petrarch: he mentions Dante only, who in the rubric is called "a certain poet of Italy named Dante," *quidam poeta Italiæ qui Dante vocabatur*.[5] He appears to have been well acquainted with the Homilies of Gregory the Great,[6] which were tranſlated into Italian, and printed at Milan ſo early as 1479. I can hardly decipher, and muſt therefore be excuſed from tranſcribing, the names of all the renowned authors whom our author has quoted in alchemy, aſtrology, magic, palmiſtry, geomancy, and other branches of the occult philoſophy. Among the aſtrological writers, he mentions Noah, Abraham, and Moſes. But he is not ſure that Abraham was an author, having never ſeen any of that patriarch's works: and he prefers Triſmegiſtus to Moſes.[7] Cabaliſtical tracts were however extant, not only under the names of Abraham, Noah, and Moſes,

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[1] See Ruinart. *Diſſertat. de Fredegario ejuſque Operibus*, tom. ii. *Hiſt. Franc.* p. 443. There is alſo Fridegodus, a monk of Dover, who wrote [a metrical verſion (from *Eddius Stephanus*) of the life of Wilfrid in 656. Other works are improperly attributed to him. See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* 1843-6, A-S. Per. 433-4.] Alſo a Frigeridus, known only by a reference which Gregory of Tours makes to the *twelfth book of his Hiſtory*, concerning the times preceding Valentinian III., and the humiliation of Rome by Attila. Gregor. Turonens. *Hiſt. Francor.* lib. ii. cap. 8, 9. If this laſt be the writer in the text, a MS. of Frigeridus, now loſt, might have exiſted in Gower's age.

[2] Lib. vi. f. 76, b, col. 1.

[3] Lib. vi. f. 135, a, col. 1.

[4] Lib. vii. f. 156, b, col. ii.

[5] Prolog. f. 2, b, col. 1. Lib. v. f. 93, a, col. 1, 2, f. 94, a, col. 1.

[6] Lib. vii. f. 154, b, col. 1.

[7] Lib. vii. f. 134, b, col. 1, vii. f. 149, b, col. 1.

but of Adam, Abel, and Enoch.[1] He mentions with particular regard Ptolemy's *Almageſt*, the grand ſource of all the ſuperſtitious notions propagated by the Arabian philoſophers concerning the ſcience of divination by the ſtars.[2] Theſe infatuations ſeem to have completed their triumph over human credulity in the age of Gower, who probably was an ingenious adept in the falſe and frivolous ſpeculations of this admired ſpecies of ſtudy.

Gower, amidſt his graver literature, appears to have been a great reader of romances. The lover, in ſpeaking of the gratification which his paſſion receives from the ſenſe of hearing, ſays, that to hear his lady ſpeak is more delicious, than to feaſt on all the dainties that could be compounded by a cook of Lombardy. They are not ſo reſtorative

> As be the wordes of her mouth.[3]
> For as the windes of the ſouth
> Ben moſt of alle debonaire,
> So whan her liſt[4] to ſpeke faire,
> The vertue of her goodly ſpeche
> Is verrily min hertes leche.

Theſe are elegant verſes. To hear her ſing is paradiſe. Then he adds:

> Ful ofte time it falleth ſo,
> Min ere with a good pitaunce
> Is fed of reding of romaunce
> Of Ydoine and of Amadas,
> That whilom were in my cas,
> And eke of other many a ſcore,
> That loveden longe, er I was bore,
> For whan I of her loves rede,
> Min ere with the tale I fede
> And with the luſt of her hiſtoire.
> Somtime I drewe into memoire,
> How ſorwe may nought ever laſt,
> And ſo cometh hope in ate laſt.

The romance of *Idoyne and Amadas* is recited as a favourite hiſtory among others, in the prologue to a [copy of the] *Curſor mundi*. I have already obſerved our poet's references to *Sir Lancelot*.

Our author's account of the progreſs of the Latin language is extremely curious. He ſuppoſes that it was invented by the old Tuſcan propheteſs Carmens; that it was reduced to method, to compoſition, pronunciation, and proſody, by the grammarians Ariſtarchus, Donatus, and Didymus: adorned with the flowers of eloquence and rhetoric, by Tully: then enriched by tranſlations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek languages, more eſpecially by the verſion of the Hebrew bible into Latin by Saint Jerom in the fourth century: and that at length, after the labours of many celebrated writers, it received its

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[1] See *ſupra*. And Morhof. Polyhiſt. tom. ii. p. 455, *ſeq.* edit. 1747.

[2] Mabillon mentions, in a MS. of the *Almageſt* written before the year 1240, a drawing of Ptolemy, holding a mirror, not an optical tube, in his hand, and contemplating the ſtars. *Itin. Germanic.* p. 49.

[3] [Ed. 1857, iii. 30, 31.]

[4] ſhe chooſes.

final conſummation in Ovid, the poet of lovers. At the mention of Ovid's name, the poet, with the dexterity and addreſs of a true maſter of tranſition, ſeizes the critical moment of bringing back the dialogue to its proper argument.[1]

The *Confeſſio Amantis* was moſt probably written after Chaucer's *Troilus and Creſſida*. At the cloſe of the poem, we are preſented with an aſſemblage of the moſt illuſtrious lovers.[2] Together with the renowned heroes and heroines of love, mentioned either in romantic or claſſical hiſtory, we have David and Bathſheba, Samſon and Dalilah, and Solomon with all his concubines. Virgil, alſo, Socrates, Plato, and Ovid, are enumerated as lovers. Nor muſt we be ſurpriſed to find Ariſtotle honoured with a place in this gallant group: for whom, ſays the poet, the queen of Greece made ſuch a ſyllogiſm as deſtroyed all his logic. But, among the reſt, Troilus and Creſſida are introduced; ſeemingly with an intention of paying a compliment to Chaucer's poem on their ſtory, which had been ſubmitted to Gower's correction: although this famous pair had been alſo recently celebrated in Boccaccio's *Filoſtrato*. And in another place, ſpeaking of his abſolute devotion to his lady's will, he declares himſelf ready to acquieſce in her choice, whatſoever ſhe ſhall command: whether, if when tired of dancing and caroling, ſhe ſhould chooſe to play at [dice] or read *Troilus and Creſſida*. This is [probably] Chaucer's poem:

That whan her liſt on nightes wake[3]
In chambre as to carole and daunce,
Me thenketh I may me more avaunce,
If I may gone upon her honde,
Than if I wonne a kinges londe.
For whan I may her hond beclippe,
With ſuch gladneſſe I daunce and ſkippe,
Me thenketh I touche nought the floor.
The roo, which renneth on the moor,
Is thanne nought ſo light as I.
* * * * *
And whan it falleth other gate,
So that her like nought to daunce,
But on the dees to caſte chaunce
Or axe of love ſome demaunde
Or elles that her liſt commaunde
To rede and here of Troilus.

That this poem was written after [the] *Flower and Leaf*, [might be perhaps collected from the following paſſage, which appears to be an imitation of [that piece], and is no bad ſpecimen of Gower's moſt poetical manner, [if we were to forget that the *Flower and the Leaf* was in all probability not in exiſtence during Gower's life-time]. Roſiphele, a beautiful princeſs, but ſetting love at defiance, the daughter of Herupus, king of Armenia, is taught obedience to the laws of Cupid by ſeeing a viſion of ladies:

[1] Lib. iv. f. 77, b, col. 2.
[2] Lib. viii. f. 158, a, col. 2.
[3] Lib. iv. [edit. 1857, ii. 95.]

Whan come was the month of may,[1]
She wolde walke upon a day,
And that was er the ſonne ariſt,
Of women but a fewe it wiſt.
And forth ſhe wente prively
Unto the park was faſte by,
All ſofte walkend on the gras,
Till ſhe came there the launde was,
Through which ther ran a great rivere.
It thought her faire and ſaide: Here
I woll abide under the ſhawe,
And bad her women to withdrawe
And there ſhe ſtood alone ſtille
To thenke what was in her wille.
She ſigh the ſwote floures ſpringe,
She herde gladde foules ſinge,
She ſigh the beſtes in her kinde,
The buck, the doo, the hert, the hinde,
The male go with the femele.
And ſo began there a quarele
Betwene love and her owne herte,
Fro which ſhe couthe nought aſterte.
And as ſhe caſt her eye aboute,
She ſigh clad in one ſute a route
Of ladies, where they comen ride
A longe under the wodes ſide.
On faire amblende hors they ſet,
That were all white, faire and great,
And everychone ride on ſide.
The ſadels were of ſuche a pride
With perle and gold ſo well begone,
So riche ſigh ſhe never none,
In kirtles and in copes riche
They weren clothed alle aliche
Departed even of white and blewe
With alle luſtes, that ſhe knewe,
They were embrouded over all,
Her bodies weren lonye and ſmall.
The beaute fair upon her face
It may none erthly thing deface,
Corounes on her hede they bere
As eche of hem a quene were,
That all the golde of Creſus halle
The leſte coronall of alle
Ne might have bought after the worth.
Thus comen they ridende forth.
The kinges doughter, which this ſigh,
For pure abaſshe drewe her adrigh
And helde her cloſe under a bough.

At length ſhe ſees riding in the rear of this ſplendid troop, on a horſe lean, galled, and lame, a beautiful lady in a tattered garment, her ſaddle mean and much worn, but her bridle richly ſtudded with gold and jewels: and round her waiſt were more than a hundred halters. The princeſs aſks the meaning of this ſtrange proceſſion, and is anſwered by the lady on the lean horſe, that theſe are ſpectres

[1] [Ed. 1857, ii. 44-5.]

of ladies who, when living, were obedient and faithful votaries of love. "As to myſelf," ſhe adds, "I am now receiving my annual penance for being a rebel to love:"

For I whilom no love hadde,[1]
My hors is now feble and badde
And all to-tore is min array,
And every yere this freſshe may
Theſe luſty ladies ride aboute,
And I muſt nedes ſue[2] her route
In this maner, as ye now ſe
And truſſe her halters forth with me
And am but as her horſe knave.[3]

The princeſs then aſks her, why ſhe wore the rich bridle, ſo inconſiſtent with the reſt of her furniture, her dreſs, and horſe? The lady anſwers, that it was a badge and reward for having loved a knight faithfully for the laſt fortnight of her life:

Nowe have ye herd all min anſwere,[4]
To god, madame, I you betake,
And warneth alle for my ſake,
Of love that they be nought idel
And bid hem thenke upon my bridel.
And with that worde all ſodeinly
She paſſeth as it were a ſkie[5]
All clene out of this ladies ſight.

My readers will eaſily conjecture the change which this ſpectacle muſt naturally produce in the obdurate heart of the Princeſs of Armenia. There is [an indication] that the [writer of the] *Floure and Leafe* [ſtudied] the *Confeſſio Amantis*. In the eighth book, our author's lovers are crowned with the Flower and Leaf:

Min eye and as I caſte aboutes[6]
To know among hem who was who,
I ſigh where luſty youthe tho,
As he, which was a capitein
To-fore all other upon the plein,
Stood with his route well begon,
Her hedes kempt and therupon
Garlondes, nought o colour,
Some of the lefe, ſome of the floure,
And ſome of grete perles were.
The newe guiſe of Beawme[7] there.

I believe on the whole, that Chaucer had publiſhed moſt of his poems before this piece of Gower appeared. Gower, in a ſort of Epilogue to the *Confeſſio Amantis* [found only in certain MSS. of the work, and perhaps of doubtful authority,] is addreſſed by Venus, who commands him to greet Chaucer as her favourite poet and diſciple, as one who had employed his youth in compoſing ſongs and ditties to her honour. She adds at the cloſe:

Forthy now in his daies olde[8]
Thou ſhalt him telle this meſſage,

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[1] [Ed. 1857, ii. 48-9.]
[2] follow.
[3] their groom.
[4] [Ed. 1857, ii. 49.]
[5] a ſhadow; Σκια, umbra.
[6] [Ed. 1857, iii. 358.]
[7] Boeme, Bohemia.
[8] [Ed. 1857, iii. 374.]

That he upon his later age
To ſette an end of all his werke,
As he, which is min owne clerke,
Do make his teſtament of love,
As thou haſt do thy ſhrifte above,
So that my court it may recorde.

[But it is hardly to be ſuppoſed that here Gower intends the proſe work ſo called, erroneouſly aſcribed to Chaucer. He, it ſeems more likely, refers to ſome poetical labour, which he propoſed to Chaucer, and which was never produced.] Chaucer at this time was [about fifty-two] years of age. The Court of Love, one of the pedantries of French gallantry, occurs often [in Gower]. In an addreſs to Venus, "Madame, I am a man of thine, that in thy Court have long ſerved."[1] The [confeſſor] obſerves, that for want of patience, a man ought, "among the women alle in Loves Court, by jugement the name bere of pacient."[2] He declares, that many perſons are condemned for diſcloſing ſecrets, "In Loves Courte, as it is ſaide, that let her tunges gone unteide."[3] By Thy Shrift, the author means his own poem now before us, the Lover's Confeſſion.

There are alſo many manifeſt evidences which lead us to conclude, that this poem preceded Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, undoubtedly ſome of that poet's lateſt compoſitions, and probably not begun till after the year 1382. The *Man of Laws Tale* is circumſtantially borrowed from Gower's *Conſtantia:*[4] and Chaucer, in that Tale, apparently cenſures Gower for his manner of relating the ſtories of Canace and Apollonius in the third and eighth books of the *Confeſſio Amantis.*[5] The *Wife of Bath's Tale* is founded on Gower's Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the incantations of her ſtep-mother.[6] Chaucer, however, among other great improvements, has judiciouſly departed from the fable, in converting Sicily into the more popular court of King Arthur.

Perhaps, in eſtimating Gower's merit, I have puſhed the notion too far that, becauſe he ſhews ſo much learning, he had no great ſhare of natural abilities. But it ſhould be conſidered, that when books began to grow faſhionable, and the reputation of learning conferred the higheſt honour, poets became ambitious of being thought ſcholars, and ſacrificed their native powers of invention to the oſtentation of diſplaying an extenſive courſe of reading, and to the pride of profound erudition. On this account, the minſtrels of theſe times, who were totally uneducated, and poured forth ſpontaneous rhymes in obedience

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[1] Lib. i. [ed. 1857, i. 47.] [2] Lib. iii. [*ibid.* 303.]

[3] [Ibid. 307.] In the ſame ſtrain we have Cupid's parlement. Lib. viii. f. 187, b, col. 2.

[4] *Conf. Amant.* Lib. ii. f. 30, b, col. 2. See particularly, *ibid.* f. 35, b, col. 2, a, col. 1. And compare Ch. *Man of L. T.* v. 5505. "Some men wold ſayn, &c." That is, Gower.

[5] See Chaucer, *ibid.* v. 4500; and *Conf. Amant.* Lib. iii. f. 48, a, col. 1, *ſeq.* Lib. viii. f. 175, a, col. 2, *ſeq.*

[6] Lib. i. f. 15, b, col. 2.

to the workings of nature, often exhibit more genuine ſtrokes of paſſion and imagination, than the profeſſed poets. Chaucer is an exception to this obſervation: his original feelings were too ſtrong to be ſuppreſſed by books, and his learning was overbalanced by genius.

This affectation of appearing learned, which yet was natural at the revival of literature, in our old poets, even in thoſe who were altogether deſtitute of talents, has loſt to poſterity many a curious picture of manners and many a romantic image. Some of our ancient bards, however, aimed at no other merit than that of being able to verſify; and attempted nothing more than to clothe in rhyme thoſe ſentiments, which would have appeared with equal propriety in proſe.

In [the library at Trentham,] there is a thin oblong MS. on vellum, containing ſome of Gower's poems in Latin, French, and Engliſh. By an entry in the firſt leaf, in the hand-writing and under the ſignature of Thomas lord Fairfax, Cromwell's general, an antiquarian, and a lover and collector of curious manuſcripts,[1] it appears that this book was preſented by the poet Gower, about the year 1400, to Henry IV.; and that it was given by Lord Fairfax to his friend and kinſman Sir Thomas Gower knight and baronet, in the year 1656. By another entry, Lord Fairfax acknowledges to have received it, in the ſame year, as a preſent from that learned gentleman Charles Gedde Eſquire, of St. Andrews in Scotland: and at the end are five or ſix Latin anagrams on Gedde, written and ſigned by Lord Fairfax, with this title: "In nomen venerandi et annoſi Amici ſui Caroli Geddei." By King Henry IV. it ſeems to have been placed in the royal library: it appears at leaſt to have been in the hands of Henry VII. while Earl of Richmond, from the name Rychemond, inſerted in another of the blank leaves at the beginning, and explained by this note, "Liber Henrici Septimi tunc Comitis Richmond, propria manu ſcripſit." This MS. is neatly written, with miniated and illuminated initials: and contains the following pieces. I. A Panegyric in ſtanzas, with a Latin prologue or rubric in ſeven hexameters, on Henry IV.[2]—II. A ſhort Latin poem in elegiacs on the ſame

[1] He gave twenty-nine ancient MSS. to the Bodleian library, one of which [MSS. Fairf. No. 3] is a beautiful copy of Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis*. When the Record-tower in St. Mary's Abbey at York was accidentally blown up in the grand rebellion, he offered rewards to the ſoldiers who could bring him fragments of the ſcattered parchments. Luckily, however, the numerous original evidences lodged in this repoſitory had been juſt before tranſcribed by Roger Dodſworth; and the tranſcripts, which formed the ground-work of Dugdale's *Monaſticon*, conſiſting of forty-nine large folio volumes, were bequeathed by Fairfax to the ſame library. Fairfax alſo, when Oxford was garriſoned by the parliamentary forces, exerted his utmoſt diligence in preſerving the Bodleian library from pillage; ſo that it ſuffered much leſs than when that city was in the poſſeſſion of the royaliſts.

[2] This poem is printed in Urry's edit. of Chaucer, 1721, p. 540. [The title is, Carmen de pacis commendatione quod ad laudem et memoriam ſereniſſimi principis domini regis Henrici quarti ſuus humilis orator Johannes Gower compoſuit. Et nunc ſequitur Epiſtola in quâ idem Johannes pro ſtatu et ſalute dicti domini ſui altiſſimi devocius exorat.—*Todd.*]

ſubject, beginning, "Rex cœli deus et dominus qui tempora ſolus."[1] This is followed by ten other very ſhort pieces, both in French and [Latin] of the ſame tendency.—III. Cinkante Balades, or Fifty Sonnets in French. Part of the firſt is illegible. They are cloſed with the following epilogue and colophon:

O gentile Engletere a toi ieſcrits,
Pour remembrer ta ioie qeſt nouelle,
Qe te ſurvient du noble Roi Henris,
Par qui dieus ad redreſce ta querele,
A dieu purceo prient et cil et celle,
Qil de ſa grace au fort Roi corone,
Doignt peas, honour, ioie et proſperite.

"Expliciunt carmina Johis Gower que Gallice compoſita Balades dicuntur." IV. Two ſhort Latin poems in elegiacs. The firſt beginning, "Ecce patet tenſus ceci Cupidinis arcus." The ſecond, "O Natura viri potuit quam tollere nemo." V. A French poem, imperfect at the beginning, *On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage*, in one book. The ſubject is illuſtrated by examples. I tranſcribe one of the ſtories.

"Qualiter Jaſon uxorem ſuam Medeam relinquens, Creuſam Creontis regis filiam ſibi carnaliter copulavit. Unde ipſe cum duobus filiis ſuis poſtea infortunatus deceſſit."

Li prus Jaſon qeu liſle de Colchos
Le toiſon dor pour laide de Medee
Conquiſt dont il donour portoit grant loos
Par tout le monde encourt la renomee
La joeſne dame ove ſoi ad amenee
De ſon paijs en grece et leſpouſa
Freinte eſpouſaile dieus le vengera.
Quant Medea meulx quide eſtre en repos,
Ove ſon mari et qelle avoit porte
Deux fils de luy lors changea le purpos
El quelle Jaſon primer fuiſt oblige
Il ad del tout Medeam refuſe
Si priſt la file au roi Creon Creuſa
Freinte eſpouſaile dieus le vengera.
Medea qot le coer de dolour cloos
En ſon corous et ceo fuiſt grant pite
Sas joeſnes fils queux ot jadis en clos
Deinz ſes coſtees enſi com forſeuee
Devant ſes oels Jaſon ele ad tue
Ceo qeu fuiſt fait pecche le fortuna
Freinte eſpouſaile dieus le vengera.

Towards the end of the piece the poet introduces an apology for any inaccuracies which, as an Engliſhman, he may have committed in the French idiom:

Al Univerſite de tout le monde
JOHAN GOWER ceſte balade envoie;
Et ſi jeo nai de francois la faconde,
Pardonetz moi qe jeo de ceo forſvoie.
Jeo ſuis Englois: ſi quier par tiele voie

[1] [Another copy in MS. Cotton. Otho, D. i. 4.]

Eſtre excuſe mais quoiq; nulls endie
Lamour parfit en dieu ſe juſtifie.

It is finiſhed with a few Latin hexameters, viz. "Quis ſcit vel qualis ſacer ordo connubialis." This poem occurs at the end of two valuable folio MSS., illuminated and on vellum, of the *Confeſſio Amantis*, in the Bodleian Library.[1]

But the *Cinquante Balades* or fifty French Sonnets, above mentioned, are the curious and valuable part of [the Gower MS.] They do not appear in any other MS. of Gower which I have examined. But if they ſhould be diſcovered in any other, I will venture to pronounce that a more authentic, unembarraſſed, and practicable copy than this before us, will not be produced, although it is for the moſt part unpointed, and obſcured with abbreviations and with thoſe miſſpellings which flowed from a ſcribe unacquainted with the French language.

To ſay no more, however, of the value which theſe little pieces may derive from being ſo ſcarce and ſo little known, they have much real and intrinſic merit. They are tender, pathetic, and poetical, and place our old poet Gower in a more advantageous point of view than that in which he has hitherto been uſually ſeen. I know not if any even among the French poets themſelves, of this period, have left a ſet of more finiſhed ſonnets; for they were probably written when Gower was a young man, about the year 1350. Nor had yet any Engliſh poet treated the paſſion of love with equal delicacy of ſentiment and elegance of compoſition. I will tranſcribe four of theſe balades as correctly and intelligibly as I am able, although I muſt confeſs there are ſome lines which I do not exactly comprehend:[2]

BALADE XXXVI.

Pour comparer ce Jolif tems de Maij,
Jeole dirrai ſemblable a paradis;
Car lors chantont et Merle et Papegai,
Les champs ſont vert, les herbes ſont floris;
Lors eſt nature dame du païs:
Dont venus poignt l'amant aut tiel aſſai,
Qencontre amour neſt qui poet dire nai.
Quant tout ceo voi, et que jeo penſerai,
Coment nature ad tout le monde ſuſpris,
Dont pour le temps Se fait minote et gai,
Et jeo des autres ſui ſoulein horſpris,
Com til qui ſanz amie eſt vrais amis,

[1] MSS. Fairfax iii.; and NE. F. 8. 9.; alſo in the MS. at All Souls' College, Oxford, xxvi., deſcribed and cited above; and in MSS. Harl. 3869. In all theſe and, I believe, in many others, it is properly connected with the *Confeſſio Amantis* by the following rubric: "Puiſqu'il a dit cidevant en Englois, par voie deſſample, la ſotie de cellui qui par amours aimie par eſpecial, dirra ore apres en Francois a tout le mond en general un Traitee ſelonc les auctеurs, pour enſamplier les amants marietz," &c. It begins,

"Le creature du tout creature."

[2] [*Balades and other Poems*, by John Gower. Printed from the original MS. in the library of the Marquis of Stafford at Trentham; printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1818, 4to.]

Neſt pas mervaile lors ſi jeo meſmai,
Qencontre amour neſt qui poet dire nai.
En lieu de Roſe, urtie cuillerai,
Dont mes chapeals ferrai par tiel devis,
Qe tout joie et confort jeo lerrai,
Si celle ſoule eu qui jai mon coer mis,
Selonc le point qe jai ſovent requis,
Ne deigne alegger les griefs mals qe jai,
Qencontre amour neſt qui poet dire nai.
Pour pite querre et pourchacer mercis,
Vàt'en, balade, u jeo tenvoierai,
Qore en certein jeo lai treſbien apris
Qencontre amour neſt qui poet dire nai.

BALADE XXXIV.

Saint Valentin, lamour et la nature,
Des toutz oiſeals ad en governement,
Dont chaſcun deaux, ſemblable a ſa meſure,
Une compaigne honeſte a ſon talent
Eſliſt tout dun acord et dun aſſent,
Pour celle ſoule laiſt a covenir;
Toutes les autres car nature aprent
V li coers eſt le corps falt obeir.
Ma doulce dame, enſi jeo vous aſſure,
Qe jeo vous ai eſlieu ſemblablement,
Sur toutes autres eſtes deſſure
De mon amour ſi treſentierement,
Qe riens y falt pourquoi joiouſement,
De coer et corps jeo vous voldrai ſervir,
Car de reſon ceſt une experiment,
V li coers eſt le corps falt obeir.
Pour remembrer jadis celle aventure
De Alceone et Ceix enſement,
Com dieus muoit en oiſel lour figure,
Ma volente ſerroit tout tielement
Qe ſanz envie et danger de la gent,
Nous porroions enſemble por loiſir
Voler tout francs en noſtre eſbatement
V li coers eſt le corps falt obeir.
Ma belle oiſel, vers qui mon penſement
Seu vole ades ſanz null contretenir
Preu ceſt eſcript car jeo ſai voirement
V li coers eſt le corps falt obeir.

BALADE XLIII.

Plus tricherous qe Jaſon a Medee,
A Dejanire ou q' Ercules eſtoit,
Plus q' Eneas q' avoit Dido leſſee,
Plus qe Theſeus q' Adriagne[1] amoit,
Ou Demephon quant Phillis oublioit,
Je trieus, helas, qamer iadis ſoloie,
Dont chanterai deſore en mon endroit
Ceſt ma dolour qe fuiſt ancois ma joie.
Unqes Ector qama Pantaſilee,[2]
En tiele haſte a Troie ne ſarmoit,
Qe tu tout mid nes deinz le lit couche
Amis as toutes quelq: venir doit,
Ne poet chaloir mais qune femme y ſoit,
Si es comun plus qe la halte voie,
Helas, qe la fortune me deçoit,

[1] Ariadne. [2] Penthesilea.

Ceſt ma dolour qe fuiſt ançois ma joie.
De Lancelot [1] ſi fuiſſetz remembre,
Et de Triſtrans, com il ſe contenoit,
Generides,[2] Florent,[3] Partonope,[4]
Chaſcun de ceaux ſa loialte guardoit;
Mais tu helas qeſt jeo qe te forſvoit
De moi qa toi jamais mill jour falſoie,
Tu es a large et jeo ſui en deſtroit,
Ceſt ma dolour qe fuiſt ançois ma joie.
Des toutz les mals tu qes le plus maloit,
Ceſte compleignte a ton oraille envoie
Sante me laiſt, et langour me recoit,
Ceſt ma dolour qe fuiſt ançois ma joie.

BALADE [XXX].

Si com la Nief, quant le fort vent tempeſte,
Pur halte mier ſe torne çi et la,
Ma dame, enſi mon coer manit en tempeſte,
Quant le danger de vo parole orra,
Le Nief qe voſtre bouche ſoufflera,
Me fait ſigler ſur le peril de vie,
Queſt en danger falt quil merci ſupplie.
Rois Uluxes, ſicom nous diſt la geſte,
Vers ſon paiis de Troie qui ſigla,
Not tiel paour du peril et moleſte,
Quant les Sereines en la mier paſſa,
Et le danger de circes eſchapa,
Qe le paour neſt plus de ma partie,
Queſt en danger falt quil merci ſupplie.
Danger qui tolt damour toute la feſte,
Unques un mot de confort ne ſona,
Ainz plus cruel qe neſt la fiere beſte
Au point quant danger me reſpondera.
La chiere porte et quant le nai dirra,
Pluſqz la mort meſtone celle oie
Queſt en danger falt quil merci ſupplie.
Vers vous, ma bone dame, horſpris cella,
Qe danger manit en voſtre compainie,
Ceſte balade en mon meſſage irra
Queſt en danger falt quil merci ſupplie.[5]

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[1] Sir Lancelot's intrigue with Geneura, King Arthur's queen, and Sir Triſtram with Bel Iſoulde, incidents in Arthur's romance, are made the ſubject of one of the ſtories of the French poem juſt cited, *viz.*:

"Commes ſont la cronique et liſtoire
De Lancelot et Triſtrans enſement," &c.

[2] [The hero of a romance and a ballad-poem under the ſame name, of which there is an account in *Handbook of Early Engliſh Literature*, in voce.]

[3] Chaucer's *Wife of Bathes Tale* is founded on the ſtory of Florent, [as juſt ſtated]. His ſtory is alſo in our author's *Confeſſio Amantis*, lib. iii. fol. 48, a, col. 1, *ſeq.* lib. viii. fol. 175, a, col. 2, *ſeq.* and in the *Geſta Romanorum*. [There is a well-known] romance called *Le bone Florence de Rome*, which begins:

"As ferre as men ride or gon."

[And which has been printed by Ritſon in his *Romances*, 1802.] I know not if this be Shakeſpeare's Florentius, *Tam. Shr.* i. [2, Dyce's edit. 1868, iii. 122]:

"Be ſhe as foul as was Florentius' love."

[4] [*Parthenope de Blois*, of which the old Engliſh verſion has been printed from an unique but imperfect MS. by Mr. Buckley, 1862, 4to.]

[5] For the uſe, and indeed the knowledge, of this MS. I am obliged to the unſolicited kindneſs of Lord Trentham; a favour which his lordſhip was pleaſed to confer with the moſt polite condeſcenſion. [The text has now been collated with that of 1818, and many errors of tranſcription thus removed.]

SECTION XX.

ONE of the reaſons which rendered the claſſic authors of the lower empire more popular than thoſe of a purer age, was becauſe they were Chriſtians. Among theſe, no Roman writer appears to have been more ſtudied and eſteemed, from the beginning to the cloſe of the barbarous centuries, than Boethius. Yet it is certain, that his allegorical perſonifications and his viſionary philoſophy, founded on the abſtractions of the Platonic ſchool, greatly concurred to make him a favourite.[1] His *Conſolation of Philoſophy* was tranſlated into the Saxon tongue by King Alfred, the father of learning and civility in the midſt of a rude and intractable people, and illuſtrated with a commentary by Aſſer, biſhop of Saint David's, a prelate patronized by Alfred for his ſingular accompliſhments in literature, about the year 890. Biſhop Groſſeteſte is ſaid to have left annotations on this admired ſyſtem of morality. There is a very ancient MS. of it in the Laurentian library.[2] There are few of thoſe diſtinguiſhed eccleſiaſtics, whoſe erudition illuminated the thickeſt gloom of ignorance and ſuperſtition with uncommon luſtre, but who either have cited this performance, or honoured it with a panegyric.[3] It has had many imitators. Eccard, a learned French Benedictine, wrote in imitation of this Conſolation of Philoſophy a work in verſe and proſe containing five books, entitled the Conſolation of the Monks, about the year 1120.[4] John Gerſon alſo, a doctor and chancellor of the Univerſity of Paris, wrote the Conſolation of Theology in four books, about the year 1420.[5] It was the model of [the]

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[1] It is obſervable that this Spirit of Perſonification tinctures the writings of ſome of the Chriſtian fathers about, or rather before, this period. Moſt of the agents in the *Shepherd of Hermas* are ideal beings. An ancient lady converſes with Hermas, and tells him that ſhe is the Church of God. Afterwards ſeveral virgins appear and diſcourſe with him; and when he deſires to be informed who they are, he is told by the Shepherd-angel, that they are Faith, Abſtinence, Patience, Chaſtity, Concord, &c. Saint Cyprian relates, that the church appeared in a viſion, *in viſione per noctem*, to Colerinus; and commanded him to aſſume the office of Reader, which he in humility had declined. Cyprian. *Epiſt.* xxxix. edit. Oxon. The church appearing as a woman they perhaps had from the Scripture, *Rev.* xli. 1, *Eſdras*, &c.

[2] Mabillon, *Itin. Ital.* p. 221.

[3] He is much commended as a catholic and philoſopher by Hincmarus archbiſhop of Rheims, about the year 880. *De Prædeſtinat. contr. Godeſchalch.* tom. i. 211, ii. 62, edit. Sirmond. And by John of Saliſbury, for his eloquence and argument. *Policrat.* vii. 15. And by many other writers of the ſame claſs.

[4] See Trithem. cap. 387, de S. E. And *Illuſtr. Benedictin.* ii. 107.

[5] *Opp.* tom. i. p. 130, edit. Dupin. I think there is a French *Conſolatio Theologiæ* by one Ceriſier. [John de Tambaco wrote alſo a *Conſolation of Theology* in fifteen books, 1366. It was very early printed, without name, date, ſignatures, paging, or catch-word.—Herbert, MS. note.—*Park.*]

Teſtament of Love. It was tranſlated into French[1] and Engliſh before the [cloſe of the fourteenth century].[2] Dante was an attentive reader of Boethius. In the *Purgatorio*, Dante gives Theology the name of Beatrix his miſtreſs, the daughter of Fulco Portinari, who very gravely moralizes in that character. Being ambitious of following Virgil's ſteps in the deſcent of Eneas into hell, he introduces her, as a daughter of the empyreal heavens, bringing Virgil to guide him through that dark and dangerous region.[3] Leland, who lived when true literature began to be reſtored, ſays that the writings of Boethius ſtill continued to retain that high eſtimation which they had acquired in the moſt early periods. I had almoſt forgotten to obſerve, that the Conſolatio was tranſlated into Greek by Maximus Planudes, the moſt learned and ingenious of the Conſtantinopolitan monks.[4]

I can aſſign only one poet to the reign of Henry IV., and this a tranſlator of Boethius.[5] He is called Johannes Capellanus, or John the Chaplain, and he tranſlated into Engliſh verſe the treatiſe *De Conſolatione Philoſophiæ* in the year 1410.[6] His name is John Walton.[7] He was canon of Oſeney, and died ſubdean of York. It appears probable, that he was patronized by Thomas Chaundler, among other preferments dean of the king's chapel and of Hereford cathedral, chancellor of Wells, and ſucceſſively warden of Wykeham's two colleges at Wincheſter and Oxford. Chandler is cha-

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[1] See Haym. p. 199.

[2] Beſides John of Meun's French verſion of Boethius, printed [about 1485, and afterwards reprinted] with a tranſlation of Virgil, there is one by De Cis, or Thri, an old French poet. Matt. *Annal. Typogr.* i. p. 171. Franciſc. a Cruce, *Bibl. Gallic.* pp. 216, 247. [Brunet ſeems to indicate no fewer than three French metrical verſions]. It was printed in Dutch at Ghent, 1485, fol. In Spaniſh at [Sevile, 1499], fol. Polycarpus Leyſerus, in that very ſcarce book *De Poeſi Medii Ævi*, [printed Halæ, 1721, 8vo.] enumerates many curious old editions of Boethius, pp. 95, 105. [Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 10, 340, and 16, 165, and Harl. MS. 2421, are copies of the proſe tranſlation of Boethius, ſaid to be Chaucer's.—F. Printed by the Early Engliſh Text Society, ed. Morris, 1868, as above ſtated. As to Warton's bibliography of Boethius, the reader may compare the laſt edition of Brunet, i. 1035-8.]

[3] See *Purgat.* Cant. xxx.

[4] Montfauc. *Bibl. Coiſlin.* p. 140. Of a Hebrew verſion, ſee Wolf. *Bibl. Hebr.* i. pp. 229, 1092, 243, 354, 369.

[5] I am aware that Occleve's poem, called the *Letter of Cupid*, was written in this king's reign (1402). "In the year of grace joyfull and joconde, a thouſand fower hundred and ſeconde." Urry's Chaucer, p. 537, v. 475. But there are reaſons for making Occleve, as I have done, ſomething later. Nor is Gower's *Balade to Henry IV.* a ſufficient reaſon for placing him in that reign. Ibid. p. 540. The ſame may be ſaid of Chaucer.

[6] [Royal MS. 18. A. 13; Harl. MSS. 43-4; Rawlinſon MSS. 151 (imperfect at beginning); Sloane MSS. 554. See alſo Bracegirdle's tranſlation in hexameters and other metres, temp. Eliz. in Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 11,401.—F.]

[7] [A manuſcript of this work noticed by Mr. Todd (and now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Thomas Philipps, Bart.) has the following colophon: "Explicit liber Boecii de conſolacione philoſophie de latino in Anglicum tranſlatus anno dñi milleſimo ccccx°. per Capellanum Johannem Tebaud alias Watyrbeche." *Illuſtrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), Introd. p. xxxi.]

racterized by Wood as an able critic in polite literature, and by Leland as a rare example of a doctor in theology who graced ſcholaſtic diſputation with the flowers of a pure latinity.[1] In the Britiſh Muſeum there is a correct MS. on parchment of Walton's tranſlation of Boethius: and the margin is filled throughout with the Latin text, written by Chaundler above mentioned.[2] There is another leſs elegant MS. in the ſame collection. But at the end is this note: "Explicit liber Boecij de Conſolatione Philoſophie de Latino in Anglicum tranſlatus A.D. 1410, per Capellanum Joannem.[3] This is the beginning of the prologue: "In ſuffiſaunce of cunnyng and witte." And of the tranſlation, "Alas I wretch that whilom was in welth." I have ſeen a third copy in the library of Lincoln cathedral,[4] and a fourth in Baliol college.[5] This is the tranſlation of Boethius printed in the monaſtery of Taviſto[ck] in 1525, and in octave ſtanzas.[6] This tranſlation was made at the requeſt of Elizabeth Berkeley. I forbear to load theſe pages with ſpecimens not original, and which appear to have contributed no degree of improvement to our poetry or our phraſeology. Henry IV. died in 1399.

The coronation of Henry V. was celebrated in Weſtminſter Hall with a ſolemnity proportioned to the luſtre of thoſe great achievements which afterwards diſtinguiſhed the annals of that victorious monarch. By way of preſerving order, and to add to the ſplendour of the ſpectacle, many of the nobility were ranged along the ſides of the tables on large war-horſes at this ſtately feſtival which, ſays my chronicle, was a ſecond feaſt of Ahaſuerus.[7] But I mention this ceremony, to introduce a circumſtance very pertinent to our purpoſe; which is, that the number of harpers in the hall was innumerable,[8] and theſe undoubtedly accompanied their inſtruments with heroic rhymes. The king, however, was no great encourager of the popular minſtrelſy, which ſeems at this time to have flouriſhed in the higheſt degree of perfection. When he entered the city of London in triumph after the battle of Agincourt, the gates and ſtreets were hung with tapeſtry, repreſenting the hiſtories of ancient heroes; and children were placed in artificial turrets, ſinging verſes.[9] But Henry, diſguſted at theſe ſecular vanities, commanded by a formal edict, that for the future no ſongs ſhould be recited by the harpers, or others, in praiſe of the recent victory.[10] This prohibition

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[1] Wood, *Hiſt. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* ii. p. 134. Leland, *Script. Brit.* art. *Chaundlerus.*

[2] MSS. Harl. 43, 1. And MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 75.

[3] MSS. Harl. 44.

[4] MSS. i. 53.

[5] MSS. B. 5. He bequeathed his *Biblia* and other books to this library.

[6] There is an Engliſh tranſlation of Boethius by one George Colvil or Coldewell, bred at Oxford, with the Latin, "according to the boke of the tranſlatour, which was a very old printe." Dedicated to Queen Mary, and printed in 1556.

[7] Elmham, *Vit. et Geſt. Henr. V.* edit. Hearne, cap. xii. p. 23. Compare Lel. *Coll.* Append. iii. 226, edit. 1770.

[8] Elmham, *ubi ſupr.* p. 23.

[9] *Ibid.* cap. xxxi. p. 72.

[10] "Cantus de ſuo triumpho fieri, ſeu per Cithariſtas vel alios quoſcunque,

had no other effect than that of displaying Henry's humility, perhaps its principal and real design. Among many others, a minstrel-piece [attributed to John Lydgate],[1] soon appeared, evidently adapted to the harp, on the *Siege of Harflete and the Battle of Agincourt*. It was written about the year 1417. These are some of the most spirited lines:

Sent Jorge be fore our kyng they dyd se,[2]
They trompyd up full meryly,
The grete battell to gederes ȝed;[3]
Our archorys[4] theiy schot ful hartely,
They made the Frenche men faste to blede,
Her arrowys they went with full good spede.
Oure enemyes with them they gan down throwe
Thorow breste plats, habourgenys, and basnets.[5]
Eleven thousand was slayne on a rew.[6]
Denters of dethe men myȝt well deme,
So fercelly in ffelde theye gan fythe.[7]
The heve upon here helmyts schene[8]
With axes and with swerdys bryȝt.
When oure arowys were at a flyȝt,[9]
Amon the Frenche men was a wel sory schere.[10]
Ther was to bring of gold bokylyd[11] so bryȝt
That a man myȝt holde a strong armoure.
Owre gracyus kyng men myȝt knowe
That day foȝt with hys owene hond,
The erlys was dyscomwityd up on a rowe,[12]
That he had slayne understond.
He there schevyd[13] oure other lordys of thys lond,
Forsothe that was a ful fayre daye.
Therefore all England maye this syng
Laws[14] Deo we may well saye.
The Duke of Glocetor, that nys so nay,
That day full wordely he wroȝt,
On every side he made goode waye,
The Frenche men faste to grond they browȝt.
The erle of Hontynton sparyd noȝt,
The erle of Oxynforthe layd on all soo,
The young erle of Devynschyre he ne rouȝt,
The Frenche men fast to grunde gan goo.
Our Englismen thei were ffoul sekes do
And ferce to fyȝt as any lyone.
Basnets bryȝt they crasyd a to,
And bet the French banerys adoune;
As thonder-strokys ther was a scownde,
Of axys and sperys ther they gan glyd.
The lordys of Franyse lost her renowne

Cantari, penitus prohibebat." *Ibid.* p. 72. And *Hearnii Præfat.* p. xxix. *seq.* § viii. See also Holinsh. *Chron.* iii. p. 556, col. 1, 40.

[1] [See the Percy Folio MS. ii. 159-60.—F.]

[2] "The French saw the standard of Saint George before our king."

[3] This is Milton's "Together rush'd both battles main."

[4] archers. [5] breast-plates, habergeons and helmets.

[6] row. [7] fight. [8] "They struck upon their bright helmets."

[9] flying. [10] much distress. [11] buckled.

[12] I believe it is "The earls he had slain were all thrown together on a heap or in a row;" [discomfited?]

[13] shewed. [14] laus.

With greſoly wondys they gan abyde.
The Frenſche men, for all here pryde,
They fell downe all at a flyȝt:
Ie me rende they cryde, on every ſyde,
Our Englys men they underſtod noȝt ariȝt.
Their pollaxis owt of her hondys they twiȝt,
And layde ham along ſtryte upon the graſſe.
They ſparyd nother deuke, erlle, ne knyght.[1]

Theſe verſes are much leſs intelligible than ſome of Gower's and Chaucer's pieces, which were written fifty years before. In the mean time we muſt not miſtake provincial for national barbariſms. Every piece now written is by no means a proof of the actual ſtate of ſtyle. The improved dialect, which yet is the eſtimate of a language, was confined only to a few writers, who lived more in the world and in polite life, and it was long before a general change in the public phraſeology was effected. Nor muſt we expect among the minſtrels, who were equally careleſs and illiterate, thoſe refinements of diction which mark the compoſitions of men who profeſſedly ſtudied to embelliſh the Engliſh idiom.

Thomas Occleve is the firſt poet that occurs in the reign of Henry V. I place him about the year 1420. Occleve is a feeble writer, conſidered as a poet, and his chief merit ſeems to be that his writings contributed to propagate and eſtabliſh thoſe improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. He was educated in the municipal law,[2] as were both Chaucer and Gower; and it reflects no ſmall degree of honour on that very liberal profeſſion that its ſtudents were ſome of the firſt who attempted to poliſh and adorn the Engliſh tongue.

The titles of Occleve's pieces, [ſeveral] of which have been [now] printed, indicate a coldneſs of genius, and on the whole promiſe no gratification to thoſe who ſeek for invention and fancy. Such as, *The tale of Jonathas and of a wicked woman.*[3] *Fable of a certain em-*

[1] Printed [from MSS. Cotton. *Vitell.* D. xii. 11, fol. 214,] by Hearne, Elmham, ut ſupr. Append. p. 359, Num. vi. See p. 371, *ſeq.* [Of another performance of the ſame kind, copies are at Holkham, in Harl. MSS. 753 and 2256 (the laſt partly printed in *Archæologia*, xxii. 350-78), MS. Bodley, 124 (imperf. and printed *ibid.* xxi. 43-78), and in one of the Egerton MSS. The latter, which is of later date, was purchaſed for the Britiſh Muſeum at Lord Charlemont's ſale in 1865. But almoſt all the MSS. differ from each other; ſee Sir F. Madden's remarks, *Arch.* xxii. 350 *et ſeq.* See *Rem. of the Early Pop. Poetry of England*, ii. 82. Another and leſs intereſting narrative of the ſame event is inſerted in the collection juſt quoted from an old printed copy in the Bodleian among Selden's books. The latter ſeems to be a ſort of popular abridgment or *rifacciento.*] See *Obſervat. on Spens.* ii. 41. Dr. Percy has printed an ancient ballad on this ſubject. *Reliques*, vol. ii. p. 24, edit. 1767. See Hearne's *Præfat.* ut ſupr. p. xxx.

[2] He ſtudied in Cheſtres-inn, where Somerſet-houſe now ſtands. See Buck, *De tertia Angliæ Accademia*, cap. xxv.

[3] *Ubi infr.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. From the *Geſta Romanorum.* [A modernized verſion is in the *Shepheards Pipe*, 1614, by W. Browne, who tells us that he had *all* the writer's pieces by him. See Browne's *Works*, edit. Hazlitt, i. Introd. and Ritſon's *Bibl. Poetica*, v. Hoccleve, for a more ample liſt of his works, and compare James's *Iter Lancaſtrenſe*, ed. Corſer, lix. Sixteen of Hoccleve's poems were printed in 1796 by Mr. George Maſon from a MS. which he had bought at Dr.

pereſs.[1] *A prologue of the nine leſſons that is read over Allhalow-day.*[2] *The moſt profitable and holſomeſt craft that is to cunne,*[3] *to lerne to dye.*[4] *Conſolation offered by an old man.*[5] *Pentaſticcon to the king. Mercy as defined by Saint Auſtin. Dialogue to a friend.*[6] *Dialogue between Occleef and a beggar.*[7] *The letter of Cupid.*[8] *Verſes to an empty purſe.*[9] But Occleve's moſt conſiderable poem is a piece called a tranſlation of Egidius *De Regimine Principum*,[10] [addreſſed to Prince Henry, ſon of Henry IV., and conſequently written before 1413.]

This is a ſort of paraphraſe of the firſt part of Ariſtotle's epiſtle to Alexander above mentioned, entitled *Secretum Secretorum*, by the ſaid Egidius, and of Jacobus de Caſſolis, whom he calls Jacob de Caſſolis. Egidius, a native of Rome, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, eminent among the ſchoolmen by the name of Doctor Fundatiſſimus, and an archbiſhop, flouriſhed about the year 1280. He wrote this Latin tract in three books (*De Regimine Principum*, or the *Art of*

Aſkew's ſale, and which was afterwards in the Heber collection. At Heber's ſale it was bought for Sir Thomas Philipps.]

[1] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Seld. *ſupr.* 53, Digb. 185, Laud. K. 78, MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 2. This ſtory ſeems to be alſo taken from the *Geſta Romanorum*. Pr. "In the Roman actys writyn."

[2] *Ubi ſupr.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. [3] know.

[4] MSS. Bodl. *ut ſupr.* and MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 3, 4, the beſt manuſcript of Occleve.

[5] MSS. Digb. 185. More [Cant.] 427, [and ſee Horne's Catal. MSS. Queen's Coll. Camb. ii. 1000, *ut infra*.]

[6] MSS. Seld. *ut ſupr.* [7] MSS. Harl. 4826, 6.

[8] MSS. Digb. 181, MSS. Arch. Bodl., Seld. B. 24. It is printed in Chaucer's Works, Urr. p. 534. Bale [MS. Glynne] mentions one or two more pieces, particularly *De Theſeo Athenienſi*, lib. i. Pr. "Tum eſſet, ut veteres hiſtoriæ tradunt." This is the beginning of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, and there are other pieces in the libraries.

[9] This, and the *Pentaſtichon ad Regem*, are in MSS. Fairf. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. and in the editions of Chaucer. But the former appears to be Chaucer's, from the twenty additional ſtanzas not printed in Urry's *Chaucer*, page 549. MSS. Harl. 2251. 133, fol. 298.

[10] [Pinkerton (*Anc. Scotiſh Poems*, ii. 472-3) notices a quite different verſion in Maitland's folio MS. in the Pepys Library, beginning at p. 96, "Richt as all ſtringis ar cupillit in ane harpe," and being in 2 Parts. Part 2 beginning, p. 101, "Juſtice will have ane general preſedent," and ending p. 105.—F. From the *Boke of Curteſye* or *Lytyll John*, printed by Caxton, and attributed to Chaucer by Urry:

"Beholde Ocklyf in his tranſlacion,
In goodly langage and ſentence paſſyng wyſe:
How he gyueth his prynce ſuche exortacion
As to the hyeſt he coude beſt deuyſe:
Of trouthe, pees, mercy and Iuſtiſe,
And vertues leeting for no flouthe,
To do his deuoir and quite him of his trouthe."—*Park.*

De Regimine Principum has been edited for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. T. Wright, 1860. In the library of Queen's College, Cambridge, is an Engliſh poem by Occleve, entitled *Conſolatio ſibi Oblata*, MS. on vellum in folio, fourteenth century (Horne's Cat. ii. 1000). The *Boke of Curteſye*, above quoted by Park, has been printed by Mr. Furnivall from Caxton's edition (1477-8), with two other texts (Oriel MS. 79, and Baliol MS. 354), in the Early Engliſh Text Society's Extra Series, 1868.]

Government) for the uſe of Philip le Hardi, ſon of Louis, king of France, a work highly eſteemed in the middle ages, and tranſlated early into Hebrew, French,[1] and Italian. In thoſe days eccleſiaſtics and ſchoolmen preſumed to dictate to kings, and to give rules for adminiſtering ſtates, drawn from the narrow circle of ſpeculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloiſter. It was probably recommended to Occleve's notice by having been tranſlated into Engliſh by John Treviſa, a celebrated tranſlator about the year 1390.[2] The original was printed at Rome in 1482, and at Venice 1498, and, I think, again at the ſame place in 1598.[3] The [Spaniſh] tranſlation was printed at Seville, in folio, 1494, "Tranſladó de Latin en Romance Don Bernardo Obiſpo de Oſma; impreſſo por Meynardo Ungut Alemano et Staniſlao Polono companeros." The printed copies of the Latin are very rare, but the manuſcripts innumerable. A third part of the third book, which treats *De Re Militari Veterum*, was printed by Hahnius in 1722.[4] One of Egidius's books, a commentary on Ariſtotle *de Anima*, is dedicated to our Edward I.[5]

Jacobus de [Caſſolis,] or of Caſali in Italy, another of the writers copied in this performance by our poet Occleve, was a French Dominican friar about the year 1290, and wrote in four parts a Latin treatiſe on cheſs, or, as it is entitled in ſome manuſcripts, *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium ſuper Ludo Scaccorum.* In a parchment manuſcript of the Harleian Library, neatly illuminated, it is thus entitled, *Liber Moralis de Ludo Scaccorum, ad honorem et ſolacium Nobilium et maxime ludencium, per fratrem Jacobum de Caſſulis ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum.* At the concluſion, this work appears to be a tranſlation.[6] It was printed at Milan in 1479. I believe it was as great a favourite as Egidius on Government, for it was tranſlated into French by Jean Ferron [in 1347, and dedicated to Bertrand de Auberi, and alſo by] John Vignay, a monk Hoſpitaller of Saint [Jacques] du Haut-[pas],[7] under the patronage of [John, duke of Normandy (after-

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[1] Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. tom. iii. p. 1206. It was tranſlated into French by Henry de Gand, at the command of Philip, king of France. *Mem. de Lit.* tom. xvii. p. 733, 4to.

[2] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 233. *Princip.* "To his ſpecial, [&c.] politik ſentence that is." In this manuſcript there is an elegant picture of a monk or eccleſiaſtic, preſenting a book to a king.

[3] All in folio. Thoſe of 1482 and 1598 are in the Bodleian Library. In All-Souls College Library at Oxford there is a manuſcript, *Tabula in Ægidium de Regimine Principum*, by one Thomas Abyndon. MSS. G. i. 5.

[4] In the firſt tome of *Collectio Monumentorum veter. et recent. ineditorum.* E. Cod. MS. in Biblioth. Obrecktina. The curious reader may ſee a full account of Ægidius *de Regimine Principum* in Morlier, *Eſſais de Litterature*, tom. i. p. 198, *ſeq.*; and of the Venetian edition in 1498, in Theophilus Sincerus, *De Libris Rariorib.* tom. i. p. 82, *ſeq.*

[5] Cave, p. 755, edit. 1688.

[6] MSS. Harl. 1275, 1; [MSS. Magd. Coll. Oxf. (dated 1456, and tranſcribed by Symon Aylvard), MSS. No. 12.]

[7] Who alſo tranſlated the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, and the *Specu-*

wards King of France), before the year 1350,] with the title of *Le Jeu des Echecs moraliſe*, or *Le traite des Nobles et de Gens du Peuple ſelon le Jeu des Echecs*. This was afterwards tranſlated by Caxton, who did not know that the French was a tranſlation from the Latin, and who called his verſion the *Game of the Cheſs*. It was alſo tranſlated into German verſe by Conrad van Ammenhaſca[1] [in 1337, and at a later period into German proſe, the latter of which was printed in 1477.]

Occleve's poem was never printed [till lately.] This is a part of the [Addreſs to the King :][2]

Ariſtotle, moſt famous philoſofre,[3]
His epiſtles to Aliſaundre ſent;
Whos ſentence is wel bette than golde in cofre,
And more holſumer grounded in trewe entent.
For all that ever tho Epiſtles ment,
To ſette was this worthy conquerour,
In reule how to ſuſtene his honour,

The tendir love and the fervent chiertie,
That this worthy clerk ay to this kyng bere,
Truſtyng his welthe durable to be,
Unto his hert ſtak and ſatte ſo nere,
That by writyng his counſeille yave he clere
Unto his lorde to kepe hym fro myſchaunce,
As witneſſethe his booke of governaunce.[4]
Of whiche and of Gyes of Regement[5]
Of Prynces plotmele, thynke I to tranſlete, &c.
My dere maiſter, God his ſoule quyte,
And fader Chaucer fayne would me han taught,
But I was dulle, and lernede right naught.

Allas my worthy maiſter honorable,
This londes verray treſour and richeſſe,
Dethe by thy dethe hathe harme irreperable
Unto us none: hir vengeable dureſſe
Diſpoilede hathe this londe of the ſwetneſſe
Of rettoryk, for unto Tullius
Was never man ſo like amonge us.

Alſo who was heir in phyloſofye
To Ariſtotle in our tunge but thow?

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lum Hiſtoriale of Vincent of Beauvais. *Vie de Petr.* tom. iii. p. 548, and *Mem. Lit.* xvii. 742, 746, 747, edit. 4to.

[1] See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 471, ii. p. 818. Lambecc. tom. ii. *Bibl. Vindob.* p. 848.

[2] [The preſent text has received ſome emendations from Harl. MSS. 116 and 4866, and Royal MS. 17. D. vi.—*Price.* An imperfect MS. was ſold among the books of the Rev. Thomas Corſer, of Stand, in 1869. The text uſed by Mr. Wright was the Royal MS.]

[3] Gerard Langbaine, ſpeaking of the *De Regimine Principum*, by Occleve, ſays that it is "collected out of Ariſtotle, Alexander, and Ægidius on the ſame, and Jacobus de Caſſolis (a fryar preacher) his book of cheſs, viz. that part where he ſpeaks of the king's draught," &c. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Langb. Cod. xv. page 102. [In the ſame Langbaine MS. ſome lines occur, which form part of the Dialogue prefixed to Occleve's poem, as edited by Mr. Wright in 1860.]

[4] Ariſtotle's *Secretum Secretorum.*

[5] Ægidius *de Regimine Principum.*

The ſteppes of Virgile in poyſye
Thou folwedeſt eke: men wote well ynow
That combre-worlde[1] that the my maiſter ſlowe:[2]
Wolde I ſlayne were! dethe was to haſtyfe
To renne on the, and reve the thy lyfe:
* * * * *
She myght han taryede hir vengeaunce a while
Til that ſome man hade egal to theb be:
Nay, lete be that! ſhe knewe wel that this yle
May never man bryng forthe like to the,
And hir offis nedes do mote ſhe;
God bade hir do ſo, I truſte for the beſte,
O maiſter, maiſter, God thy ſoulè reſte!

In [the Proem, which is partly in the form of a dialogue], we have theſe pathetic lines, which ſeem to flow warm from the heart, to the memory of the immortal Chaucer, who I believe was rather Occleve's model than his maſter, or perhaps the patron and encourager of his ſtudies:

But weleaway, ſo is myne hert wo
That the honour of Engliſshe tonge is dede,
Of whiche I was wonte have counſeeille and rede!
O maiſter dere and fader reverent,
My maiſter Chaucer, floure of eloquence,
Mirrour of fructuous entendement,
O univerſal fader in ſcience,
Allas, that thou thyne excellent prudence
In thy bedde mortelle myghteſt not bequethe,
What eyled dethe? allas why wold he ſle the!
O dethe, that didſt noe harme ſingulere
In ſlaughtre of hym, but alle this londe it ſmerteth:
But natheles yit haſt thow no powere
His name to ſlee, his hye vertu aſtertethe
Unſlayne fro the, whiche ay us lyfly hertethe
Withe bookes of his ornat endityng,
That is to alle this londe enlumynyng.[3]

Occleve ſeems to have written ſome of theſe verſes immediately on Chaucer's death, and to have introduced them long afterwards into this Prologue.

It is in the royal manuſcript of this Poem in the Britiſh Muſeum

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[1] [*i.e.* death.] The expreſſion ſeems to be taken from Chaucer, where Troilus ſays of himſelf, "I *combre-world*, that maie of nothing ſerve." *Tr. and Creſs.* v. 279.

[2] ſlew.

[3] [Edit. 1860, p. 71.] MSS. Rawlins. 647. fol. This poem has at the end "Explicit Ægidius de Regimine Principum" in MSS. Laud. K. 78. Bibl. Bodl. See alſo *ibid.* MSS. Selden. ſupr. 53. Digb. 185. MSS. Aſhmol. 40. MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1. 17 D. xviii. MSS. Harl. 4826. 7. and 4866. In ſome of theſe [occurs a dialogue of ſome length between an old man and the author, in which many curious biographical particulars reſpecting the latter may be found, and which precedes the dedication in Mr. Wright's edition.] Occleve, in the [Addreſs or Dedication] cited in the text, mentions Jacobus de Caſſolis as one of his authors, which in the Muſeum MSS. precedes the tranſlation of Ægidius. [The work of Caſſolis, to which Occleve reſorted here, was the *Game of the Cheſs* moralized, which from a French tranſlation was rendered into Engliſh, and printed by Caxton twice.]

that Occleve has left a drawing of Chaucer:[1] according to which Chaucer's portraiture was made on his monument, in the chapel of Saint Blaſe in Weſtminſter Abbey, by the benefaction of Nicholas Brigham in the year 1556.[2] From this drawing, in 1598, John Speed procured the print of Chaucer prefixed to Speght's edition of his Works; which [was ſubſequently] copied in a moſt finiſhed engraving by Vertue.[3] Yet it muſt be remembered, that the ſame drawing occurs in an Harleian MS. written about Occleve's age,[4] and in another of the Cottonian department.[5] Occleve himſelf mentions this drawing in his *Conſolatio Servilis.* It exactly reſembles the curious picture on board of our venerable bard, preſerved in the Bodleian gallery at Oxford. I have a very old picture of Chaucer on board, much like Occleve's, formerly kept in Chaucer's houſe, a quadrangular ſtone-manſion at Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire, which commanded a proſpect of the ancient magnificent royal palace, and of many beautiful ſcenes in the adjacent park: and whoſe laſt remains, chiefly conſiſting of what was called Chaucer's bed-chamber, with an old carved oaken roof evidently original, were demoliſhed [in the laſt century only.] Among the ruins they found an ancient gold coin of the city of Florence.[6] Before the grand rebellion, there was in the windows of the church of Woodſtock an eſcutcheon in painted glaſs of the arms of Sir Payne Rouet, a knight of Henault, whoſe daughter Chaucer married.

Occleve, in this poem and in others, often celebrates Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter[7] who, at the dawn of ſcience was a ſingular promoter of literature, and (however unqualified for political intrigues) the common patron of the ſcholars of the times. A ſketch of his character in that view is therefore too cloſely connected with our ſubject to be cenſured as an unneceſſary digreſſion. About the year 1440, he gave to the univerſity of Oxford a library containing ſix hundred volumes, only one hundred and twenty of which were valued at more than one thouſand pounds. Theſe books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatiſes, in the univerſity-regiſter,[8] and ſaid to be *admirandi apparatus*.[9] They were the moſt ſplendid and coſtly copies that could be procured, finely written on vellum, and elegantly embelliſhed with miniatures and illuminations. Among the reſt was a tranſlation into French of Ovid's *Metamorphoſes*.[10]

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[1] MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1.

[2] He was of Caverſham in Oxfordſhire. Educated at Hart-Hall in Oxford, and ſtudied the law. He died at Weſtminſter, 1559.

[3] In Urry's edit. 1721, fol.

[4] MSS. Harl. 4866. The drawing is at fol. 91.

[5] MSS. Cotton. *Oth.* A. 18. [The Chaucer part is burnt.—*F.*]

[6] I think a Florein, anciently common in England. Chaucer, *Pardon. Tale*, v. 2290. "For that the Florains ben ſo faire and bright." Edward III., in 1344, altered it from a lower value to 6*s.* 8*d.* The particular piece I have mentioned ſeems about that value.

[7] As he does John of Gaunt.

[8] Reg. F. fol. 52, 53, b. *Epiſt.* 142.

[9] *Ibid.* fol. 57, b, 60, a, *Epiſt.* 148.

[10] Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58, edit. 1770.

Only [four ſpecimens] of theſe valuable volumes [have been] ſuffered to remain [and of them two are in the Britiſh Muſeum.] [One] is a beautiful MS. in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the moſt elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a deſign of being placed in this ſumptuous collection. All the reſt of the books which, like [theſe,] being highly ornamented, looked like miſſals, and conveyed ideas of popiſh ſuperſtition, were deſtroyed or removed by the pious viſitors of the univerſity in the reign of Edward VI., whoſe zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of claſſics, in this grand work of reformation, were condemned as antichriſtian.[1] In the library of Oriel college at Oxford, we find a MS. *Commentary on Geneſis*, written by John Capgrave,[2] a monk of Saint Auſtin's monaſtery at Canterbury, a

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[1] Some however had been before ſtolen or mutilated. Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58, edit. 1770.

[2] [By favour of Mr. Bliſs of the Bodleian Library I am enabled to add, that Capgrave appears from one of the Rawlinſon MSS. No. 118, to have been a conſiderable maker of verſe, and the tranſlator of a life of St. Catherine, written by Athanaſius in Greek, rendered from that language into Latin by a prieſt named Arreck, and finally into Engliſh verſe by Capgrave. Prefixed is an account of the work written by Sir Henry Spelman, in whoſe poſſeſſion probably the volume once was, and of whom it deſerves therefore to be remembered that he had ſtored up the production of a poet of the fourteenth century, at a time when the ſcattered remains of our poetical writers were more than commonly neglected. His deſcription of the nature of the poem and of its authors it may be deſirable to give: "A preiſte, which this author, Jo. Capgrave, nameth Arreck, having hearde much of St. Katherin, beſtowed eighteen years to ſearche out her life: and, for that purpoſe, ſpent twelve of them in Greece. At laſt, by direction of a viſion in the days of Peter K. of Cyprus and Pope Urban V., he digged up in Cyprus an old booke of that very matter, written by Athanaſius byſhop of Alexandria (but whether he that made the Creede or not the author doubteth) and hidden there 100 yeares before by Amylon Fitz Amarack. Then did this Arreck compile her ſtory into Latyn, ſaithe this author:

'For out of Greek he hath it firſt runge
This holy lyfe into the Latyn tounge.'

And then alſo did he make it into Engliſh verſe; but leaving it unperfected, and in obſcure rude Engliſh, Capgrave not only enlarged it, but refyned it to the phraſe of his tyme, as himſelfe teſtifyethe, ſpeaking of the preiſt to St. Katherin:

'He made thy life in Engliſh tounge full wel,
But yet he died or he had fully doo,
And that he made, it is ful harde therto
Right for ſtrangneſſe of his dark language.
He is now dead; thou haſt give him his way,
Now wil I, lady, more openly make thy life,
Out of his worke yf thou wilt helpe therto.'

This preiſte, as Capgrave alſo ſheweth, died at Lynn, many yeares before his tyme, where Capgrave was a regular: for he ſaithe in his Prologue:

'Yf ye wil wite what that I am,
My country is Norfolk, of the towne of Lynn.
Out of the world, to my profit I cam,
Unto the brotherhood which I am in.
God ſend me grace never to blynn

learned theologiſt of the fourteenth century [and the reputed author of John of Tynemouth's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, publiſhed in 1516.] It is the author's autograph, and the work is dedicated to Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter. In the ſuperb initial letter of the dedicatory epiſtle is a curious illumination of the author Capgrave, humbly preſenting his book to his patron the duke, who is ſeated and covered with a ſort of hat. At the end is this entry, [probably not] in the handwriting of Duke Humphrey. "*Ceſt livre eſt a moy Humfrey duc de Glouceſtre du don de frere Jehan Capgrave, quy le me fiſt preſenter a mon manoyr de Penſherſt le jour . . . de l'an.* MCCCXXXVIII."[1] This is one of the books which Humphrey gave to his new library at Oxford, deſtroyed or diſperſed by the active reformers of the young Edward.[2] John Whethamſtede, a learned abbot of Saint Alban's, and a lover of ſcholars, but accuſed by his monks of neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in ſtudious employments and in procuring tranſcripts of uſeful books,[3] notwithſtanding his unwearied aſſiduity in beautifying and enriching their monaſtery,[4] was in high favour with this munificent prince.[5] The duke was fond of viſiting this monaſtery, and employed Abbot Whethamſtede to collect valuable books for him.[6] Some of Whethamſtede's tracts, MSS. copies of

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To follow the ſteps of my faders before,
Which to the rule of Auſten were ſwore.'"

Theſe may afford ſufficient ſpecimens of the poet's ſtyle: of the ſubject choſen no notice can be required.—*Park.*]

[1] Cod. MSS. 32.

[2] He gave alſo Capgrave *ſuper Exodum et Regum libros.* Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 67, b.

[3] *Supra*, vol. i. See *Diſſertat.* i. We are told in this abbot's *Geſta*, that ſoon after his inſtalment he built a library for his abbey, a deſign which had long employed his contemplation. He covered it with lead, and expended on the bare walls, beſides deſks, glaſing, and embatteling, or to uſe the expreſſions of my chronologer, *deducta vitriacione, creſtacione, poſitione deſcorum*, upwards of one hundred and [forty] pounds. *Apud* Hearne's *Otterbourne*, vol. i. Præfat. Append. p. cxxiii. ed. 1732. He founded alſo a library for all the ſtudents of his monaſtery at Oxford. *Ibid.* p. cxiii. And to each of theſe ſtudents he allowed an annual penſion, at his own expence, of thirteen ſhillings and four-pence. *Ibid.* p. cxviii. See alſo p. cxxix. A grand tranſcript of the *Poſtilla* of Nicholas de Lyra on the Bible was begun during his abbacy, and at his command, with the moſt ſplendid ornaments and hand-writing. The monk who records this important anecdote, lived ſoon after him, and ſpeaks of this great undertaking, then unfiniſhed, as if it was ſome magnificent public edifice. "God grant," ſays he, "that this work in our days may receive a happy conſummation!" *Ibid.* p. cxvi.

[4] Among other things, he expended forty pounds in adorning the roof and walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel with pictures. *Geſt.* ut ſupr. p. cx. He gave to the choir of the church an organ, than which, ſays my chronicler, there was not one to be found in any monaſtery in England, more beautiful in appearance, more pleaſing for its harmony, or more curious in its conſtruction. It coſt upwards of fifty pounds. *Ibid.* p. cxxviii. His new buildings were innumerable: and the Maſter of the Works was of his inſtitution, with an ample ſalary. *Ibid.* p. cxiii.

[5] Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 437.

[6] Leland, *ibid.* 442, 432. See alſo Holinſh. *Chron.* f. 488, b. And f. 1234, 1235, 1080, 868, 662. Weever, *Fun. Mon.* pp. 562, 574. Whethamſtede erected in his life-time the beautiful tabernacle or ſhrine of ſtone, now remaining, over

which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the duke:[1] who preſented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whethamſtede's *Granarium*,[2] an immenſe work which Leland calls *ingens volumen*, to the new library.[3] The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamſtede.[4] Many other abbots paid their court to the duke by ſending him preſents of books, whoſe margins were adorned with the moſt exquiſite paintings.[5] Gilbert Kymer, phyſician to Henry VI. among other eccleſiaſtic promotions dean of Saliſbury and chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford,[6] inſcribed to Duke Humphrey his famous medical ſyſtem *Diaetarium de ſanitatis cuſtodia* in the year 1424.[7] I do not mean to anticipate when I remark, that Lydgate, a poet mentioned hereafter, tranſlated Boccaccio's book *De Caſibus virorum illuſtrium* at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and ſuperintendence, of Duke Humphrey, whoſe condeſcenſion in converſing with learned eccleſiaſtics and diligence in ſtudy the tranſlator diſplays at large, and in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of panegyric. He compares the duke to Julius Cæſar who, amidſt the weightieſt cares of ſtate, was not aſhamed to enter the rhetorical ſchool of Cicero at Rome.[8] Nor was his patronage confined only to Engliſh ſcholars. His favour was ſolicited by the moſt celebrated

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the tomb of Duke Humphrey in Saint Alban's abbey church. Hearne's *Otterb.* ut ſupr. p. cxxi. *ſeq.* See alſo *ibid.* pp. cxix. cxvi.

[1] See Whethamſtede, *De viris illuſtribus*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. *Tiber.* D. vi. i. *Oth.* B. iv. And Hearne, *Pref. Pet. Langtoft.* p. xix. *ſeq.*

[2] *Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon.* F. f. 68. [3] Leland, *ubi infr.*

[4] MSS. Bodl. NE. vii. ii.

[5] "Multos codices, *pulcherrime pictos*, ab abbatibus dono accepit." The Duke wrote in the frontiſpieces of his books, Moun bien mondain. Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58, *ut ſupr.*

[6] By the recommendatory letters of Duke Humphrey. *Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon.* F. fol. 75. *Epiſt.* 180.

[7] See Hearne's *Append. ad Libr. Nigr. Scaccar.* p. 550. And *Præfat.* p. 34.

[8] *Prol.* Sign. A. ii. A. iii. edit. Wayland, *ut ſupr.* He adds:

> "And hath joye with clarkes to commune,
> And no man is more expert in langage,
> Stable in ſtudy.—
> His courage never dothe appall
> To ſtudy in bokes of antiquitie.—
> He ſtudieth ever to have intelligence,
> Readyng of bokes.—
> And with ſupport of his magnificence,
> Under the wings of his protection.—
> I ſhall proceed in this tranſlation.—
> Lowly ſubmittyng, every houre and ſpace,
> My rude langage to my lordes grace."

See alſo fol. xxxviii. b, col. 2. Lydgate has an epitaph on the duke, MSS. Aſhmol. 59, 2; MSS. Harl. 2251, 6, fol. 7. There is a curious letter of Lydgate, in which he ſends for a ſupply of money to the duke, while he was tranſlating Boccaccio. "Littera dom. Joh. Lydgate miſſa ad ducem Gloceſtrie in *tempore tranſlationis Bochaſii*, pro *oportunitate pecunie*." MSS. *ibid.* 5, fol. 6. See alſo *ibid.* 131, fol. 279, b, of the duke's marriage.

writers of France and Italy, many of whom he bountifully rewarded.[1] Leonard Aretine, one of the firſt reſtorers of the Greek tongue in Italy which he learned of Emanuel Chryſoloras, and of polite literature in general, dictates to this univerſal patron his elegant Latin tranſlation of Ariſtotle's *Politics*. The copy preſented to the duke by the tranſlator, moſt elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[2] To the ſame noble encourager of learning Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and ſecretary to the duke of Milan, inſcribed by the advice of the archbiſhop of Milan a Latin verſion of Plato's *Republic*.[3] An illuminated MS. of this tranſlation is in the Britiſh Muſeum, with two epiſtles prefixed from the duke to Petrus Candidus.[4] Petrus de Monte, a learned Venetian, in the dedication of his treatiſe *De Virtutum et Vitiorum Differentia* to the duke of Glouceſter, mentions the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the ſingular avidity with which he purſued every ſpecies of literature.[5] A tract, entitled *Comparatio Studiorum et Rei Militaris*, written by Lapus de Caſtellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great tranſlator into Latin of the Greek claſſics, is alſo inſcribed to the duke at the deſire of Zeno archbiſhop of Bayeux. I muſt not forget, that our illuſtrious duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio of Friuli, whom he naturaliſed, and conſtituted his poet and orator.[6] Humphrey alſo retained learned foreigners in his ſervice, for the purpoſe of tranſcribing and tranſlating from Greek into Latin. One of theſe was Antonio de Beccaria, a Veroneſe, a tranſlator into Latin proſe of the Greek poem of Dionyſius Afer *De Situ Orbis*:[7] and him the duke employed to tranſlate into Latin ſix tracts of Athanaſius. This tranſlation, inſcribed to the duke, is now among the royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following inſertion: "Ceſt livre eſt a moi Homphrey Duc le Glouceſtre: le quel je fis tranſlater de Grec en Latin par un de mes ſecretaires Antoyne de Beccara, nè de Verone."[8]

An aſtronomical tract, entitled by Leland *Tabulæ Directionum*,

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[1] Leland, *Script.* p. 442.

[2] See MSS. Bodl. D. i. 8, 10. And Leland, *Script.* p. 443.

[3] Leland, *Script.* p. 422. And Mus. Aſhmol. 789, f. 54, 56, where alſo is a copy of the Duke's two Epiſtles to Petrus Candidus, [mentioned below.]

[4] P. Candidi Decembrii, Duci Mediolani a ſecretis, Tranſlatio Politiæ Platonis, ad Humfredum Glouceſtrie Ducem, &c. Cui præfiguntur duæ Epiſtolæ Ducis Gloceſtriæ ad P. Candidum. Moſt elegantly written, *ad fin.* "Ceſt livre eſt a moy Humfrey Duc de Gloceſtre du don P. Candidus ſecretaire du duc de Mylan." Catal. MSS. Angl. tom. ii. p. 212, Num. 6858. [See MSS. Harl. 1705, and Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* xx.]

[5] MSS. Nowic. More, 257, Bibl. Publ. Cantabrig.

[6] Author of the *Vita Henrici quinti* (printed by Hearne, Oxon. 1716) and of other pieces. See Holinſh. iii. 585.

[7] Printed at Venice 1477. *Ibid.* 1498. Paris, 1501. Baſil. 1534, 4to.

[8] MSS. Reg. 5 F. [iii. 4to.] In the ſame library is a fine folio MS. of "Chronique des Roys de France juſques a la mort de S. Loys, l'an 1270." At the end is written with the Duke of Glouceſter's hand, "Ceſt livre eſt a moy Homfrey duc de Glouceſtre du don des executeurs le Sr de Faunhore." 16 G. vi.

is falſely ſuppoſed to have been written by Duke Humphrey.[1] But it was compiled at the duke's inſtance, and according to tables which he himſelf had conſtructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illuſtriſſimi principis et nobiliſſimi domini mei Humfredi*, &c.[2] In the library of Greſham college, however, there is a ſcheme of calculations in aſtronomy, which bears his name.[3] Aſtronomy was then a favourite ſcience: nor is it to be doubted, that he was intimately acquainted with the politer branches of knowledge, which now began to acquire eſtimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to reſtore.

I cloſe this ſection with an apology for Chaucer, Gower and Occleve: who are ſuppoſed by the ſeverer etymologiſts to have corrupted the purity of the Engliſh language, by affecting to introduce ſo many foreign words and phraſes. But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we ſhall find theſe poets, as alſo ſome of their ſucceſſors, much leſs blameable in this reſpect than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward III. were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period, reſided in France, with their families, for many years. John, king of France, kept his court in England, to which excluſively of theſe French lords who were his fellow priſoners or neceſſary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom muſt have occaſionally reſorted. Edward the Black Prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and his brother the Duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro, king of Caſtile. All theſe circumſtances muſt have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable, to ſuppoſe that, inſtead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and faſhionable modes of ſpeech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of thoſe courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The cotemporaries of theſe poets never complained of their obſcurity. But whether defenſible on theſe principles or not, they much improved the vernacular ſtyle by the uſe of this exotic phraſeology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The Engliſh language owes its copiouſneſs, elegance and harmony to theſe innovations.

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[1] See Holinſh. *Chron.* ſub ann. 1461, f. 662, col. 2.
[2] MSS. More, 820. [3] MSS. Greſh. 66. See MSS. Aſhmol. 856.

SECTION XXI.

I CONSIDER Chaucer as a genial day in an Engliſh ſpring. A brilliant ſun enlivens the face of nature with an unuſual luſtre: the ſudden appearance of cloudleſs ſkies and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmoſphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the viſionary proſpect of a ſpeedy ſummer: and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal ſerenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors: the clouds condenſe more formidably than before; and thoſe tender buds and early bloſſoms, which were called forth by the tranſient gleam of a temporary ſunſhine, are nipped by froſts, and torn by tempeſts.

Moſt of the poets, who immediately ſucceeded Chaucer, ſeem rather relapſing into barbariſm than availing themſelves of thoſe ſtriking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had diſcloſed. They appear to have been inſenſible to his vigour of verſification and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet ſhould ſoon ariſe, equal to Chaucer: and it muſt be remembered that the national diſtractions, which enſued, had no ſmall ſhare in obſtructing the exerciſe of thoſe ſtudies which delight in peace and repoſe. His ſucceſſors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among theſe, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the ſhorteſt interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry VI., and he ſeems to have arrived at his higheſt point of eminence about the year 1430.[1] Many of his poems, however, appeared before. He was a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of his profeſſion. Yet his genius was ſo lively, and his accompliſhments ſo numerous, that I ſuſpect the holy father Saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine diſciple. After a ſhort education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy,[2] and returned a complete maſter of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly ſtudied the Italian and French poets, particu-

[1] In a copy of Lydgate's *Chronicle of Engliſh Kings*, there is a ſtanza of Edward IV. [added after Lydgate's death]. MSS. Harl. 2251, 3. In his poem *Ab inimicis noſtris*, &c. Edward IV. his *Quene* and *Modir* are remembered. MSS. Harl. *ibid.* 9, fol. 10. But Lydgate was ordained a ſubdeacon, 1389; deacon, 1393; and prieſt, 1397. *Regiſtr. Gul. Cratfield, abbatis de Bury*, MSS. Cott. *Tiber.* B. ix. fol. 1, 35, 52. Edward came to the crown, 1461. Pits ſays, that our author died, 1482, [but the event muſt be placed much earlier, though after 1461]. Lydgate, in his *Philomela*, mentions the death of Henry Lord Warwick, who died in 1446. MSS. Harl. *ibid.* 120, fol. 255.

[2] See one of his *Ditties*, MSS. Harl. 2255, 41, fol. 148:

"I have been offte in dyvers londys," &c.

larly Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier, and became ſo diſtinguiſhed a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a ſchool in his monaſtery for teaching the ſons of the nobility the arts of verſification and the elegancies of compoſition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the faſhionable philoſophy: he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, an aſtronomer, a theologiſt, and a diſputant. On the whole I am of opinion, that Lydgate made conſiderable additions to thoſe amplifications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way: and that he is the firſt of our writers whoſe ſtyle is clothed with that perſpicuity, in which the Engliſh phraſeology appears at this day to an Engliſh reader.

To enumerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet ſeems to have poſſeſſed a greater verſatility of talents. He moves with equal eaſe in every mode of compoſition. His hymns and his ballads have the ſame degree of merit; and whether his ſubject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of Saint Auſtin or Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a hiſtory or an allegory, he writes with facility. His tranſitions were rapid from works of the moſt ſerious and laborious kind to ſallies of levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muſe was of univerſal acceſs; and he was not only the poet of his monaſtery, but of the world in general. If a diſguiſing was intended by the company of goldſmiths, a maſk before his majeſty at Eltham, a may-game for the Sheriffs and Aldermen of London, a mumming before the Lord Mayor, a proceſſion of pageants from the creation for the feſtival of Corpus Chriſti, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was conſulted, and gave the poetry.[1]

About the year 1430, Whethamſtede, the learned and liberal Abbot of Saint Alban's, being deſirous of familiariſing the hiſtory of his patron ſaint to the monks of his convent, employed Lydgate, as it ſhould ſeem, then a monk of Bury, to tranſlate the Latin legend of his life in Engliſh rhymes. The chronicler, who records a part of this anecdote, ſeems to conſider Lydgate's tranſlation as a matter

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[1] See a variety of his pieces of this kind, MSS. Aſhmol. 59. ii. Stow ſays, that at the reception of Margaret, queen of Henry VI. ſeveral pageants, the verſes by Lydgate, were ſhown at Paul's gate, in 1445. *Hiſt.* p. 385. See alſo MSS. Harl. 2251. 118. fol. 250. b. See the prologue to Feyld's *Controverſye betwene a Lover and a Jaye*:—

> " *Chaucer*, floure of rethoryke eloquence,
> Compyled bookes pleaſaunt and mervayllous,
> After hym noble *Gower*, experte in ſcyence,
> Wrote moralytees harde and delycyous.
> But *Lydgates* workes are fruytefull and ſentencyous;
> Who of his bookes hathe redde the fyne
> He wyll hym cal a famous rethorycyne."—*Park.*

Mr. Ritſon, in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, has furniſhed a liſt of 251 pieces written by Lydgate. Many of them, however, are attributed to him upon authority of no very early date, and he is doubtleſſly made reſponſible for a large portion of the anonymous rhymes of his age.—*Price.*]

of mere manual mechaniſm; for he adds that Whethamſtede paid for the tranſlation, the writing, and illuminations, one hundred ſhillings. It was placed before the altar of the ſaint, which Whethamſtede afterwards adorned with much magnificence, in the abbey church.[1]

Our author's ſtanzas, called the *Dance of Death*, which he tranſlated from the French, at the requeſt of [a French *clerk* or ſcholar,] to be inſcribed under the repreſentation of death leading all ranks of men about the cloiſter of [St. Paul's] church [London], in a curious ſeries of paintings, are well known. But their hiſtory has not, I believe, yet appeared. Theſe verſes, founded on a ſort of ſpiritual maſquerade, anciently celebrated in churches,[2] were originally written by one Macaber in German rhymes, and were tranſlated into Latin about the year 14[9]0 by Pierre Deſrey. This Latin tranſlation was [re-]publiſhed by Goldaſtus.[3] But a French tranſlation was made much earlier than the Latin, and written about the walls of Saint Innocents' cloiſter at Paris; [and from this verſion] Lydgate formed his Engliſh one.[4]

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[1] *Geſt. Joh. Whethamſt.* ut ſupra, pp. cxvi. cxxvii. cxxiv. It is added, that Whethamſtede expended on the binding and other exterior ornaments of the MS. upwards of three pounds. Bale and Pits ſay, that Whethamſtede himſelf made the tranſlation, pp. 584. 630. It is in Trinity College at Oxford (MSS. 10) and in Lincoln Cathedral (MSS. I. 57). Among Lydgate's works is recited, *Vita S. Albani Martyris ad Joh. Frumentarium* [Whethamſtede] *abbatem.* [A complete liſt of his printed works, including one or two unſeen by Warton, will be found in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Lydgate.* A ſelection from his Minor Poems has been printed for the Percy Society.]

[2] See *ſupra*, Note. A *Dance of Death* ſeems to be alluded to ſo early as in *Pierce Plowman*, written about [1362]:—

> "Death came driving after and al to duſt paſhed
> Kyngs, and kaiſars, knights, and popes."

[3] At the end of the *Speculum omnium Statuum totius orbis terrarum* compiled by Rodericus [Sancius], and printed at Haynau in 1613.

[4] See the *Daunce of Macabre*, MSS. Harl. 116. 9. fol. 129. And *Obſervations on the Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. p. 116, *ſeq.* The *Dance of Death*, falſely ſuppoſed to have been invented by Holbein, is different from this, though founded on the ſame idea. It was painted by Holbein in the Auguſtine monaſtery at Baſil, 1543. But it appeared much earlier. In the chronicle of Hartmannus Schedelius [uſually called *The Nuremberg Chronicle*,] 1493; in the Quotidian Offices of the church, Paris, 1515, 8vo.; in public buildings at Minden, in Weſtphalia, ſo early as 1383; at Lubeck, in the portico of Saint Mary's church, 1463; at Dreſden, in the caſtle or palace, 1534; at Annaberg, 1525; at Leipſic, &c. Paul Chriſtian Hilſcher has written a very learned and entertaining German book on this ſubject, printed at Dreſden, 1705, 8vo. Engravings of Holbein's pictures at Baſle were publiſhed [by Merian] at Francfort 1649 and 1725. The German verſes there aſcribed appeared in Latin elegiacs, in Caſpar Laudiſman's *Decennalia humanæ Peregrinationis*, A.D. 1584. [See Douce's work on the *Dance of Death*, 1833, 8vo, and a good paper in the *Athenæum*, Sept. 22, 1849.—*Rye.* The edition of the *Alphabet de la Mort*, by M. Anatole de Montaiglon, 1856, may alſo be conſulted. The firſt edition of Holbein's *Dance of Death* appeared in 1538. But ſee a note in the laſt edition of Brunet, iii. 255.]

The moſt antient complete French copy of *La Danſe Macabre* was [probably that publiſhed at Paris between 1486 and 1490, twelve leaves folio, in two columns,

In the Britiſh Muſeum is a moſt ſplendid and elegant MS. on vellum, undoubtedly a preſent to Henry VI.[1] It contains a ſet of Lydgate's poems in honour of Saint Edmund, the patron of his monaſtery at Bury. Beſides the decoration of illuminated initials, and one hundred and twenty pictures of various ſizes, repreſenting the incidents related in the poetry, executed with the moſt delicate pencil, and exhibiting the habits, weapons, architecture, utenſils, and many other curious particulars belonging to the age of the ingenious illuminator, there are two exquiſite portraits of the king, one of William Curteis, Abbot of Bury, and one of the poet Lydgate kneeling at Saint Edmund's ſhrine.[2] In one of the king's pictures, he is repreſented on his throne, crowned, and receiving this volume from the abbot kneeling; in another he appears as a child proſtrate on a carpet at Saint Edmund's ſhrine, which is richly delineated, yet without any idea of perſpective or proportion. The figures of a great number of monks and attendants are introduced. Among the reſt, two noblemen, perhaps the king's uncles, with bonnets or caps of an uncommon ſhape. It appears that our pious monarch kept his Chriſtmas at this magnificent monaſtery, and that he remained here, in a ſtate of ſecluſion from the world and of an exemption from public cares, till the following Eaſter [1433], and that at his

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with woodcuts. There are many later impreſſions.] To this work Eraſmus alludes in the third book of his *Ratio Concionandi*, where he ſays, "Quin et vulgares rhetoriſtæ cenſuerunt hoc decus, qui interdum verſibus certo numero comprehenſis, pro clauſula, accinunt brevem et argutam ſententiam, velut in Rhythmis quos Gallus quiſpiam edidit in *Choream Mortis*." *Opp.* tom. v. p. 1007. Naude calls this allegory, "Chorea ab eximio Macabro edita." *Maſcur.* p. 224. The Latin edition of Pierre Deſrey was printed at [Paris] in 1490. The French have an old poem, partly on the ſame idea, *La Danſe des Aveugles*, under the conduct of Love, Fortune, and Death, written by Pierre Michault, [ſecretary to Charles, Duke of Burgundy]. See *Mem. Acad. Inſcript. et Bel. Let.* ii. 742. And Goujet, *Bibl. Fr.* ix. 358. [The earlieſt edition of the *Danſe Maccabre* mentioned in the laſt edition of Brunet is that of Paris, 1485, folio, but it is leſs complete than that deſcribed above.] In this edition the French rhymes are [erroneouſly] ſaid to be by Michel Marot, *Bell. Lettr.* tom. i. p. 512, num. 3109. He has catalogued all the antient editions of this piece in French, which are many. Pierre Deſrey, above mentioned wrote a French romance called *La Genealogie on Godfrey of Bouloign.* Paris, 1511. [Lydgate's poem is neither a literal nor complete tranſlation of the French verſion, and this he avows:—

> "Out of the French I drough it, of entant
> Not word by word, but folowyng in ſubſtaunce."

Again, the number of the characters in Lydgate is much leſs than that in the French, and he has not only omitted ſeveral, but ſupplied their places with others; ſo that if theſe lines were inſcribed under the painting at St. Paul's, it muſt have differed materially from that at St. Innocents', at Paris. All the ancient *Dances of Death*, though evidently deduced from one original, differed much in the number and deſigns of the characters; but they generally appear to have been accompanied with Macaber's verſes, or with imitations of them.—*Park.*]

[1] MSS. Harl. 2278.

[2] There is an ancient drawing, probably coeval, of Lydgate preſenting his poem called the *Pilgrim* to the Earl of Saliſbury, MSS. Harl. 4826. 1. It was written 1426. Another of theſe drawings will be mentioned below.

departure he was created a brother of the chapter.[1] It is highly probable, that this ſumptuous book, the poetry of which was undertaken by Lydgate at the command of Abbot Curteis,[2] was previouſly prepared, and preſented to his majeſty during the royal viſit, or very ſoon afterwards. The ſubſtance of the whole work is the life or hiſtory of Saint Edmund,[3] whom the poet calls the "precious charboncle of martirs alle."[4] In ſome of the prefatory pictures, there is a deſcription and a delineation of two banners, pretended to belong

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[1] Fol. 6.

[2] Curteis was abbot of Bury between the years 1429 and 1445. It appears that Lydgate was alſo commanded, "Late charchyd in myn oold days," to make an Engliſh metrical tranſlation of *De Profundis*, &c. To be hung againſt the walls of the abbey church. MSS. Harl. 2255. 11. fol. 40. See the laſt ſtanza.

[3] *The Life and Acts of St. Edmond, King and Martyr*, by John Lydgate, a ſplendid MS. on vellum, illuminated throughout, and embelliſhed by fifty-two hiſtorical miniatures, was in the library of Topham Beauclerk, Eſq. It began thus:—

"The noble ſtory to putte in remembraunce
Off Seynt Edmond, mayd martre and kyng,
With his ſuppoort my ſtyle I wyl avaunce
Firſt to compyle afftre my konnyng:
His gloryous lyff, his birthe, and his 'gynnyng,
And by diſcent, how he that was ſoo good,
Was in Saxonye born, of the royal blood."

In the library of Mr. Dennis Daly, which was diſpoſed of at Dublin in 1792, a MS. of Lydgate contained the life of St. Edmund, and with it the other legend by him of St. Fremund, preſented to Edward IV. The latter began with theſe lines:—

"Off Burchardus folwe I ſhall the ſtyle,
That of Seynt Fremund was whileom ſecretarye,
Which of entent did his lyff compyle,
Was his regiſtreer, and alſo his notarye,
And in deſert was with him ſolytarye,
And with him ay preſent, remembryng every thing
Wroot lyff and myracles of this hooly kyng."

The metrical oriſons of the poet are thus offered up for his ſovereign:—

"Encreaſe our kyng in knyghtly hygh proweſſe,
With alle his lordys of the ſpiritualtie;
Pray God graunte conqueſtes and worthyneſſe,
Be rightfull rule, to all the temporalte;
And to Edward the Fourte, joye and felicyte!
Off his two reemys, fayth love and obeyſſance,
Longe to perſever in his victoryeſſe
As juſt enherytor of Yngelond and France."—*Park.*]

[4] The poet's *Prayer to Saint Edmund for his Aſſiſtance in compiling his Life*, fol. 9. The hiſtory begins thus, fol. 10, b:—

"In Saxonie whilom ther was a kyng
Callid Alkmond of excellent nobleſſe."

It ſeems to be taken from John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium*, who flouriſhed about the year 1360. At the end, connected with St. Edmund's legend, and a part of the work, is the life of Saint Fremund, fol. 69, b. But Lydgate has made many additions. It begins thus:—

"Who han remembre the myracles merueilous
Which Criſt Jheſu liſt for his ſeyntes ſhewe."

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 1. 2. fol. 1. 25. 43. b, [and preceding note.]

to Saint Edmund.[1] One of theſe is moſt brilliantly diſplayed, and charged with Adam and Eve, the ſerpent with a human ſhape to the middle, the tree of life, the holy lamb, and a variety of ſymbolical ornaments. This banner our bard feigns to have been borne by his ſaint, who was a king of the Eaſt Angles, againſt the Danes: and he propheſies that King Henry, with this enſign, would always return victorious.[2] The other banner, given alſo to Saint Edmund, appears to be painted with the arms of our poet's monaſtery, and its blazoning is thus deſcribed:

The' other ſtandard, Feld ſable, off colour ynde,[3]
In which of gold been notable crownys thre,
The firſt toknê: in cronycle men may fynde,
Grauntyd to hym for royal dignyte:
And the ſecond for his virgynyte:
For martyrdam the thridde, in his ſuffring.

To theſe annexyd feyth, hope, and charyte,
In toknè he was martyr, mayd, and kyng.
Theſe three crownys[4] kynge Edmund bar certeyn,
Whan he was ſent by grace of goddis hand,
At Geyneſburuhe for to ſleyn kyng Sweyn.

A ſort of office, or ſervice to Saint Edmund, conſiſting of an antiphone, verſicle, reſponſe, and collect is introduced with theſe verſes:

To all men preſent, or in abſence,
Whiche to ſeynt Edmund have devocion
With hool herte and dewe reverence,
Seyn[5] this antephnè and this oriſon;
Two hundred days is grauntid of pardoun,
Writ and regiſtred afforn his holy ſhryne,
Which for our feyth ſuffrede paſſioun,
Blyſſyd Edmund, kyng, martyr, and virgyne.

This is our poet's envoy:

Go littel book, be ferfull, quaak for drede,
For to appere in ſo hyȝe preſence.[6]

Lydgate's poem, called the *Life of our Lady*, printed by Caxton [without date, and again in 1531],[7] is opened with theſe harmonious and elegant lines, which do not ſeem to be deſtitute of that eloquence which the author wiſhes to ſhare with Tully, Petrarch, and Chaucer.[8] He compares the holy Virgin to a ſtar:

O thoughtfull hertè, plonged in diſtreſſe
With ſlombre of ſlouth, this long wynters night!
Out of the ſlepe of mortal hevineſſe
Awake anon, and loke upon the light
Of thilke ſterre, that with her bemys bright,
And with the ſhynynge of her ſtremes meryè,
Is wont to glad all our hemiſperie![9]

This ſterre in beautie paſſith Pleiades,
Bothe of ſhynynge, and eke of ſtremes clere,

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[1] Fol. 2. 4.
[2] Fol. 2.
[3] blue.
[4] See fol. 103, b, f. 104.
[5] [ſay.]
[6] Fol. 118, b.
[7] See MSS. Harl. 629. fol. membran.
[8] Cap. xxxiii. xxxiv.
[9] hemiſphere.

Bootes, and Arctur, and alſo Iades,
And Eſperus, whan that it doth appere:
For this is Spica, with her brightè ſpere,[1]
That towarde evyn, at midnyght, and at morowe,
Downe from hevyn adawith[2] al our ſorowe.—

And dryeth up the bytter terys wete
Of Aurora, after the morowe graye,
That ſhe in wepying dothe on floures flete,[3]
In luſty Aprill, and in freſshè Maye:
And cauſeth Phebus, the bryght ſomers daye,
Wyth his wayne gold-yborned,[4] bryght and fayre,
To' enchaſe the myſtès of our cloudy ayre.

Now fayrè ſterre, O ſterre of ſterrys all!
Whoſe lyght to ſe the angels do delyte,
So let the gold-dewe of thy grace yfall
Into my breſte, lyke ſcalys fayre and whyte,
Me to enſpire![5]

Lydgate's manner is naturally verboſe and diffuſe. This circumſtance contributed in no ſmall degree to give a clearneſs and a fluency to his phraſeology. For the ſame reaſon he is often tedious and languid. His chief excellence is in deſcription, eſpecially where the ſubject admits a flowery diction. He is ſeldom pathetic or animated.

In another part of this poem, where he collects arguments to convince unbelievers that Chriſt might be born of a pure virgin, he thus ſpeaks of God's omnipotence:

And he that made the high and cryſtal heven,
The firmament, and alſo every ſphere,
The golden ax-tre,[6] and the ſtarres ſeven,
Citherea ſo luſty for to' appere,
And redde Marſe,[7] with his ſterne here;
Myght he not eke onely for our ſake
Wythyn a mayde of man his kynde[8] take?

For he that doth the tender braunches ſprynge,
And the freſshe flouris in the gretè mede,
That were in wynter dede and eke droupynge,
Of bawmè all yvoyd and leſtyhede;
Myght he not make his grayne to growe and ſede,
Within her breſt, that was both mayd and wyfe,
Whereof is made the ſothfaſt[9] breade of lyfe?[10]

We are ſurpriſed to find verſes of ſo modern a caſt as the following at ſuch an early period; and we ſhould judge them to be a forgery, were not their genuineneſs authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton and a multitude of unqueſtionable MSS.

Like as the dewe diſcendeth on the roſe
With ſylver drops.[11]

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[1] ſphere. [2] [awakens.] [3] *float;* drop.
[4] Burniſhed with gold. So in Lydgate's *Legend on Dan Joos*, a monk, taken from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Hiſtoriale*, the name Maria is *ful fayre graven* on a red roſe, in lettris of bournid gold. MSS. Harl. 2251. 39. fol. 71. b.
[5] prologue. [6] of the ſun. [7] Mars. [8] nature.
[9] true. [10] Cap. xx. [11] Cap. xix.

Our Saviour's crucifixion is expreſſed by this remarkable metaphor:

> Whan he of purple did his baner ſprede
> On Calvarye abroad upon the rode,
> To ſave mankynde.[1]

Our author, in the courſe of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms that ſhe exceeded Heſter in meekneſs, and Judith in wiſdom; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido, Bathſheba, and Rachel.[2] It is amazing, that in an age of the moſt ſuperſtitious devotion ſo little diſcrimination ſhould have been made between ſacred and profane characters and incidents. But the common ſenſe of mankind had not yet attained a juſt eſtimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has verſified the rubrics of the miſſal, which he applies to the god Cupid, and declares with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of thoſe conſtant martyrs, who were not afraid to ſuffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity.[3] There are inſtances, in which religion was even made the inſtrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous deſpair, promiſes to found a multitude of annual maſſes, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the ſhrines of ſaints, for the important purpoſe of obtaining the affections of an obdurate miſtreſs.

[Lydgate's *Court of Sapience* was printed by Caxton about 1481. It is a poem of conſiderable length, and comprehends not only an allegorical fiction concerning the two courts of the caſtle of Sapience in which there is no imagination, but a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, aſtronomy, theology, and other topics of the faſhionable literature. The writer's deſign is to deſcribe the effects of wiſdom from the beginning of the world: and the work is a hiſtory of knowledge or learning. In a viſion, he meets the goddeſs Sapience in a delightful meadow; who conducts him to her caſtle or manſion, and there diſplays all her miraculous operations. [Lydgate] in the poem invokes the *gylted goddeſs* and *mooſt facundyous lady* Clio, apologiſes to thoſe *makers* who delight in *termes gay* for the inelegances of language which as a foreigner[4] he

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[1] Cap. ix.

[2] Cap. iv. In a *Life of the Virgin* in the Britiſh Muſeum, I find theſe eaſy lyrics introduced, MSS. Harl. 2382. 2. 3. fol. 75. fol. 86. b. Though I am not certain that they properly belong to this work:

> "A mery tale I telle yow may
> Of ſeynt Marie that ſwete may:
> Alle the tale of this leſſone
> Is of her Aſſumptione.—
> Mary moder, welle thee be!
> Mary mayden, thenk on me!
> Mayden and moder was never none,
> Togader, lady, ſave thee allone."

But theſe lines will be conſidered again.

[3] MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl.

[4] Caxton [who wrote the prologue] could only be deemed a *foreigner*, from having paſſed ſome time in foreign countries.—*Aſhby*. It ought to be obſerved,

could not avoid, and modeſtly declares that he neither means to rival nor envy Gower and Chaucer.

Lydgate alſo produced a poem called the *Temple of Glaſs*, which was likewiſe printed by Caxton about 1479.] On a compariſon,[1] it will be found to be a copy of the *Houſe of Fame* of Chaucer, in which that poet ſees in a viſion a temple of glaſs, on the walls of which were engraved ſtories from Virgil's Æneid and Ovid's Epiſtles. It alſo ſtrongly reſembles that part of Chaucer's *Aſſembly of Fowls*, in which there is the fiction of a temple of braſs, built on pillars of jaſper, whoſe walls are painted with the ſtories of unfortunate lovers. In [the] *Aſſembly of Ladies*, in a chamber made of beryl and cryſtal, belonging to the ſumptuous caſtle of Pleaſant Regard, the walls are decorated with hiſtorical ſculptures of the ſame kind. The ſituation of [Lydgate's] Temple on a craggy rock of ice, is evidently taken from that of Chaucer's *Houſe of Fame*. In [the poem called] *Chaucer's Dream*, the poet is tranſported into an iſland, where "wall and yate was all of glaſſe." Theſe ſtructures of glaſs have their origin in the chemiſtry of the dark ages. This is [Lydgate's] exordium:

> Me dyd oppreſſe a ſodayne, dedely ſlepe:
> Within the whiche methought that I was
> Ravyſhed in ſpyrite into a Temple of Glas,
> I ne wyſt howe ful ferre in wylderneſſe,
> That founded was, all by lyckelyneſſe,
> Nat upon ſtele, but on a craggy roche

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that Mr. Blades (*Life and Typogr. of Caxton*, ii. 115) conſiders the authorſhip of Lydgate by no means eſtabliſhed, and certainly there is a good deal to be ſaid in favour of Mr. Blades's view. We muſt recollect, however, that the highly reſpectable authority of Stow is on the other ſide, and ſupports the monk of Bury's claim. Of direct evidence there is not a tittle.

[1] In the [Bodleian] library are two MSS. of this poem. MSS. Fairfax. xvi. without a name. And MSS. Bodl. 638. In the firſt leaf of the Fairfax MS. is this entry: "I bought this at Glouceſter, 8 Sept. 1650, intending to exchange it for a better boke. Fairfax." And at the end, in the ſame hand. "Here lacketh ſeven leaves that are in Joſeph Holland's boke." This MS., however, contains as much as Berthelet's edition. In the Bodleian MS. (Bodl. 638), this poem, with manifeſt impropriety, is entitled the *Temple of Bras*. It there appears in the midſt of many of Chaucer's poems. But at the end are two poems, *The Chaunſe of the Dyſe*, by Lydgate, and *Ragmanys Roll*. [The latter is printed in *Remains of the E. P. Poetry of England*, i. 68, *et ſeq.*] And, I believe, one or two more of Lydgate's poems are intermixed. It is a miſcellany of old Engliſh poetry, chiefly by Chaucer: but none of the pieces is reſpectively diſtinguiſhed with the author's name. This MS. is partly on paper and partly on vellum, and ſeems to have been written not long after the year 1500. [In an imperfect copy from the preſs of Caxton of Chaucer's *Aſſembly of Fowls* the piece is called *The Temple of Braſs*. See Blades, ii. 61-3.]

[The following argument, ſays Mr. George Maſon, ſince occurring, may ſtrengthen the ſtrong claim of Lydgate to be regarded as the author. In one of the Paſton letters, publiſhed by Sir John Fenn, vol. ii. p. 90, and dated 1471, the *Temple of Glaſs* is mentioned as if it had then been written ſome years. This circumſtance muſt ill accord with its being attributed to Hawes; beſides that the language is older in many particulars than that which Hawes uſed.—MS. note in W. de Worde's edit. of the book which does not give the poem to Hawes, as Mr. Warton had been led to believe, from the miſrepreſentation of Ames.—*Park.*]

Lyke yſe yfroze : and as I dyd approche,
Againe the ſonne that ſhone, methought, ſo clere
As any cryſtall ; and ever, nere and nere,
As I gan nyghe this griſely dredefull place,
I wext aſtonyed, the lyght ſo in my face
Began to ſmyte, ſo perſyng ever in one,
On every parte where that I dyde gon,
That I ne mighte nothing as I wolde
Aboute me conſydre, and beholde,
The wondre eſters,[1] for brightneſſe of the ſonne :
Tyll at the laſte, certayne ſkyes donne,[2]
With wynde[3] ychaſed, han their courſe ywent,
Before the ſtremes of Titan and iblent,[4]
So that I myght within and without,
Where ſo I wolde, behelden me about,
For to report the facyon and manere
Of all this placè, that was circuler,
In cumpace-wyſe rounde by yntale ywrought :
And whan I had longe goòn, and well ſought,
I founde a wicket, and entred yn as faſte
Into the temple, and myne eyen caſte
On every ſide, &c.[5]

The walls of this wonderful temple were richly pictured with the following hiſtorical portraitures from Virgil, Ovid, King Arthur's romance, and Chaucer :

I ſawe depeynted upon a wall[6]
From eſt to weſt ful many a fayre ymage,
Of ſondry lovers, lyke as they were of age
I ſet in ordre after they were true ;
With lyfely colours, wonders freſshe of hewe,
And as methought I ſaw ſom ſyt and ſom ſtande,
And ſome knelyng, with bylles[7] in theyr hande,
And ſome with complaynt woful and pitious,
With dolefull chere, to put to Venus,
So as ſhe ſate fletynge in the ſee,
Upon theyr wo for to have pite.
And fyrſt of all I ſawe there of Cartage
Dido the quene, ſo goodly of viſage,
That gan complayne her auenture and caas,
Howe ſhe diſceyued was of Aeneas,
For all his heſtes and his othes ſworne,
And ſayd helas that ſhe was borne,
Whan ſhe ſawe that dede ſhe muſt be.
And next her I ſawe the complaynt of Medee,
Howe that ſhe was falſed of Jaſon.
And nygh by Venus ſawe I ſyt Addon,
And all the maner howe the bore hym ſloughe,
For whom ſhe wepte and had pite inoughe.
There ſawe I alſo howe Penelope,
For ſhe ſo long ne myght her lorde ſe,
Was of colour both pale and grene.

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[1] The wonderful chambers of this temple. [2] dun, dark.
[3] i. e. collected. [4] blinded, darkened the ſun.
[5] This text is given from Berthelet's edition, collated with MSS. Fairfax, xvi.
[6] From Pr. Cop. and MSS. Fairf. xvi. as before.
[7] bills of complaint.

And alder next was the freſshe quene;
I mean Alceſte, the noble true wife,
And for Admete howe ſhe loſt her lyfe;
And for her trouthe, if I ſhall nat lye,
Howe ſhe was turned into a dayſye.
There was alſo Griſildis innocence,
And all hir mekeneſſe and hir pacience.
There was eke Yſaude, and many other mo,
And all the tourment and all the cruell wo
That ſhe had for Triſtram all her lyue;
And howe that Tyſbe her hert dyd ryue
With thylke ſwerde of ſyr Pyramus.
And all maner, howe that Theſeus
The minotaure ſlewe, amyd the hous
That was forwrynked by craft of Dedalus,
Whan that he was in priſon ſhyt in Crete, &c.
And uppermore men depeinten might ſee,
Howe with her ring goodlie Canace
Of every foule the leden[1] and the ſong
Could underſtand, as ſhe hem walkt among:
And how her brother ſo often holpen was
In his miſchefe by the ſtede of braſs.[2]

We muſt acknowledge that all the picturesque invention, which appears in this compoſition, entirely belongs to Chaucer. Yet there was ſome merit in daring to depart from the dull taſte of the times, and in chooſing Chaucer for a model, after his ſublime fancies had been ſo long forgotten, and had given place for almoſt a century, to legends, homilies, and chronicles in verſe. In the mean time, there is reaſon to believe, that Chaucer himſelf copied theſe imageries from the romance of *Guigemar*, one of the Lays of Marie de France:[3] in which the walls of a chamber are painted with Venus and the *Art of Love* from Ovid.[4] Perhaps Chaucer might not look further than the temples of Boccaccio's *Theſeid* for theſe ornaments. At the ſame time it is to be remembered, that the imagination of theſe old poets muſt have been aſſiſted in this reſpect, from the mode which anciently prevailed of entirely covering the walls of the more magnificent apartments in caſtles and palaces with ſtories from Scripture-hiſtory, the claſſics, and romance. I have already given inſtances of this practice, and I will here add more.[5] In 1277,

[1] language. [2] See Chaucer's *Squire's Tale.*

[3] Fol. 141, MSS. Harl. 978. See ſupr. *Diſſertat.* i. [It is evident, ſays Mr. Waldron, in a MS. note, from the concluſion of the paſſage above cited, that more of the *Squire's Tale* had been written than has been preſerved.—*Park.*]

[4] A paſſage in Ovid's *Remedium Amoris* concerning Achilles' ſpear is ſuppoſed to be alluded to by a troubadour, Bernard Ventadour, who lived about the year 1150. *Hiſt. Troubad.* p. 27. This Mons. Millot calls "Un trait d'erudition ſingulier dans un troubadour." It is not, however, impoſſible, that he might get this fiction from ſome of the early romances about Troy.

[5] See *ſupr.* To the paſſages adduced from Chaucer theſe may be added from the poem of *Chaucer's Dream*, ver. 1320:

"In a chamber *paint*
Full of *ſtories old* and *divers.*"

Again, *ibid.* ver. 2167:

Otho, duke of Milan, having reſtored the peace of that city by a ſignal victory, built a noble caſtle, in which he ordered every particular circumſtance of that victory to be painted. Paulus Jovius relates that theſe paintings remained, in the great vaulted chamber of the caſtle, freſh and unimpaired ſo late as the year 1547.[1] That the caſtles and palaces of England were thus ornamented at a very early period, and in the moſt ſplendid ſtyle, appears from the following notices. [Walter de] Langton, biſhop of Lichfield, commanded the coronation, marriages, wars, and funeral, of his patron Edward I. to be painted in the great hall of his epiſcopal palace, which he had newly built.[2] This muſt have been about the year 1312. The following anecdote relates to the old royal palace at Weſtminſter. In the year 1322, one Symeon, a friar minor and a doctor in theology, wrote an Itinerary in which is this curious paſſage. He is ſpeaking of Weſtminſter Abbey. "Near this monaſtery ſtands the moſt famous royal palace of England; in which is that celebrated chamber, on whoſe walls all the warlike hiſtories of the whole Bible are painted with inexpreſſible ſkill, and explained by a regular and complete ſeries of texts, beautifully written in French over each battle, to the no ſmall admiration of the beholder, and the increaſe of royal magnificence."[3] This

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"For there was no lady ne creture,
Save on the wals *old portraiture*
Of horſemen, hawkis, and houndes," &c.

Compare Dante's *Purgatorio*, c. x. p. 105, *ſeq.* edit. Ald.

[1] "Extantque adhuc in *maximo teſtudinatoque conclavi*, incorruptæ præliorum cum *veris ducum vultibus* imaginibus, *Latinis elegis* ſingula rerum elogia indicantibus." *Vit. Vicecomit. Mediolan.* p. 56, edit. 1549.

[2] Erdſwicke's *Staffordſhire*, p. 101, [and Le Neve's *Faſti Eccl. Anglic.* edit. Hardy, i. 549. Biſhop Langton ſucceeded in 1295-6, and died in 1321.]

[3] "Eidem monaſterio quaſi immediate conjungitur illud famoſiſſimum palatium regium Anglorum, in quo illa vulgata camera, in cujus *parietibus* ſunt omnes Hiſtoriæ bellicæ totius Bibliæ ineffabiliter *depictæ*, atque in Gallico completiſſime et perfectiſſime conſtanter conſcriptæ, in non modica intuentium admiratione, et maxima regali magnificentia." "*Itinerarium Symeonis et fratris Hugonis Illuminatoris ex Hibernia in terram ſanctam*, A.D. MCCCXXII." MSS. C. C. C. Cantabr. G. 6, Princip. "Culmine honoris ſpreto." It comprehends a journey through England, and deſcribes many curioſities now loſt. See *ſupr.*

The old palace at Weſtminſter was conſumed by fire in 1299, but immediately rebuilt, I ſuppoſe by Edward I. Stow's *London*, p. 379, 387, edit. 1599. So that theſe paintings muſt have been done between the years 1299 and 1322. It was again deſtroyed by fire in 1512, and never afterwards re-edified. Stow, *ibid.* p. 389. About the year 1500, the walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel, built by Prior Silkeſtede, in the cathedral of Wincheſter, were elegantly painted with the miracles and other ſtories of the New Teſtament in ſmall figures, many delicate traces of which now remain.

Falcandus, the old hiſtorian of Sicily, who wrote about the year 1200, ſays that the chapel in the royal palace at Palermo, had its walls decorated "de lapillulis quadris, partim aureis, partim diverſicoloribus veteris ac novi Teſtamenti depictam hiſtoriam continentibus." *Sicil. Hiſtor.* p. 10, edit. 1550. But this was moſaic work which, chiefly by means of the Cruſades, was communicated to all parts of Europe from the Byzantine Greeks; and with which all the churches and other public edifices at Conſtantinople were adorned. *Epiſt. de Comparat. Vet. et Nov.*

ornament of a royal palace, while it conveys a curious hiſtory of the arts, admirably exemplifies the chivalry and the devotion of the times united. That part of the Old Teſtament indeed, which records the Jewiſh wars, was almoſt regarded as a book of chivalry: and their chief heroes, Joſhua and David, the latter of whom killed a giant, are often recited among the champions of romance. In France, the battles of the kings of Iſrael with the Philiſtines and Aſſyrians were wrought into a grand volume, under the title of "*Pluſieurs Batailles des roys d'Iſrael en contre les Philiſtines et Aſſyriens.*"[1]

With regard to the form of [Lydgate's] poem, I am of opinion that Viſions, which are ſo common in the poetry of the middle ages, partly took their riſe from Tully's *Somnium Scipionis*. Had this compoſition deſcended to poſterity among Tully's ſix books *De Republica*, to the laſt of which it originally belonged, perhaps it would have been overlooked and neglected.[2] But being preſerved, and illuſtrated with a prolix commentary by Macrobius, it quickly attracted the attention of readers who were fond of the marvellous, and with whom Macrobius was a more admired claſſic than Tully. It was printed [at Venice] ſubjoined to Tully's *Offices*, in [1470.][3] It was tranſlated into Greek by Maximus Planudes,[4] and is frequently quoted by Chaucer.[5] Particularly in the *Aſſembly of*

Romæ, p. 122. Man. Chryſolor. See *ſupr.* Leo Oſtienſis ſays, that one of the abbots of Caſſino in Italy, in the eleventh century, ſent meſſengers to Conſtantinople, to bring over artificers in moſaic, to ornament the church of the monaſtery, after Rome or Italy had loſt that art for five hundred years. He calls Rome *magiſtra Latinitas. Chron. Caſſin.* lib. iii. c. 27. Compare Muratori, *Antich. Italian.* 1752, i. Diſs. xxiv. p. 279.

[1] MSS. Reg. [Brit. Mus.] 19 D. 7. There is an Arabic book, containing the Pſalms of David, with an additional pſalm, on the ſlaughter of the giant Goliah. MSS. Harl. 5476. See above.

[2] But they were extant about the year 1000, for they are cited by Gerbert. *Epiſt.* 83. And by Peter of Poitou, who died in 1197. See Barth. *Advers.* xxxii. 5, 58. Leland ſays, that Tully *de Republica* was conſumed by fire, among other books, in the library of William Selling, a learned abbot of Saint Auſtin's at Canterbury, who died in 1494. *Script.* v. *Cellingus.*

[3] [Brunet, *Man. du Libr.* laſt edit. ii. 19.]

[4] Lambeccius mentions a Greek MS. of Julian, a cardinal of S. Angelo, Ὁ ὀνειρος τοῦ Σκιπιωνος, 5, p. 153. The *Diſputatio* of Favonius Elogius, a Carthaginian rhetorician, and a diſciple of Saint Auſtin, on the *Somnium Scipionis*, was printed by G. Schottus, Antw. 1613, 4to.

[5] *Rom. Roſe*, lib. i. ver. 7, [&c. edit. Morris.]

> "An authour that hight*e* Macrobes,
> That halte nat dremes falſe ne lees,
> But undoth us the avyſyoun,
> That whylom mette Kyng Cipioun."

Nonnes Pr. Tale, 303, edit. Morris.

> "Macrobius, that writ the aviſioun
> In Auffrik of the worthy Cipioun."

Chaucer's Dreme, ver. 284. [Chaucer] mentions this as the moſt wonderful of dreams. *Houſe F.* v. 407. He deſcribes a proſpect more extenſive and various than that which Scipio ſaw in his dream:

Fowls, he ſuppoſes himſelf to fall aſleep after reading the *Somnium Scipionis*, and that Scipio ſhewed him the beautiful viſion which is the ſubject of that poem.[1] Nor is it improbable that not only the form, but the firſt idea, of Dante's *Inferno* was ſuggeſted by this apologue which, in Chaucer's words, treats

> " of Hevene, and Helle,[2]
> And erthe, and of ſoules that therynne duelle."

Not to inſiſt on Dante's ſubject, he uſes the ſhade of Virgil for a myſtagogue, as Tully ſuppoſes Scipio to have been ſhown the other world by his anceſtor Africanus.

[Stephen Hawes, Lydgate's pupil, always ſpeaks with affectionate reſpect of him. In his *Joyfull Medytacyon* of the *Coronacyon of Kynge Henry the eyght* [1509] he alludes to him not inelegantly:

> The ryght eloquent poete and monke of bery
> Made many fayre bookes/ as it is probable
> From ydle derkenes/ to lyght and emyſpery
> Whoſe vertuous paſtyme/ was moche cõmendable
> Preſentynge his bookes/ gretely prouffytable
> To your worthy predeceſſour the V. Kynge Henry
> Whiche regyſtred is in the courte of memory.

And again, in the *Converſyon of Swerers*, 1509, there is this ſtanza:

> Amonge all other my good mayſter Lydgate
> The eloquent poete and monke of bury
> Dyde bothe conteyne and alſo tranſlate
> Many vertues bokes to be in memory
> Touchynge the trouthe well and ſentencyouſly
> But ſyth that his deth was intollerable
> I praye God rewarde hym in lyfe perdurable.

Nor muſt we omit to take notice of Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Menſam*, are of the earlieſt codes of inſtruction for behaviour at table. There are ſeveral MSS. of it. Caxton printed it once and Wynkyn de Worde ſeveral times. Two other writers, John Ruſſell and Hugh Rhodes, founded ſimilar treatiſes upon it. The latter calls himſelf Lydgate's ſcholar.

Lydgate's tranſlation of *The Life of St. Alban* and *The Life and Paſſion of St. Imphabel* was perhaps founded on the Latin elegiac poem compoſed in the twelfth century by Robert of Dunſtable, and firſt printed at St. Albans in 1534, with many woodcuts. It is in ſeven-line ſtanzas; it purports to have been publiſhed at the inſtigation of Robert Cotton, abbot of St. Albans. The poem ſeems to

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> " That ſawe in dreme, at point deviſe,
> Heven and erth, hell, and paradiſe."

And in other places.

[1] He makes Scipio ſay to him, ver 109:

> " Thou haſt the ſo wel borne
> In lokenge of myn olde booke al to torne,
> Of which Macrobe roght noght a lyte," &c.

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, iv. 52, ver. 32.]

have been written in 1439, and there is a MS. of it in the library of Trinity College, Oxford.]

Lydgate's chief *proſe* work was a tranſlation in 1413 (with additions), of the *Pelerinage de la vie humaine* of Guillaume De Deguileville, prior of Chalis.[1]

The French book, [from which he tranſlated], is a viſion, and has ſome degree of imagination. In the colophon to Caxton's Engliſh copy of De Deguileville's *Second Pilgrimage* are theſe words: "Here endeth the dreme of *Pylgremage of the ſoule* tranſlatid oute of Frenſshe in to Engliſshe, with ſomwhat of addicions, the yere of our lord M.CCCC. & thyrten, and endeth in the Vigyle of ſeynt Bartholomew." The tranſlator of this book, at leaſt the author of the *Additions*, which altogether conſiſt of poetry in ſeven-lined ſtanzas, I believe to be Lydgate. Not to inſiſt on the correſpondence of time and ſtyle, I obſerve, that the thirty-fourth chapter of Lydgate's metrical *Life of the Virgin Mary* is literally repeated in the thirty-fourth chapter of this Tranſlation.[2] This chapter is a digreſſion of five or ſix ſtanzas in praiſe of Chaucer; in which the writer feelingly laments the recent death of his "maiſter Chaucer, poete of Britaine," who uſed to "amende and correcte the wronge traces of my rude penne." No writer beſides, in Lydgate's own life-time, can be ſuppoſed, with any ſort of grace or propriety, to have mentioned thoſe perſonal aſſiſtances of Chaucer in Lydgate's own words. And if we ſuppoſe that the Tranſlation, or its "Addicions," were written by Lydgate, before he wrote his *Life of the Virgin*, the proof will be the ſame.[3]

[But beſides Lydgate's metrical copy of De Deguileville in 1413, we have to notice one in proſe, executed about the ſame time by an anonymous writer, who ſpeaks of the original author merely as *Johan the Preeſte*. This proſe verſion was taken in fact from the French of Jean Gallopes, prieſt of Angers, who ſubſequently became Dean of the Collegiate Church of Saint Louis de Saulſoye, in Evreux, and chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. Gallopes profeſſes to have undertaken his labour at the requeſt of Jeanne Maillart, dame de Savegines, who ſeems to be identical with

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[1] [*The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle*, &c. Edited by K. I. Cuſt, 1859. The Engliſh was printed by W. Caxton in 1483, and is partly republiſhed in Miſs Cuſt's volumes.]

[2] [De Deguileville produced three Pilgrimages, 1. *Of Man:* 2. *Of the Soul;* 3. *Of Chriſt.*—F. Theſe appear to have been all written before 1358. Of the two former ſpecimens have been afforded by Miſs Cuſt, in the two volumes printed in 1859, with ſome intereſting facſimiles. The proſe Engliſh tranſlation mentioned in the text (whether prior to Lydgate's metrical verſion or not, ſeems to be uncertain), is in the Univerſity Library, Cambridge, and has been edited by Mr. W. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club, 1869. A beautiful, though not perhaps very early, MS. of the *Roman des Trois Pelerinages*, with very ſpirited and well-executed drawings, is in the poſſeſſion of Mr. H. Huth. For further particulars as to the MSS. of De Deguileville's tripartite work, and of the early printed editions of it, ſee Mr. Aldis Wright's *Preface*.]

[3] Ad calc. Opp. Chauc. fol. 376, col. 1. Stow mentions Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the World* "by the commaundement of the earle of Saliſburie, 1426." [MS. Cotton. Vitell. C. xiii. part-printed.—F.]

Jeanne de Laval, the name given to the lady in another MS. of the work. Gallopes, who ſurvived till 1435, alſo accompliſhed, at the requeſt of his patron the Regent Bedford, a proſe tranſlation of De Deguileville's *Second Pilgrimage* (*Pelerinage de l'ame*), which he dedicated to the duke.[1] In Bennet College Library there is an elegant illuminated MS. of Bonaventura's *Life of Chriſt*, tranſlated by the ſame Gallopes, containing a curious picture of the tranſlator preſenting his book to Henry V.; this is the ſame *Speculum Vitæ Chriſti*, which Caxton printed in Engliſh (the tranſlator unknown) about 1488.[2] The Engliſh is not a rare MS.][3]

SECTION XXII.

LYDGATE'S [beſt-known] poems are the *Fall of Princes*, the *Siege of Thebes*, and the *Deſtruction of Troy*. Of all theſe I ſhall ſpeak diſtinctly.

About the year 1360, Boccaccio wrote a Latin hiſtory in ten books, entitled *De Caſibus Virorum et Feminarum illuſtrium*. Like other chronicles of the times, it commences with Adam, and is brought down to the author's age. Its laſt grand event is John, king of France taken priſoner by the Engliſh at the battle of Poictiers, in the year 1359.[4] This book of Boccaccio was twice tranſlated into French [in the firſt inſtance by an anonymous hand, whoſe verſion appeared from the preſs of Colard Manſion at Bruges in 1476, and ſecondly] by [Laurence de Premierfait: in this caſe] ſo paraphraſtically and with ſo many conſiderable additions, as almoſt to be rendered a new work.[5] Laurence's French tranſlation was

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[1] [The Warton Club (ſince diſſolved) promiſed an edition of an early Engliſh tranſlation of this ſecond portion of De Deguileville from a MS. in the public library at Cambridge, with the title of the *Pylgrym*.]

[2] [See Blades, ii. 1946.] [3] [*Ibid.* 196.]

[4] [Often printed in Latin and French. See a copious bibliography in the laſt edit. of Brunet, i. 986, *et ſeqq.* A Spaniſh tranſlation appeared at Seville in 1495, and an Italian one at Venice in 1545.]

[5] In Lydgate's *Prologue*, B. i. fol. i. a, col. 1, edit. Wayland:

> "He that ſumtime did his diligence
> The boke of Bochas in French to tranſlate
> Out of Latin he was called Laurence."

He ſays that Laurence (in his Prologue) declares, that he avails himſelf of the privilege of ſkilful artificers, "who may chaunge and turne, by good diſcretion, ſhapes and forms, and newly them deviſe, make and unmake, &c." And that old authors may be rendered more agreeable, by being clothed in new ornaments of language, and improved with new inventions. *Ibid.* a, col. 1. He adds, that it was Laurence's deſign, in his tranſlation into French, "to amende, correct, and declare, and not to ſpare thinges touched ſhortly." *Ibid.* col. 2. Afterwards he calls him this noble tranſlatour. *Ibid.* b. col. 1. In another place, where a panegyric on France is introduced, he ſays that this paſſage is not Boccaccio's, but added,

[firſt] printed at Lyons in 1483;[1] it is the original of Lydgate's poem. This Laurence or Laurent, ſometimes called Laurent de Premierfait, a village in the dioceſe of Troies, was an eccleſiaſtic and a famous tranſlator. He alſo tranſlated into French Boccaccio's *Decameron*, at the requeſt of Jeanne, queen of Navarre: Cicero *de Amicitia* and *de Senectute;* and Ariſtotle's *Oeconomics*, dedicated to Louis de Bourbon, the king's uncle. Theſe verſions appeared in the year[s] 1414 and 1416.[2] Caxton's [Engliſh verſions of Cicero *De Amicitiâ* and *De Senectute*] printed [together] in 1481, were tranſlated from Laurence's French verſion. Caxton, in the [colophon], calls him *Laurence de primo facto.*

Lydgate's poem conſiſts of nine books, and is entitled in the earlieſt edition: [*The Boke calledde Iohn Bochas Diſcriuinge the Falle of Princys.*][3] The beſt and moſt authentic MS. of this piece is in the Britiſh Muſeum; probably written under the inſpection of the author, and perhaps intended as a preſent to Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter, at whoſe gracious command the poem, as I have before hinted, was undertaken. It contains, among numerous miniatures illuſtrating the ſeveral hiſtories, portraits of Lydgate and of another monk habited in black, perhaps an abbot of Bury, kneeling before a prince, who ſeems to be Saint Edmund, ſeated on a throne under a canopy, and graſping an arrow.[4]

The work is not improperly ſtyled a ſet of tragedies. It is not merely a narrative of men eminent for their rank and misfortunes. The plan is perfectly dramatic, and partly ſuggeſted by the pageants of the times. Every perſonage is ſuppoſed to appear before the poet, and to relate his reſpective ſufferings: and the figures of theſe ſpectres

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"By one Laurence which was tranſlatour
Of this proceſſe to commende France;
To prayſe that lande was all his pleaſaunce."

B. ix. ch. 28, fol. 31, a, col. 1, edit. *ut infr.* Our author in the Prologue above cited, ſeems to ſpeak as if there had been a previous tranſlation of Boccaccio's book into French. *Ut ſupr.* a, col. 1:

"Thus Laurence from him envy excluded
Though toforne him tranſlated was this book."

[Alluding of courſe to the anonymous verſion of 1476.]

[1] MSS. Harl. See alſo *ibid.* MSS. Reg. 18 D. vii., and 16 G. v. And MSS. Bodl. F. 10, 2. [2465.] He is ſaid to have tranſlated this work in 1409. MSS. Reg. *ut ſupr.* 20 C. iv.] In folio. [In 1578, was publiſhed a third French verſion, "reduict en neuf livres, par Cl. Witart." See Brunet, *ut ſupr.* 988-9.]

[2] He died in 1418. See Martene, *Ampl. Collect.* tom. ii. 1405. And *Mem. de Litt.* xvii. 759, 4to. Compare du Verdier, *Biblioth.* Fr. p. 72. And *Bibl. Rom.* ii. 291. It is extraordinary that the piece before us ſhould not be mentioned by the French antiquaries as one of Laurence's tranſlations. Lydgate, in the Prologue above cited, obſerves that Laurence, who in "cunyng did excel," undertook this tranſlation at the requeſt of ſome eminent perſonages in France, who had the intereſt of "rhetorike" at heart. *Ut ſupr.* a, col. 2.

[3] [Lond. by R. Pynſon, 1494, folio.] There is a ſmall piece not connected with this, entitled: "The Tragedy of princes that were lecherous." MSS. Aſhmol. 59, ii.

[4] MSS. Harl. 1766, fol. 5.

are ſometimes finely drawn. Hence a ſource is opened for moving compaſſion, and for a diſplay of imagination. In ſome of the lives the author replies to the ſpeaker, and a ſort of dialogue is introduced for conducting the ſtory. Brunchild, a queen of France, who murdered all her children, and was afterwards hewn in pieces, appears thus:

She came, arayed nothyng lyke a quene,
Her heer vntreſſed, Bochas toke good hede;
In all his boke he had afore nat ſene
A more wofull creature in dede,
With weping eyen, to-torne was all her wede:
Rebuking Bochas cauſe he had left behynde
Her wretchydneſſe for to put in mynde.[1]

Yet in ſome of theſe intereſting interviews our poet excites pity of another kind. When Adam appears, he familiarly accoſts the author with the ſalutation of Coſyn Bochas.[2]

Nor does our dramatiſt deal only in real characters and hiſtorical perſonages. Boccaccio, ſtanding penſive in his library, is alarmed at the ſudden entrance of the gigantic and monſtrous image of Fortune, whoſe agency has ſo powerful and univerſal an influence in human affairs, and eſpecially in effecting thoſe viciſſitudes which are the ſubject of this work. There is a Gothic greatneſs in her figure, with ſome touches of the groteſque. An attribute of the early poetry of all nations, before ideas of ſelection have taken place. I muſt add, that it was the admired allegory of Boethius on the *Conſolation of Philoſophy*, which introduced perſonification into the poetry of the middle ages.

Whyle Bochas penſyfe ſtode in his lybrary,
With chere oppreſſed, pale in his vyſage,
Somdeale abaſshed, alone and ſolytary;
To him appeared a monſtruous ymage,
Parted on twayne of colour and corage,
Her right ſyde full of ſommer floures,
The tother oppreſſed with winter ſtormy ſhoures.

Bochas aſtonyed, fearfull for to abrayde,
Whan he behelde the wonderfull fygure
Of Fortune, thus to him ſelfe he ſayd.
"What may this meane? Is this a crëature,
Or a monſtre transfourmed agayne nature,
Whoſe brenning eyen ſpercle of their light,
As do ſterres the froſty wynter nyght?"

And of her chere full good hede he toke;
Her face ſemyng cruell and terrible,
And by diſdayne manacinge of loke;
Her heare vntruſſed, harde, ſharpe, and horryble,
Frowarde of ſhap, lothſome, and odyble:
An hundred handes ſhe had, of eche parte,[3]
In ſondry wyſe her gyftes to departe.[4]

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[1] [Book ix. chap. 3.]

[2] B. i. [ed. 1527.] In the ſame ſtyle he calls Ixion Juno's ſecretary. B. i. ch. xii. fol. xxi. b, col. 2.

[3] on either ſide.

[4] diſtribute.

Some of her handès lyft vp men alofte,
To hye eſtate of worldly dignyte;
Another hande griped full vnſofte,
Whiche caſte another in great aduerſyte,
Gaue one rycheſſe, an other pouerte,
Gaue ſome alſo by reporte a good name,
Noyſed an other of ſlaundre and diffame.

Her habyte was of manyfolde colours,
Watchet blewe of fayned ſtedfaſtneſſe,
Her golde allayed like ſon in watry ſhours,
Meynt[1] with grene, for chaunge and doubleneſſe.[2]

Her hundred hands, her burning eyes, and diſhevelled treſſes, are ſublimely conceived. After a long ſilence, with a ſtern countenance ſhe addreſſes Bochas, who is greatly terrified at her horrible appearance; and having made a long harangue on the revolutions and changes which it is her buſineſs to produce among men of the moſt proſperous condition and the moſt elevated ſtation, ſhe calls up Caius Marius, and preſents him to the poet:

Blacke his wede, and his habyte alſo,
His heed vnkempt, his lockes hore and gray,
His loke down-caſt in token of ſorow and wo;
On his chekes the ſalte teares lay,
Whiche bare recorde of his deedly affray.

His robe ſtayned was with Romayne blode,
His ſworde aye redy whet to do vengeaunce;
Lyke a tyraunt moſt furyous and wode,[3]
In ſlaughter and murdre ſet all his pleſaunce.[4]

She then teaches Bochas how to deſcribe his life, and diſappears:

Theſe wordes ſayd, Fortune made an ende,
She bete her wynges, and toke her to flight,
I can nat ſe what way ſhe dyd wende;
Saue Bochas telleth, like an aungell bright,
At her departyng ſhe ſhewed a great light.[5]

In another place Dante "of Florence, the laureate poete, demure of loke fullfilled with patience," appears to Boccaccio, and commands him to write the tale of Gualter, duke of Florence, whoſe days, "for his tiranny, lechery, and covetyſe, ended in miſchefe." Dante then vaniſhes, and only Duke Gualter is left alone with the poet.[6] Petrarch is alſo introduced for the ſame purpoſe.[7]

The following golden couplet, concerning the prodigies which preceded the civil wars between Cæſar and Pompey, indicates dawnings of that poetical colouring of expreſſion and of that facility of verſification, which mark the poetry of [later] times:

Serpentes and adders, ſcaled ſyluer-bright,
Were ouer Rome ſene flyeng all the nyght.[8]

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[1] mingled. [2] Book vi.
[3] mad. [4] B. vi. ch. 1. [5] *Ibid.*
[6] B. ix. In another place Dante's three books on heaven, purgatory, and hell, are particularly commended. B. iv. Prol.
[7] B. viii. Prol. He mentions all Petrarch's works, Prol. B. iv.
[8] B. vi. ch. 11.

Theſe verſes, in which the poet deſcribes the reign of Saturn, have much harmony, ſtrength, and dignity:

> Fortytude ſtode tho in his might,
> Defended wydowes, and cheryſshed chaſtyte;
> Knighthod in proweſſe gaue ſo clere a light,
> Gyrte with his ſworde of trouth and equite.[1]

Apollo, Diana and Minerva, joining the Roman army, when Rome was beſieged by Brennus, are poetically touched:

> Appollo firſt ſhewed his preſence,
> Freſshe, yonge, and luſty, as any ſonne ſhene,
> Armed all with golde; and with great violence
> Entred the felde, as it was well ſene:
> And Diana came with her arowes kene:
> And Mynerua in a bright haberioun;
> Which in their commyng made a terrible ſoun.[2]

The following lines are remarkable:

> God hath a thouſande handes to chaſtyſe,
> A thouſande dartes of punicion,
> A thouſande bowes made in dyuers wyſe,
> A thouſande arowblaſtes bent in his dongeon.[3]

Lydgate, in this poem, quotes Seneca's tragedies[4] (for the ſtory of Oedipus), Tully, Virgil and his commentator Servius, Ovid, Livy, Lucan, Lactantius, Juſtin[5] or "prudent Juſtinus an old croniclere," Joſephus, Valerius Maximus, Saint Jerom's chronicle, Boethius,[6] Plato on the immortality of the ſoul,[7] and Fulgentius the mythologiſt.[8] He mentions "noble Perſius," Proſper's epigrams, Vegetius on Tactics, which was highly eſteemed (as its ſubject coincided with the chivalry of the times), and which had been juſt tranſlated into French by [Chriſtine de Piſe], and into Engliſh by John Treviſa,[9] "the grene chaplet of Eſop and Juvenal,"[10] Euripides "in his tyme a great tragician, becauſe he wrote many tragedies," and another called *Clarke* Demoſthenes.[11] For a catalogue of Tully's works, he refers to the *Speculum Hiſtoriale*[12] or *Myrrour Hyſtoriall*, of Vincent of Beauvais, and ſays that he wrote twelve books of Orations, and ſeveral "morall ditties."[13] Ariſtotle is introduced as teaching Alexander and Calliſthenes philoſophy.[14] With regard to Homer, he

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[1] B. vii. ch. 10.
[2] B. iv. ch. 23.
[3] tower; caſtle. B. i. ch. 3.
[4] *Ibid.* ch. 9.
[5] B. i. ch. 11; B. ii. ch. 6; B. iii. ch. 14; *ibid.* ch. 25; B. iv. ch. 11. See Prol. B. i.
[6] B. ii. ch. 15; *ibid.* ch. 16; *ibid.* ch. 2; *ibid.* ch. 30; B. viii. ch. 24.
[7] B. iii. ch. 5.
[8] B. ix. ch. 1, from whom Boccaccio largely tranſcribes in his *Genealogiæ Deorum*, hereafter mentioned.
[9] MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 233. *Princip.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." Finiſhed at the command of his patron Thomas lord Berkeley. [Chriſtine de Piſe's verſion of Vegetius (with much additional matter interſperſed by the tranſlator) was tranſlated by Caxton 4 Hen. VII. See Blades, ii. 205-8.]
[10] Prol. B. iv.
[11] B. ii. ch. 22.
[12] See *ſupra*.
[13] B. vi. ch. 15.
[14] B. iv. ch. 9. This is from Ariſtotle's *Secretum Secretorum*, which Lydgate,

obſerves that "Grete Omerus, in Iſidore ye may ſee, founde amonge Grekes the crafte of eloquence."[1] By Iſidore he means the *Origines* or *Etymologies* of Iſidorus [junior] Hiſpalenſis, in twenty books; a ſyſtem of univerſal information, the encyclopedia of the dark ages, and printed [at Augſburgh] before 1472.[2] In another place he cenſures the ſingular partiality of the book called *Omere*, which places Achilles above Hector.[3] Again, ſpeaking of the Greek writers, he tells us that Boccaccio mentions a "ſcriveyn" or ſcribe, who in a ſmall ſcroll of paper wrote the deſtruction of Troy, following Homer: he adds that this hiſtory was much eſteemed among the Greeks on account of its brevity.[4] This was Dictys Cretenſis or Dares Phrygius. But for perpetuating the achievements of the knights of the round table, he ſuppoſes that a clerk was appointed, and that he compiled a regiſter from the pourſuivants and heralds who attended their tournaments, and that thence the hiſtories of thoſe invincible champions were framed, which, whether read or ſung, have afforded ſo much delight.[5] For the ſtories of Conſtantine and Arthur he brings as his vouchers the romantic chronicle called *Brut* and Geoffrey of Monmouth.[6] He concludes the legend of Conſtantine by telling us that an equeſtrian ſtatue in braſs is ſtill to be ſeen at Conſtantinople of that emperor, in which he appears armed with a prodigious ſword, menacing the Turks.[7] In deſcribing the Pantheon at Rome, he gives us ſome circumſtances highly romantic. He relates that this magnificent fane was full of gigantic idols, placed on lofty ſtages: theſe images were the gods of all the nations conquered by the Romans, and each turned his countenance to that province over which he preſided. Every image held in his hand a bell framed by magic; and when any kingdom belonging to the Roman juriſdiction was

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as I have mentioned above, tranſlated. But he did not finiſh the tranſlation, for about the middle of it we have this note, "Here dyed this tranſlator and notable poet John Lydgate, monk of Bury; and Fowler bygan his prolog in this wyſe, 'Where floure of knighthood the bataile doth refuſe.'" Fol. 336, MSS. Laud. K. 53. The Prologue conſiſts of ten ſtanzas, in which he compares himſelf to a dwarf entering the liſts, when the knight is foiled. But it is the *yong* Fowler in MSS. Laud. B. xxiv. In the Harleian copy of this piece I find the following note, at fol. 236: "Here deyde the tranſlatour a noble poete Dan Johne Lydgate, and his *folowere* began his prologe in this wiſe. Per Benedictum Burghe. 'Where floure of,'" &c. MSS. Harl. 2251, 117. It muſt be obſerved that there was a Benedict Burghe coeval with Lydgate, and preferred to many dignities in the church, who tranſlated into Engliſh verſe, for the uſe of Lord Bourchier, ſon of the Earl of Eſſex, [*Magnus et Parvus Cato*, the latter being the later additions of Daniel Churche at the end of the twelfth century. Of this Caxton printed two editions in 4to., and a third in folio.] More will be ſaid of [Cato] in its proper place.

[1] B. ii. ch. 15.

[2] See Geſner. *Bibl.* p. 468 and Matt. *Annal. Typ.* i. p. 100.

[3] B. iv. Prol. fol. 93, a, col. 1.

[4] B. ii. cap. 15, fol. 51, b, col. 1.

[5] B. viii. ch. 25. See *ſupra.*

[6] B. viii. ch. 13. See *ſupra.*

[7] B. viii. Boccaccio wrote the original Latin of this work, long before the Turks took and ſacked Conſtantinople in 1453.

meditating rebellion againſt the imperial city, the idol of that country gave, by ſome ſecret principle, a ſolemn warning of the diſtant treaſon by ſtriking his bell, which never ſounded on any other occaſion.[1] Our author, following Boccaccio who wrote the *Theſeid*, ſuppoſes that Theſeus founded the order of knighthood at Athens.[2] He introduces, much in the manner of Boethius, a diſputation between Fortune and Poverty, ſuppoſed to have been written by Andalus the *blake*, a doctor of aſtronomy at Naples, who was one of Bochas's preceptors.

> At Naples whylom, as he dothe ſpecifye,
> In his youth when he[3] to ſchole went,
> There was a doctour of aſtronomye.—
> And he was called *Andalus the blake*.[4]

Lydgate appears to have been far advanced in years when he finiſhed this poem: for at the beginning of the eighth book he complains of his trembling joints, and declares that age, having benumbed his faculties, has deprived him "of all the ſubtylte of curious makyng in Englyſshe to endyte."[5] Our author, in the ſtructure and modulation of his ſtyle, ſeems to have been ambitious of rivalling Chaucer,[6] whoſe capital compoſitions he enumerates, and on whoſe poetry he beſtows repeated encomiums.[7]

Lydgate's *Story of Thebes* was firſt printed [by Wynkyn de Worde, about 1500, with the *Temple of Glas* and the *Interpretacion of Godes and Goddeſſes*,[8] in 4to, and was republiſhed] by William Thinne, at the end of his edition of Chaucer's Works in 1561.

The author introduces it as an additional Canterbury Tale. After a ſevere ſickneſs, having a deſign to viſit the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, he arrives in that city, while Chaucer's pilgrims were aſſembled there for the ſame purpoſe; and by mere accident, not ſuſpecting to find ſo numerous and reſpectable a company, goes to their inn. There is ſome humour in our monk's travelling figure:[9]

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[1] B. viii. ch. 1. [2] B. i. c. 12. [3] Boccaccio.

[4] B. iii. ch. 1. "He rede in ſcholes the moving of the heavens," &c. Boccaccio mentions with much regard *Andalus de Nigro* as one of his maſters in his *Geneal. Deor.* lib. xv. cap. vi. And ſays, that Andalus has extant many *Opuſcula aſtrorum cælique motus oſtendentia*. I think Leander, in his *Italia*, calls this Andalus, *Andalotius niger*, *curioſus aſtrologus*. See Papyrius *Maſs. Elog.* tom. ii. p. 195.

[5] B. vii. Prol. He calls himſelf older than ſixty years. [6] Prol. B. i.

[7] Among theſe, the following invites citation:

> "My maſter Chaucer with his freſh commedies,
> Is deade, alas, chiefe poete of Brytayne:
> That ſumtime made ful piteous tragedies.
> The fall of prynces he did alſo complayne,
> As he that was of makyng ſouerayne,
> Whom al this lande of ryght ought prefarre;
> Sith of our language he was the lode-ſtarre."—*Park*.]

[8] [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Lydgate*.]

[9] Edit. 1598, ad calc. *Chaucer's Works*, fol. 370, Prol.

In a cope of blacke, and not of greene,
On a palfray, ſlender, long, and lene,
With ruſtie bridell, made not for the ſale,
My man toforne with a void male.[1]

He ſees, ſtanding in the hall of the inn, the convivial hoſt of the tabard, full of his own importance; who without the leaſt introduction or heſitation thus addreſſes our author, quite unprepared for ſuch an abrupt ſalutation:

Dan Pers,
Dan Dominike, Dan Godfray, or Clement,
Ye be welcome newly into Kent;
Though your bridel haue nother boos, ne bell,
Beſeeching you that ye wil tell,
Firſt of your name, and what countre
Without more, ſhortly that ye be,
That loke ſo pale, all deuoid of blood,
Vpon your head a wonder thredbare hood.[2]

Our hoſt then invites him to ſupper, and promiſes that he ſhall have made according to his own directions a large pudding, a round *hagis*, a French *moile*, or a *phraſe* of eggs: adding, that he looked extremely lean for a monk, and muſt certainly have been ſick, or elſe belong to a poor monaſtery; that ſome nut-brown ale after ſupper will be of ſervice, and that a quantity of the ſeed of annis, cummin, or coriander, taken before going to bed would remove flatulences. But above all, ſays the hoſt, cheerful company would be your beſt phyſician. You ſhall not only ſup with me and my companions this evening, but return with us to-morrow to London; yet on condition, that you will ſubmit to one of the indiſpenſable rules of our ſociety, which is to tell an entertaining ſtory while we are travelling.

What, looke vp, Monke! For by Cockes[3] blood,
Thou ſhalt be merrie, who ſo that ſay nay;
For to-morow, anon as it is day,
And that it ginne in the eaſt [to] daw,[4]
Thou ſhalt be bound to a new law,
At going out of Canterburie toun,
And lien aſide thy profeſſioun;
Thou ſhalt not cheſe,[5] nor thy ſelfe withdraw,
If any mirth be found in thy maw,
Like the cuſtome of this company;
For none ſo proud that dare me denie,
Knight, nor knaue, chanon, prieſt, ne nonne,
To tell a tale plainly as they konne,[6]
When I aſſigne, and ſee time oportune;
And, for that we our purpoſe woll contune,[7]
We will homeward the ſame cuſtome vſe.[8]

Our monk, unable to withſtand this profuſion of kindneſs and feſtivity, accepts the hoſt's invitation, and ſups with the pilgrims. The next morning, as they are all riding from Canterbury to Oſpringe, the hoſt reminds his friend Dan John of what he had men-

[1] portmanteau.
[2] Edit. 1598, ad calc. *Chaucer's Works*, fol. 370, Prol.
[3] God's.
[4] dawn.
[5] chuſe.
[6] can, or know.
[7] continue.
[8] Fol. 370, back.

tioned in the evening, and without farther ceremony calls for a ſtory. Lydgate obeys his commands, and recites the tragical deſtruction of the city of Thebes.[1] As the ſtory is very long, a pauſe is made in deſcending a very ſteep hill near the Thrope[2] of Broughton on the Blee; when our author, who was not furniſhed with that accommodation for knowing the time of the day, which modern improvements in ſcience have given to the traveller, diſcovers by an accurate examination of [the cylinder or pocket-dial (mentioned by Shakeſpeare, and in much more recent times uſed in ſome ruſtic diſtricts),] in which the ſun's horary progreſs along the equator was marked—that it was nine in the morning.[3]

It has been ſaid, but without any authority or probability, that Chaucer firſt wrote this ſtory in a Latin narrative, which Lydgate afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh verſe. Our author's originals are Guido di Colonna, Statius, and Seneca the tragedian.[4] Nicholas Trivetus, an Engliſh Dominican friar of London, who [died about 1529], has left a commentary on Seneca's tragedies.[5] [Seneca's works were] printed [at Naples] ſo early as [1475]. Lydgate in this poem often refers to "myne auctor" who, I ſuppoſe is Colonna.[6] He ſometimes cites Boccaccio's Latin tracts: particularly the *Genealogiæ Deorum*, a work which at the reſtoration of learning greatly contributed to familiariſe the claſſical ſtories: *De Caſibus virorum illuſtrium*, the ground-work of the *Fall of Princes* juſt mentioned; and *De Claris Mulieribus*, in which Pope Joan is one of the heroines.[7] From the firſt, he has taken the ſtory of Amphion building the walls of Thebes by the help of Mercury's harp, and the interpretation of that fable, together with the fictions[8] about Lycurgus, king of Thrace.[9] From the ſecond, as I recollect, the accoutrements of Polymites:[10] and from the third, part of the tale of Iſophile.[11] He alſo characteriſes Boccaccio for a talent, by which he is not now ſo generally known—

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[1] Fol. 371.

[2] Or Thorpe. Properly a lodge in a foreſt. A hamlet. It occurs again, pag. 651, col. 1:

"Bren townes, thropes, and villages."

And in the *Troye Boke*, he mentions, "provinces, borowes, vyllages, and thropes." B. ii. c. x.

[3] Pag. 630, col. 2. [Chilindre, or cylinder, a kind of pocket ſun-dial.—F.]

[4] See pag. 630, col. 1.

[5] MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 6. Leland ſaw this Commentary in the library of the Ciſtercian abbey of Buckfaſt-Lees in Devonſhire. Col. iii. p. 257.

[6] Pag. 623, col. 2; 630, col. 1; 632, col. 2; 635, col. 2; 647, col. 2; 654, col. 1; 659, col. 1. See ſupra.

[7] Firſt printed, Ulm. 1473, fol. [For an account of an early Engliſh tranſlation by Henry Parker, Lord Moſley, temp. Hen. VIII., ſee *infra*, iv. 80.]

[8] Lydgate ſays, that this was the ſame Lycurgus who came as an ally with Palamon to Athens againſt his brother Arcite, drawn by four white bulls, and crowned with a wreath of gold. Pag. 650, col. 2. See *Kn. Tale*, v. 2131. Our author expreſſly refers to Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* about Theſeus, and with ſome addreſs, "As ye have before heard it related in paſſing through Deptford," &c.

[9] Pag. 623, col. 2; 624, col. 1; 651, col. 1.

[10] Pag. 634, col. 2.

[11] Pag. 648, col. 1, *ſeq.*

for his poetry; and ſtyles him, "among poetes in Itaile ſtalled."[1] But Boccaccio's *Theſeid* was yet in vogue. He ſays, that when Oedipus was married, none of the Muſes was preſent, as they were at the wedding of *Sapience* with *Eloquence*, deſcribed by that poet "whilom ſo ſage, Matrician inamed de Capella." This is Marcianus Mineus Felix de Capella, who lived about the year 470, and whoſe Latin proſaico-metrical work, *de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*, in two books, an introduction to his ſeven books or ſyſtem of the *Seven Sciences*, I have mentioned before: a writer highly extolled by Scotus Erigena,[2] Peter of Blois,[3] John of Saliſbury, and other early authors in corrupt Latinity;[4] and of ſuch eſtimation in the dark centuries, as to be taught in the ſeminaries of philological education as a claſſic.[5] Among the royal MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, one occurs written about the eleventh century, which is a commentary on theſe nine books of Capella, compiled by Duncant an Iriſh biſhop,[6] and given to his ſcholars in the monaſtery of Saint Rhemigius.[7] They were early tranſlated into Latin leonine rhymes, and are often imitated by Saxo Grammaticus.[8] Gregory of Tours has the vanity to hope, that no reader will think his Latinity barbarous: not even thoſe, who have refined their taſte, and enriched their underſtanding with a complete knowledge of every ſpecies of literature, by ſtudying attentively this treatiſe of Capella.[9] Alexander Neckam, a learned abbot of Cirenceſter, and a voluminous Latin writer about the year 1210, wrote annotations on Capella, which are yet preſerved.[10] His work was firſt printed in 1499, and [two or three other editions appeared during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries.] This piece of Capella, dictated by the ideal philoſophy of Plato, is ſuppoſed to have led the way to the celebrated Conſolation of Philoſophy[11] by Boethius.

The marriage of Sapience and Eloquence, or Mercury and Phi-

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[1] Pag. 651, col. 1. [2] *De Divis. Natur.* lib. iii. pp. 147-8. [3] Epiſt. 101.

[4] See Alcuin. *De Sept. Artib.* p. 1256. Honorius Auguſtodunus, *De Philoſophia Mundi*, lib. ii. cap. 5. And the book of Thomas Cantipratanus attributed to Boethius, *De Diſciplina Scholarium*. Compare Barth. ad Claudian. p. 32.

[5] Barth. ad Briton. p. 110. "Medii ævi ſcholas tenuit, adoleſcentibus prælectus," &c. See Wilibaldus, *Epiſt.* 147, tom. ii. *Vet. Monum.* Marten. p. 334.

[6] Leland ſays he ſaw this work in the library of Worceſter abbey. *Coll.* iii. p. 268.

[7] MSS. Reg. 15, A. xxxiii. Liber olim S. Remig. Studio Gifardi ſcriptus. Labb. *Bibl. Nov. Manuſcr.* p. 66. In imitation of the firſt part of this work, a Frenchman, Jo. Boræus, wrote *Nuptiæ Juriſconſulti et Philologiæ*, Paris, 1651, 4to.

[8] Stephan. in Prolegomen. c. xix. And in the notes, *paſſim*. He is adduced by Fulgentius.

[9] *Hiſt. Fr.* lib. x. *ad calc.* A MS. of Capella, more than 700 years old, is mentioned by Pez. *Theſaur. Anecdot.* [1721-9], tom. iii. p. 620. But by ſome writers of the early ages he is cenſured as obſcure. Galfridus Canonicus, who flouriſhed about 1170, declares, "Non petimus nos, aut laſcivire cum Sidonio, aut vernare cum Hortenſio, aut involvere cum Marciano." Apud Marten. *ubi ſupra*, tom. i. p. 506. He will occur again.

[10] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 221; and in other places. As did Scotus Erigena (Labb. *Bibl. Nov. Manuſcr.* p. 45) and others of that period.

[11] See Mabillon. *Itin. Ital.* p. 221.

lology, as deſcribed by Capella, at which Clio and Calliope with all their ſiſters aſſiſted, and from which Diſcord and Sedition, the great enemies of literature, were excluded, is artfully introduced, and beautifully contraſted with that of Oedipus and Jocaſta, which was celebrated by an aſſemblage of the moſt hideous beings:

Ne there was none of the Muſes nine,
But one accord to maken melody:
For there ſong not, by heauenly armony,
Neither Clio nor Caliope,
None of the ſuſtren in nomber thriſe thre,
As they did, when Philolaie,[1]
Aſcended vp high aboue the ſkie,
To be wedded: this Lady vertuous,
Unto her Lord the God Mercurius.—
But at his weddinge, plainly for to tell,
Was Cerberus, chief porter of hell;
And Herebus, fader to Hatred,
Was there preſent with his wholl kinred,
His wife alſo[2] with her browes blacke
And her daughters, ſorow for to make,
Hidouſly chered, and vgly for to ſee,
Megera and Theſiphonee,
Alecto eke: with Labour and Envie,
Drede, Fraude, and falſe Tretcherie,
Treſon, Povert, Indigence, and Nede,
And cruell Death in his rent wede:[3]
Wretchedneſſe, Complaint, and eke Rage,
Fearfull Pale, Dronkenneſs, croked age:
Cruell Mars, and many a Tigre wood,[4]
Brenning[5] Ire, and vnkind blood,
Fraternall hate, depe ſet in the root,
Sauf only death that there was no boot:[6]
Aſſured othes at fine vntrew,[7]
All theſe folke were at wedding new,
To make the towne deſolate and bare,
As the ſtory after ſhall declare.[8]

The bare conception of the attendance of this allegorical group on theſe inceſtuous eſpouſals is highly poetical: and although ſome of the perſonifications are not preſented with the addition of any pictureſque attributes, yet others are marked with the powerful pencil of Chaucer.

This poem is the *Thebais* of a troubadour. The old claſſical tale of Thebes is here clothed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of the Gothic ſpecies, and furniſhed with the deſcriptions, circumſtances and machineries appropriated to a romance of chivalry. The Sphinx is a terrible dragon, placed by a necromancer to guard a mountain, and to murder all travellers paſſing by.[9] Tydeus being wounded ſees a caſtle on a rock, whoſe high towers and creſted

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[1] Philologia.
[2] Night.
[3] garment.
[4] the attendants on Mars.
[5] burning.
[6] "Death was the only refuge or remedy."
[7] "Oaths which proved falſe in the end."
[8] [*Story of Thebes* (Speght's *Chaucer*, 1598, fol. 374-5).]
[9] [*Ibid.* fol. 373.]

pinnacles of poliſhed ſtone glitter by the light of the moon: he gains admittance, is laid in a ſumptuous bed of cloth and of gold, and healed of his wounds by a king's daughter.[1] Tydeus and Polymite tilt at midnight for a lodging before the gate of the palace of King Adraſtus, who is awakened with the din of the ſtrokes of their weapons which ſhake all the palace, and deſcends into the court with a long train by torch-light: he orders the two combatants to be diſarmed, and clothed in rich mantles ſtudded with pearls; and they are conducted to repoſe by many a ſtair to a ſtately tower, after being ſerved with a refection of hypocras from golden goblets. The next day they are both eſpouſed to the king's two daughters, and entertained with tournaments, feaſting, revels, and maſques.[2] Afterwards Tydeus having a meſſage to deliver to Eteocles, king of Thebes, enters the hall of the royal palace, completely armed and on horſeback, in the midſt of a magnificent feſtival.[3] This palace, like a Norman fortreſs or feudal caſtle, is guarded with barbicans, portculliſſes, chains, and foſſes.[4] Adraſtus wiſhes to cloſe his old age in the repoſe of rural diverſions, of hawking and hunting.[5]

The ſituation of Polymite, benighted in a ſolitary wilderneſs, is thus forcibly deſcribed:

> Holding his way, of heart nothing light,
> Mate[6] and weary, till it draweth to night:
> And all the day beholding enuiroun
> He neither ſaw Caſtle, Towre, ne toun;
> The which thing greuéth him full ſore,
> And ſodainly the Sea began to rore,
> Wind and tempeſt hidouſly t'ariſe,
> The raine doun beat in full griſly wiſe;
> That many a beaſt thereof was adrad,
> And nigh for fere gan to wexe mad,
> As it ſempte by the wofull ſownes
> Of Tigres, Beares, Bores, and Liouns;
> Which to refute, and himſelfe to ſaue,
> Euerich in haſt draweth vnto his caue.
> But Polymite in this tempeſt huge
> Alas the while findeth no refuge.
> Ne him to ſhroud ſaw no where no ſuccour,
> Till it was paſſed almoſt midnight houre.[7]

When Oedipus conſults concerning his kindred the oracle of Apollo, whoſe image ſtood on a golden chariot with four wheels burned bright and ſheen, animated with a fiend, the manner in which he receives his anſwer is touched with ſpirit and imagination:

> And when Edippus by great deuocion
> Finiſhed hath fully his oriſon,

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[1] [*Ibid.* fol. 382.]

[2] [*Ibid.* fol. 377, *et ſeq.*] Concerning the dreſſes, perhaps in the maſques, we have this line [*ibid.* fol. 378, *verſo.*]

> "And deuiſe of many a ſolein wede."

[3] [*Ibid.* fol. 379.]

[4] [*Ibid.* fol. 379, *verſo.*]

[5] [*Ibid.* fol. 378.]

[6] afraid; fatigued.

[7] [*Ibid.* fol. 376.]

The fiend anon, within inuiſible,
With a voice dreadful and horrible
Bad him in haſt take his voiage
Toward Thebes, &c.[1]

In this poem, excluſively of that general one already mentioned, there are ſome curious mixtures of manners, and of claſſics and ſcripture. The nativity of Oedipus at his birth is calculated by the moſt learned aſtronomers and phyſicians.[2] Eteocles defends the walls of Thebes with great guns.[3] The prieſt Amphiorax or Amphiaraus is ſtyled a biſhop, as in Chaucer;[4] and his wife is alſo mentioned. At a council held at Thebes, concerning the right of ſucceſſion to the throne, Eſdras and Solomon are cited: and the hiſtory of Nehemiah rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem is introduced.[5] The moral intended by this calamitous tale conſiſts in ſhewing the pernicious effects of war: the diabolical nature of which our author ſtill further illuſtrates by obſerving, that diſcord received its origin in hell, and that the firſt battle ever fought was that of Lucifer and his legion of rebel angels.[6] But that the argument may have the fulleſt confirmation, Saint Luke is then quoted to prove, that avarice, ambition and envy are the primary ſources of contention, and that Chriſt came into the world to deſtroy theſe malignant principles, and to propagate univerſal charity.

At the cloſe of the poem, the mediation of the holy virgin is invoked, to procure peace in this life and ſalvation in the next.[7] Yet it ſhould be remembered, that this piece is written by a monk, and addreſſed to pilgrims.[8]

SECTION XXIII.

THE third of Lydgate's poems which I propoſed to conſider, is the *Troy Book* or the *Deſtruction of Troy*. It was firſt printed at the command of Henry VIII., in the year 1513, with this title: ["*The hyſtorye / Sege and dyſtruceyon of Troye.*" On D 4 *verſo*, occurs: "Here endette the Troye booke. Otherwiſe called the Sege of Troye / tranſlated by Iohñ Lydgate, monke of the Monaſtery of Bery."][9]

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[1] [*Ibid.* fol. 373.] [2] [*Ibid.* fol. 372.]
[3] [*Ibid.* fol. 383-4.] Great and ſmall, and ſome as large as *tonnes*.
[4] [*Ibid.* fol. 384.] [5] [*Ibid.* fol. 378.] [6] [*Ibid.* fol. 395 6.]
[7] [Pious invocations commonly conclude romances, as prayers for the king, &c. did plays and ſongs.— *Aſhby.*]
[8] Lydgate was near fifty when this poem was written [fol. 370, edit. 1598].
[9] Among other curious decorations in the title-page [of edit. 1555] there are ſoldiers firing great guns at the city of Troy. Caxton, in his *Recuell of the Hiſtoryes of Troye*, did not tranſlate the account of the final deſtruction of the city from his French author Raoul le Feure, "for as moche as that worſhifull and religyoſe man dan Iohn lidgate monke of Burye dide *tranſlate hit but late*, after whos worke I fere to take vpon me," &c. At the end of B. ii.—[Blades, ii. 133.]

Another and a much more correct edition followed, under the care of [Robert] Braham, in the year 1555.[1] It was begun in 1414, the laſt year of the reign of Henry IV. It was written at that prince's command, and is dedicated to his ſucceſſor. It was finiſhed in 1420. In the Bodleian Library there is a MS. of this poem elegantly illuminated, with the picture of a monk preſenting a book to a king.[2] From the ſplendour of the decorations, it appears to be the copy which Lydgate gave to Henry V.

This poem is profeſſedly a tranſlation or paraphraſe of Guido di Colonna's romance, entitled *Hiſtoria Trojana*,[3] [and ſeems to have been taken from the French and Latin, one helping out the other, as was the uſual practice with our old tranſlators. The extreme probability is, that Lydgate was more familiar with the former language.][4] I have before obſerved, that Colonna formed his Trojan Hiſtory from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretenſis,[5] who perpetually occur as authorities in Lydgate's tranſlation. Homer is, however, referred to in this work; particularly in the catalogue or enumeration of the ſhips which brought the ſeveral Grecian leaders with their forces to the Trojan coaſt. It begins thus, on the teſtimony of Colonna:[6]

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[1] The full title may be ſeen in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Colonna.* T. Heywood publiſhed a modernized verſion in 5-line ſtanzas, entitled *The Life and Death of Hector*, &c., 1614, folio.]

[2] MSS. Digb. 232. [Sir F. Madden ſeems to doubt whether Lydgate really was the tranſlator. (Introd. to *Sir Gawayne*, xxxix.)]

[3] *Princip.* "Licet cotidie vetera recentioribus obruantur." [Of the original Latin, Panzer, in his *Annales Typographici*, enumerates about nine editions in the fifteenth century. See Dibdin's ed. of Herbert, i. 11.—*Park.*]

Of a Spaniſh verſion, by Petro Nuñez Degaldo, ſee [Brunet, laſt edition, ii. 171. This, however, was a romantic paraphraſe, printed at Toledo in 1512. A tranſlation of the work itſelf appeared at Seville in, if not before, 1502.]

[4] Yet he ſays, having finiſhed his verſion, B. v. ſignat. EE i:

"I have no more of Latin to tranſlate,
After Dytes, Dares, and Guydo."

Again, he deſpairs of tranſlating Guido's *Latin* elegantly. B. ii. c. x. [Guido's *Latin* can hardly mean anything but the original Colonna's *Hiſtoria Trojana.*—*Aſhby.*] See alſo B. iii. ſign. R. iii.

[5] As Colonna's book is extremely ſcarce, and the ſubject intereſting, I will tranſlate a few lines from Colonna's Prologue and Poſtſcript. From the Prologue. "Theſe things, originally written by the Grecian Dictys and the Phrygian Dares, (who were preſent in the Trojan war, and faithful relators of what they ſaw,) are transferred into this book by Guido di Colonna, a judge. And although a certain Roman, Cornelius by name, the nephew of the great Salluſtius, tranſlated Dares and Dictys into Latin, yet, attempting to be conciſe, he has very improperly omitted thoſe particulars of the hiſtory, which would have proved moſt agreeable to the reader. In my own book, therefore, every article belonging to the Trojan ſtory will be comprehended."—And in his Poſtſcript. "And I Guido de Colonna have followed the ſaid Dictys in every particular; for this reaſon, becauſe Dictys made his work perfect and complete in every thing. And I ſhould have decorated this hiſtory with more metaphors and ornaments of ſtyle, and by incidental digreſſions, which are the pictures of compoſition. But deterred by the difficulty of the work," &c. Guido has indeed made Dictys nothing more than the groundwork of his ſtory. All this is tranſlated in Lydgate's Prologue.

[6] From Dict. Cretens. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 17, *ſeq.* edit. Dacer. Amſtel. 1702. 4to.

Mine auctour telleth howe Agamamnon,
The worthi king, an hondred ſhippes brought.

And is cloſed with theſe lines:

Full many ſhyppe was in this nauye,
Mo than Guydo maketh reherſayle,
Towarde Troye with grekes for to ſayle:
For as Homer in his diſcrypcion
Of Grekes ſhippes maketh mencion,
Shortly affyrmyng the man was neuer borne
That ſuch a nombre of ſhippes ſawe toforne.[1]

In another place Homer, notwithſtanding all his "rhetoryke and ſugred eloquence," his "luſty ſonges" and "dytees ſwete," is blamed as a prejudiced writer, who favours the Greeks:[2] a cenſure which flowed from the favourite and prevailing notion held by the weſtern nations of their deſcent from the Trojans. Homer is alſo ſaid to paint with colours of gold and azure,[3]—a metaphor borrowed from the faſhionable art of illumining. I do not however ſuppoſe that Colonna, who flouriſhed in the middle of the thirteenth century, had ever ſeen

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And Dar. Phryg. cap. xiv. p. 158, *ibid.* There [are two very ancient editions of Dares in quarto, without name or place. See Brunet, ii. 521.] Of Dictys [Cretenſis there are alſo two very early editions, *abſque notâ*, in 4to, and it was reprinted] at Milan, 1477, 4to. Dares is in German, with cuts, by Marcus Tatius, Auugſt. Vindel. 1536, fol.; Dictys, by John Herold, at Baſil, 1554. Both in Ruſſian, at Moſcow, 1712, 8vo. [A French verſion of Dares Phrygius was publiſhed in 1553, and was immediately tranſlated into Engliſh by Thomas Paynel, Lond. 1553, 8vo. See alſo Brunet, ii. 522.]

[1] B. ii. c. xvi. [edit. 1555.]

[2] B. iv. cap. xxxi. In the *Prologue*, Virgil is cenſured for following the traces of Homer's ſtyle, in other reſpects a true writer. We have the ſame complaint in our author's *Fall of Princes*. See *ſupr.* In Chaucer's *Houſe of Fame*, Colonna is introduced, among other authors of the Trojan ſtory, making this objection to Homer's veracity. B. iii. ver. 387 [edit. Morris]:

"Oon ſeyde that Omere *made* lyes,
Feynynge in hys poetries,
And was to Grekes favorable;
Therfor held he hyt but fable."

[In the *Geſt Hyſtoriale of the Deſtruction of Troy* (edit. 1869, ll. 103-24) there are two paſſages which bear on this point—that Homer was prejudiced, and favours the Greeks in all his ſtatements, and that he did ſo ſimply becauſe he was himſelf a Greek; our author thus writes:

"Thow Omer, þat oft tymes openly writis
Of þat buerne in þi boke [Achilles], as beſt of his hondes,
Or wegh þat is worſhipfull, & wight of his dedis:
He comendith hym kyndly as a knight noble!
How be reaſon, or right, or rewle, may þou prine
To deme hym ſo doghty in dedis of armys?
Lilly, thi leſynges þou lappis full faire,
Thurgh affection & faithe þou feſt with the grekes;
As þou ſaid by þi-ſelfe, þurgh ſibradyn firſt
Thou was aliet to þat lynage, as by lyne olde:
Or ellis wodenes þe wrixlet, & þi wit failet,
And no reaſon by rewle þat renke to comend."—*Donaldſon.*]

[3] B. iv. c. xxxi. ſignat. X ii.

Homer's poems: he might have known theſe and many other particulars contained in the Iliad from thoſe factitious hiſtorians whom he profeſſes to follow. Yet it is not, in the mean time, impoſſible that Lydgate might have ſeen the Iliad, at leaſt in a Latin tranſlation. Leontius Pilatus, already mentioned, one of the learned Conſtantinopolitan exiles, had tranſlated the Iliad into Latin proſe, with part of the Odyſſey, at the deſire of Boccaccio,[1] about the year 1360. This appears from Petrarch's Epiſtles to his friend Boccaccio,[2] in which, among other curious circumſtances, the former requeſts Boccaccio to ſend him to Venice that part of the new Latin verſion of the Odyſſey by Leontius, in which the deſcent of Ulyſſes into hell and the veſtibule of Erebus are deſcribed. He wiſhes alſo to ſee how Homer, blind and an Aſiatic, had deſcribed the lake Avernus and the mountain of Circe. In another part of theſe letters he acknowledges the receipt of the Latin Homer, and mentions with how much ſatisfaction and joy the report of its arrival in the public library at Venice was received by all the Greek and Latin ſcholars of that city.[3] The Iliad was alſo tranſlated into French verſe by Jacques Milet, a licentiate of laws, about the year 1430.[4] Yet I cannot believe that Lydgate had ever conſulted theſe tranſlations, although he had travelled in France and Italy. One may venture to pronounce peremptorily that he did not underſtand, as he probably never had ſeen, the original. After the migration of the Roman emperors to Greece, Boccaccio was [one of the few Europeans] that could read Homer; nor [were] there perhaps [many copies] of either of Homer's poems exiſting in Europe till about the time the Greeks were driven by the Turks from Conſtantinople.[5] Long after Boccaccio's time the knowledge of the Greek tongue, and conſequently of Homer, was confined only to a few ſcholars. Yet ſome ingenious French critics have inſinuated that Homer was familiar in France very early; and that Chriſtin[e de Piſe,] in a poem written in the year 1398,

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[1] It is a ſlight error in Vigneul [de] Marville [*i. e.* Bonaventure d'Argonne,] that this tranſlation was procured by Petrarch [*Melanges d'Hiſtoire*, &c., 1740,] tom. i. p. 21. The very ingenious and accurate author of *Memoires pour la Vie de Petrarque* is miſtaken in ſaying that Hody ſuppoſes this verſion to have been made by Petrarch himſelf. Lib. vi. tom. iii. p. 633. On the contrary, Hody has adjuſted this matter with great perſpicuity, and from the beſt authorities. *De Græc. Illuſtr.* lib. i. c. 1, p. 2, *ſeq.*

[2] [*Epiſt.*] *Senil.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

[3] Hody, *ubi ſupra*, pp. 5, 6, 7, 9. The Latin Iliad in proſe was publiſhed under the name of Laurentius Valla, with ſome ſlight alterations, in 1497.

[4] *Mem. de Litt.* xvii. p. 761, ed. 4to. [There is another tranſlation into French verſe, of the firſt ten books, by Hugues Salel, 1555: this was rendered into Engliſh in 1581 by Arthur Hall.]

[5] See Boccat. *Geneal. Deor.* xv. 6, 7. Theodorus, [a native of Tarſus, and] archbiſhop of Canterbury in the ſeventh century, brought from Rome into England a MS. of Homer which is now ſaid to be in Bennet Library at Cambridge. See the Second Diſſertation [and Wright's *Biogr. Brit. Liter.* A-S. Per. 31 *et alibi.*] In it is written with a modern hand, "Hic liber quondam Theodori archiepiſcopi Cant." But probably this Theodore is Theodore Gaza, whoſe book, or whoſe tranſcript, it might have been. Hody, *ubi ſupra*, lib. i. c. 3, pp. 59, 60.

and entitled *L'Epitre d'Othea a Hector*,[1] borrowed the word Othea or Wiſdom from ω θεα in Homer, a formal appellation by which that poet often invocates Minerva.[2] [This epiſtle occurs at the end of the early printed copies of the ſame author's *Cent Hyſtoires de Troye.*][3]

This poem is replete with deſcriptions of rural beauty, formed by a ſelection of very poetical and picturesque circumſtances, and clothed in the moſt perſpicuous and muſical numbers. The colouring of our poet's mornings is often remarkably rich and ſplendid:

Whan that the rowes[4] & the rayes rede
Eſtward to vs full early gonnen ſprede,
Even at the twelyght in the dawnynge,
When that the larke of cuſtome gynneth ſing,
For to ſalue[5] in her heauenly laye
The luſty goddeſſe of the morowe graye,
I meane Aurora, which afore the ſonne
Is wont tenchaſe[6] the blacke ſkyes donne,
And the derkeneſſe of the dymmy night:
And freſhe Phebus, with cõforte of his light,
And with the brightnes of his beames ſhene,
Had ouergylt the hye hylles grene.
And floures eke agayn the morow-tyde,
Vpõ their ſtalkes gã playn[7] theyr leues wide.[8]

Again, among more pictures of the ſame ſubject:

Whan Aurora the ſyluer droppes ſhene,
Her teares ſhad vpon the freſhe grene;
Complaynyng aye in weping & in ſorow,
Her chyldrens death euery ſomer morowe:
That is to ſaye, when the dewe ſo ſoote,
Enbawmed hath the flouer and eke the roote
With luſty lycoure in Aprill and in Maye:
When that the larke, meſſenger of daye,
Of cuſtome aye Aurora doth ſalue,
With ſundrye notys her ſorow to tranſmewi.[9]

The ſpring is thus deſcribed, renewing the buds or bloſſoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows:

And them whom winters blaſtes have ſhaken bare
With ſote bloſomes freſhly to repare;
And the meadows of many a ſundry hewe,
Tapitid ben with divers floures newe
Of ſundry motleſs,[10] luſty for to ſene;
And holſome balm is ſhed among the grene.

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[1] In the royal MSS. of the Britiſh Muſeum this piece is entitled *La Chevalerie Spirituelle de ce monde.* 17 E. iv. 2.

[2] Sallier, *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 518.

[3] [Warton and his editors omit to mention that this work by an accompliſhed lady, a native of Venice, but born of Bologneſe parents, was tranſlated about 1530 by R. W., who was probably the Robert Wyer who printed the book. See *Hand. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Chriſtine de Piſe.*]

[4] ſtreaks of light. A very common word in Lydgate. Chaucer, *Kn. T.* ver. 597.

"And while the twilight and the *rowis* red
Of Phebus light."

[5] ſalute. [6] chaſe. [7] open. [8] B. i. ch. vi. [edit. 1555.]
[9] change. B. iii. c. xxiiii. [10] colours.

Frequently in theſe florid landſcapes we find the ſame idea differently expreſſed. Yet this circumſtance, while it weakened the deſcription, taught a copiouſneſs of diction and a variety of poetical phraſeology. There is great ſoftneſs and facility in the following delineation of a delicious retreat:

Tyll at the laſt amonge the bowes glade
Of aduenture I caught a pleſaunt ſhade;
Ful ſmothe and playn and luſty for to ſene,
And ſoft as veluet was the yonge grene:
Where fro my hors I did alight as faſt,
And on a bowe aloft his reyne caſt.
So faynte and mate of weryneſſe I was,
That I me layde adowne vpon the gras,
Upon a bryncke, ſhortly for to telle,
Beſyde the ryuer of a criſtall welle;
And the water, as I reherſe can,
Like quicke ſiluer in his ſtreames ran,[1]
Of whych the grauell and the bryght ſtone
As any golde agayne the ſonne ſhone.[2]

The circumſtance of the pebbles and gravel of a tranſparent ſtream glittering againſt the ſun, which is uncommon, has much of the brilliancy of the Italian poetry. It recalls to my memory a paſſage in Theocritus:

Εὗρον ἀεναον κραναν ὑπο λισσαδι πετρῃ,
Ὑδατι πεπληθυιαν ακηρατῳ· αἱ δ' ὑπενερθεν
Λαλλαι κρυσταλλῳ ηδ' αργυρῳ ιυδαλλοντο
Εκ βυθου.

They found a perpetual ſpring, under a high rock,
Filled with pure water: but underneath
The pebbles ſparkled as with cryſtal and ſilver
From the bottom.[3]

There is much elegance of ſentiment and expreſſion in the portrait of Creſeide weeping, when ſhe parts with Troilus:

And fro her eyen the teares round drops tryll,
That all fordewed haue her blacke wede;
And eke vntruſſed her heyre abrode gã ſprede,
Lyke golde wyre forrent and all to torne—
And ouer this her freſhe roſen hewe,
Whylom ymeynt[4] with whyte lylyes newe,
Wyth wofull wepynge pyteouſly diſteyned;
And like the herbes in April all bereyned,
Or floures freſhe with the dewes ſwete,
Ryght ſo her chekes moyſte were and wete.[5]

The following verſes are worthy of attention in another ſtyle of

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[1] [Perhaps the poet only means to expreſs quick motion; but Swinburn tells us that in a room of the Mooriſh palace at Corduba, where water could not be had, there is a ſhallow cavity in the floor which was filled with quickſilver to give the appearance of water.—*Aſhby.*]

[2] B. ii. cap. xii.

[3] Διοσκουρ. Idyll. xxii. v. 37.

[4] mingled.

[5] B. iii. c. xxv. So again of Polyxena, B. iv. c. xxx.:

"And aye ſhe rente with her fingers ſmale
Her golden heyre on her blacke wede."

writing, and have great ſtrength and ſpirit. A knight brings a ſteed to Hector in the midſt of the battle:

> And brought to Hector ſothly there he ſtode
> Amonge grekes all bathed in their bloud:
> The whiche in haſte ful knightly he beſtrode,
> And thē amonge lyke Mars himſelfe he rode.[1]

The ſtrokes on the helmets are thus expreſſed, ſtriking fire amid the plumes:

> But ſtrokes felle, that men hardeen rynge,
> On baſſenettes the feeldes rounde about,
> So cruelly that the fyre ſprange oute
> Amonge the tuftes brode, bryght and ſhene,
> Of foyle of golde, & fethers whyte and grene.[2]

The touches of feudal manners, which our author affords, are innumerable: for the Trojan ſtory, and with no great difficulty, is here entirely accommodated to the ideas of romance. Hardly any adventure of the champions of the Round Table was more chimerical and unmeaning than this of our Grecian chiefs: and the cauſe of their expedition to Troy was quite in the ſpirit of chivalry, as it was occaſioned by a lady. When Jaſon arrives at Colchos, he is entertained by King Oetes in a Gothic caſtle. Amadis or Lancelot was never conducted to his fairy chamber with more ceremony and ſolemnity. He is led through many a hall and many a tower, by many a ſtair, to a ſumptuous apartment, whoſe walls, richly painted with the hiſtories of ancient heroes, glittered with gold and azure:

> Through many halle, and many riche toure,
> By many tourne, and many dyuers waye,
> By many gree[3] made of marbyll graye.—
> And in his chambre, engloſed[4] bright & cleare,
> That ſhone ful ſhene with gold & with aſure,
> Of many ymage that there was in picture,
> He hath commaunded to his offycers,
> Only in honour of thē that were ſtraungers,
> Spyces and wyne.[5]

The ſiege of Troy, the grand object of the poem, is not conducted according to the claſſical art of war. All the military machines, invented and uſed in the Cruſades, are aſſembled to demoliſh the bulwarks of that city, with the addition of great guns. Among other implements of deſtruction borrowed from the holy war, the Greek fire (firſt diſcovered at Conſtantinople), with which the Saracens ſo greatly annoyed the Chriſtian armies, is thrown from the walls of the beſieged.[6]

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[1] B. iii. c. xxii. [2] B. ii. c. xviii. [3] Greece, degree, ſtep, ſtair, gradus.

[4] Painted, or rather Englaſed. Skelton's [*Garlande*] *of Laurell*, [Works, edit. Dyce, i. 381]:

> "Where the poſtis wer embulyoned with ſaphiris indy blew
> Englaſid glittering," &c.

[5] B. i. c. v. See Colonna, ſignat. b.

[6] B. ii. c. xviii. In Caxton's *Troy-Book* Hercules is ſaid to make the fire "artificiall" as well as Cacus, &c. ii. 24.

Nor are we only preſented in this piece with the habits of feudal life and the practices of chivalry. The poem is enriched with a multitude of oriental fictions and Arabian traditions. Medea gives to Jaſon, when he is going to combat the brazen bulls, and (to lull the dragon who guarded the golden fleece aſleep) a marvellous ring, in which was a gem whoſe virtue could deſtroy the efficacy of poiſon, and render the wearer inviſible. It was the ſame ſort of precious ſtone, adds our author, which Virgil celebrates, and which Venus ſent her ſon Eneas, that he might enter Carthage unſeen. Another of Medea's preſents to Jaſon, to aſſiſt him in this perilous achievement, is a ſilver image or taliſman, which defeated all the powers of incantation, and was framed according to principles of aſtronomy.[1] The hall of King Priam is illuminated at night by a prodigious carbuncle, placed among ſapphires, rubies and pearls on the crown of a golden ſtatue of Jupiter, fifteen cubits high.[2] In the court of the palace, was a tree made by magic, whoſe trunk was twelve cubits high; the branches, which overſhadowed diſtant plains, were alternately of ſolid gold and ſilver, bloſſomed with gems of various hues, which were renewed every day.[3] Moſt of theſe extravagances, with a thouſand more, are in Guido di Colonna, who lived when this mode of fabling was at its height. But in the fourth book, Dares Phrygius is particularly cited for a deſcription of Priam's palace, which ſeemed to be founded by fayrie or enchantment, and was paved with cryſtal, built of diamonds, ſapphires, and emeralds, and ſupported by ivory pillars, ſurmounted with golden images.[4] This is not, however, in Dares. The warriors, who came to the aſſiſtance of the Trojans, afford an ample field for invention. One of them belongs to a region of foreſts, amid the gloom of which wander many monſtrous beaſts, not real, but appearances or illuſive images, formed by the deceptions of necromancy to terrify the traveller.[5] King Epiſtrophus brings from the land beyond the Amazons a thouſand knights, among whom is a terrible archer, half man and half beaſt, who neighs like a horſe, and whoſe eyes ſparkle like a furnace, and ſtrike dead like lightning.[6] This is Shakeſpeare's "dreadful ſagittary."[7] The Trojan horſe, in the genuine ſpirit of Arabian philoſophy, is formed of braſs;[8] of ſuch immenſe ſize, as to contain a thouſand ſoldiers.

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[1] B. ii. c. xviii. [2] B. ii. c. xi. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Cap. xxvi. [5] B. ii. c. xviii.
[6] So deſcribed by Colonna, ſig. n 4, *ſeq.*
[7] *Ibid.* And B. iii. c. xxiv. The Sagittary is not in Dictys or Dares. In whom alſo theſe warriors are but barely named, and are much fewer in number. See Dar. cap. xviii. p. 161. Dict. lib. ii. cap. xxxv. p. 51. The deſcription of the perſons of Helen, and of the Trojan and Grecian heroes [B. ii. c. xv.] is from Dares through Colonna. (Daret. *Hiſt.* c. xii. p. 156, *ſeq.*)
[8] In Dicty's "tabulatis extruitur ligneis," lib. v. c. x. p. 113. In Gower he is alſo a "hors of braſſe." *Conf. Amant.* lib. i. fol. xiiii. a, col. 1. From Colonna, ſignat. t 4. Here alſo are Shakeſpeare's fabulous names of the gates of Troy. Signat. d 4, *ſeq.*

Colonna, I believe, gave the Trojan ſtory its romantic additions. It had long before been falſified by Dictys and Dares; but thoſe writers, miſrepreſenting or enlarging Homer, only invented plain and credible facts. They were the baſis of Colonna, who firſt filled the faint outlines of their fabulous hiſtory with the colourings of Eaſtern fancy, and adorned their ſcanty forgeries with the gorgeous trappings of Gothic chivalry. Or, as our author expreſſes himſelf in his Prologue, ſpeaking of Colonna's improvements on his originals:

> For he enlumineth by crafte and cadence
> This noble ſtorye with many freſhe coloure
> Of rhetorik, and many ryche flouer
> Of eloquence, to make it ſounde the bett.[1]

Clothed with theſe new inventions, this favourite tale deſcended to later times. Yet, it appears, not only with theſe, but with an infinite variety of other embelliſhments not fabricated by the fertile genius of Colonna, but adopted from French enlargements of Colonna, and incorporated from romances on other ſubjects, in the French *Hiſtories of Troy*, written by a French eccleſiaſtic, Rauol le Fevre [in] 1464, and tranſlated by Caxton.[2]

The deſcription of the city of Troy, as newly built by King Priam, is extremely curious; not for the capricious incredibilities and abſurd inconſiſtencies which it exhibits,[3] but becauſe it conveys anecdotes of ancient architecture, and eſpecially of that florid and improved ſpecies which began to grow faſhionable in Lydgate's age. Although much of this is in Colonna. He avoids to deſcribe it geometrically, having never read Euclid. He ſays that Priam [ſent]

> For ſuch as coulde graue, groupe, or carue,
> Or ſuche as were able for to ſerue,
> With lime and ſtone for to reyſe a wall,
> With bataylyng and creſtes marciall,
> Or ſuch as had connynge in their head
> Alabaſter, other white or read,
> Or marbell grey, for to pullyſhe playne,
> To make it ſmothe of vaynes and of grayne;
> He ſente alſo for euery ymageour
> Both in entayle, and euery portreyour

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[1] better.

[2] As for inſtance, Hercules having killed the eleven giants of Cremona, builds over them a vaſt tower, on which he placed eleven images of metal, of the ſize and figure of the giants. B. ii. c. 24. Something like this, I think, is in *Amadis de Gaul*. Robert Braham, in the *Epiſtle to the Reader*, prefixed to the edition of Lydgate's *Troy Book*, 1555, is of opinion that the fables in the French *Recuyell* ought to be ranked with the "trifeling tales" and "barrayne leurdries" of *Robyn Hode* and *Bevys of Hampton*, and are not to be compared with the "faythful" and "trewe" reports of this hiſtory given by Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretenſis.

[3] It is three days' journey in length and breadth. The walls are two hundred cubits high, of marble and alabaſter, and machicolated. At every angle was a crown of gold, ſet with the richeſt gems. There were great guns in the towers. On each turret were figures of ſavage and monſtrous beaſts in braſs. The gates were of braſs, and each has a portcullis. The houſes were all uniform, and of marble, ſixty cubits high.

For eche caruer and curious ioyner,
To make knottes with many a queynt floure
To ſette on creſtes within and eke without.—
* * * * *
And yf I ſhould reherſen by and by,
The corue knottes by craft of maſonry;
The freſhe enbowing[1] with verges right as lynes,
And the houſyng ful of backewines,
The ryche coyning, the luſty tablementes,
Vinettes[2] ronning in caſementes.
* * * * *
Nor howe they put, in ſtede of mortere,
In the ioyntoures, coper gylte full clere;
To make them ioyne by leuell and by lyne,
Amonge the marbell freſhely for to ſhyne
Agaynſt the ſonne, whan his ſhene lyght
Smote on the golde that was burned bright.

The ſides of every ſtreet were covered with "freſhe alures"[3] of marble, or cloiſters, crowned with rich and lofty pinnacles, and fronted with tabernacular or open work,[4] vaulted like the dormitory of a monaſtery, and called *deambulatories*, for the accommodation of the citizens in all weathers:

And euery houſe couered was with lead;
And many gargoyle, and many hydous head,
With ſpoutes thorough, &c.[5]—

And again, of Priam's palace:

And the walles, within and eke without,
Endlonge were with knottes grauen cleane,
Depeynt with aſure, golde, cinople, & grene.
* * * * *
And all the windowes and eche feneſtrall
Wrought were of beryl[6] & of cleare cryſtall.

With regard to the reality of the laſt circumſtance, we are told that in Studley caſtle in Shropſhire[7] the windows, ſo late as the reign of Elizabeth, were of beryl.

The account of the Trojan theatre muſt not be omitted, as it diſplays the imperfect ideas of the ſtage, at leaſt of dramatic exhibition, which now prevailed; or rather the abſolute inexiſtence of this ſort of ſpectacle. Our author ſuppoſes that comedies and tragedies were firſt repreſented at Troy.[8] He defines a comedy to

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[1] arching.

[2] [Sprigs or branches uſed in pictorial or architectural ornamentation.]

[3] ["The *alure* ſeems in its primary ſenſe to have been the paſſage behind the battlements, *allorium*, *ambulacrum*, in French, *alleure* or *allée*."—Way, *Promptor. Parvulorum.*]

[4] Like the latticed ſtone-work, or *cancelli*, of a Gothic ſhrine.

[5] [See a note by Dallaway in Walpole's *Anecd. of Painting*, edit. 1862, i. 124.]

[6] [For a more ſtriking deſcription of Priam's palace ſee *The Geſt Hyſtoriale of the Deſtruction of Troy*, edit. 1869, pp. 54-6.—*Donaldſon.*]

[7] [Should we not read Sudeley Caſtle, near Winchcombe, in Glouceſterſhire? See Leland's *Itinerary*, iv. fol. 170, where it is ſaid that "part of the windowes of it were glazed with berall." This, however, has been doubted by an intelligent friend in his account of Sudeley. See *Monthly Mag.*—*Park.*]

[8] Harriſon's *Deſcript. Brit.* cap. xii. p. 188. The occupations of the citizens

begin with complaint and to end with "gladneſſe:" expreſſing the actions of thoſe only who live in the loweſt condition. But tragedy, he informs us, begins in proſperity, and ends in adverſity: ſhowing the wonderful viciſſitudes of fortune which have happened in the lives of kings and mighty conquerors. In the theatre of Troy, he adds, was a pulpit, in which ſtood a poet, who rehearſed the "noble dedes that were hyſtoryall of kynges, & prynces," and worthy emperors; and, above all, related thoſe fatal and ſudden cataſtrophes, which they ſometimes ſuffered by murder, poiſon, conſpiracy, or other ſecret and unforeſeen machinations:

All this was tolde and red of the poete.
And whyle that he in the pulpet ſtode
With deadly face all deuoyde of blode,
Synging his diteis with muſes all-to-rent;
Amyd the theatre, ſhrowded in a tent,
There came out men, gaſtfull of their cheres,
Disfygured their faces with viſeres,
Playing by ſygns in the peoples ſyght
That the poet ſonge hath on heght:[1]
So that there was no maner diſcordaunce,
Atwene his ditees and their countenaunce.
For lyke as he alofte dyd expreſſe
Wordes of ioye or of heauineſſe,
So craftely they[2] coulde them[3] transfygure.[4]

It is added, that theſe plays, or "rytes of tragedyes old," were acted at Troy, and "in the theatre halowed and yholde," when the months of April and May returned.

In this detail of the dramatic exhibition which prevailed in the ideal theatre of Troy, a poet, placed on the ſtage in a pulpit, and characteriſtically habited, is ſaid to have recited a ſeries of tragical adventures; whoſe pathetic narrative was afterwards expreſſed by the dumb geſticulations of a ſet of maſqued actors. Some perhaps may be inclined to think, that this imperfect ſpecies of theatric repreſentation was the rude drama of Lydgate's age. But ſurely Lydgate would not have deſcribed at all, much leſs in a long and laboured digreſſion, a public ſhow which from its nature was familiar and

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of Troy are mentioned. There were goldſmiths, jewellers, embroiderers, weavers of woollen and linen, of cloth, of gold, damaſk, ſattin, velvet, *ſendel*, or a thin ſilk like cypreſs, and double *ſamyte*, or ſatin. Smiths who forged poll-axes, ſpears, and *quarrel-heads*, or croſs-bow darts ſhaped ſquare. Armourers, bowyers, fletchers, makers of trappings, banners, ſtandards, penons, "and for the fielde freſhe and gaye getours." I do not preciſely underſtand the laſt word. Perhaps it is a ſort of ornamental armour for the legs. [We may refer, by way of compariſon, to the liſt of trades, as they ſtand in the *Geſt Hyſtoriale*. Some intereſt is attached to this particular; each verſion gives a different ſet, and many of them are not in Guido di Colonna at all; indeed the liſt as given by our author, and the deſcription of the tradeſmen, their ſhops and homes, are exactly thoſe of Edinburgh in the fifteenth century. See the Early Engliſh Text Society's edit. part i. pp. 53-4.—*Donaldſon.*]

[1] "That which the poet ſung, ſtanding in the pulpit."

[2] the actors.

[3] [Mr. Horne Tooke queried whether *them* did not refer to words in the lines preceding.—*Park.* Clearly.]

[4] Lib. ii. cap. x. See alſo, B. iii. c. xxviii.

notorious. On the contrary, he deſcribes it as a thing obſolete, and exiſting only in remote times. Had a more perfect and legitimate ſtage now ſubſiſted, he would not have deviated from his ſubject, to communicate unneceſſary information, and to deliver ſuch minute definitions of tragedy and comedy. On the whole, this formal hiſtory of a theatre conveys nothing more than an affected diſplay of learning, and is collected, yet with apparent inaccuracy and confuſion of circumſtances from what the ancient grammarians have left concerning the origin of the Greek tragedy. [It was doubtleſs] borrowed by our author from ſome French paraphraſtic verſion of Colonna's Latin romance.[1]

Among the ancient authors, beſide thoſe already mentioned as cited in this poem, are Lollius for the hiſtory of Troy, Ovid for the tales of Medea and Jaſon, and Ulyſſes and Polyphemus, the Myrmidons and other ſtories, Statius for Polynices and Eteocles, the venerable Bede, Fulgentius the mythologiſt, Juſtinian with whoſe inſtitutes Colonna as a civilian muſt have been well acquainted, Pliny, and Jacobus de Vitriaco. The laſt is produced to prove that Philometer, a famous philoſopher, invented the game of cheſs, to divert a tyrant from his cruel purpoſes in Chaldea: and that thence it was imported into Greece. But Colonna, or rather Lydgate, is of a different opinion; and contends in oppoſition to his authority that this game, "ſo ſotyll and ſo marvaylous," was diſcovered by "prudent clerkes" during the ſiege of Troy, and firſt practiſed in that city. Jacobus de Vitriaco was a canon regular at Paris, and among other dignities in the church, biſhop of Ptolemais in Paleſtine about the year 1230. This tradition of the invention of cheſs is mentioned by Vitriaco in his *Hiſtory*.[2] The anecdote of Philometer is, I think, in Egidius Romanus above mentioned. [The author of the poem called *Chaucer's Dream*] calls Athalus, that is Attalus Philometer, who is often mentioned in Pliny, the inventor of cheſs.[3]

I muſt not paſs over an inſtance of Lydgate's gallantry, as it is the gallantry of a monk. Colonna takes all opportunities of ſatiriſing the fair ſex; and Lydgate with great politeneſs declares himſelf abſolutely unwilling to tranſlate thoſe paſſages of this ſevere moraliſt, which contain ſuch unjuſt and illiberal miſrepreſentations of the female character. Inſtead of which, to obviate theſe injurious reflections, our tranſlator enters upon a formal vindication of the ladies; not by a panegyric on their beauty, nor encomiums on thoſe amiable accompliſhments, by which they refine our ſenſibilities, and give elegance to life; but by a diſplay of that religious fortitude with which ſome women have ſuffered martyrdom; or of that inflexible chaſtity, by means of which others have been ſnatched up alive into heaven,

[1] Colonna calls him, "ille fabularius Sulmonenſis,—fabuloſe commentans," &c. Signat. b, 2.

[2] ["Libri duo, quorum prior orientalis . . . alter occidentalis hiſtoriæ nomine inſcribitur," Paris, 1597.]

[3] [Chaucer's Works, edit. 1721, p. 408. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve, that this view is erroneous.]

in a ſtate of genuine virginity. Among other ſtriking examples which the calendar affords, he mentions the tranſcendent grace of the eleven thouſand virgins who were martyred at Cologne in Germany. In the mean time, female ſaints, as I ſuſpect, in the barbarous ages were regarded with a greater degree of reſpect, on account of thoſe exaggerated ideas of gallantry which chivalry inſpired: and it is not improbable that the diſtinguiſhed honours paid to the Virgin Mary might have partly proceeded from this principle.

Among the anachroniſtic improprieties which this poem contains, ſome of which have been pointed out, the moſt conſpicuous is the fiction of Hector's ſepulchre, or tomb: which alſo merits our attention for another reaſon, as it affords us an opportunity of adding ſome other notices of the modes of ancient architecture to thoſe already mentioned. The poet (from Colonna) ſuppoſes that Hector was buried in the principal church of Troy near the high altar, within a magnificent oratory erected for that purpoſe, exactly reſembling the Gothic ſhrines of our cathedrals, yet charged with many romantic decorations:

> With crafty archys rayſyd wonder clene,
> Embowed over all the work to cure,
> So marveylous was the celature:
> That al the roſe, and cloſure envyrowne,
> Was of fyne golde plated up and downe,
> With knottes grave wonder curyous
> Fret ful of ſtonys rich and precious, &c.

The ſtructure is ſupported by angels of gold. The ſteps are of cryſtal. Within is not only an image of Hector in ſolid gold, but his body embalmed, and exhibited to view with the reſemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes artificially diſpoſed, and operating on the principles of vegetation.[1] This is from the chemiſtry of the times. Before the body were four inextinguiſhable lamps in golden ſockets. To complete the work, Priam founds a regular chantry of prieſts, whom he accommodates with manſions near the church, and endows with revenues, to ſing in this oratory for the ſoul of his ſon Hector.[2]

In the Bodleian library, there is a prodigious folio MS. on vellum,

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[1] [I wonder nobody ever thought of proving that the circulation of the blood was known before Harvey, from this paſſage. However, it ſeems difficult to conceive how this liquor was ſeen to circulate through golden tubes let into a mummy. Had he made his *body* of cryſtal inſtead of the *ſteps*, with proper tubular paſſages, we might fancy the blood circulated, as it is ſeen to do in a great length of glaſs tube artificially twiſted.—*Aſhby.* If Dr. Aſhby had lived to our time, he might have witneſſed the expreſſion of doubt as to Harvey's origination of the great diſcovery on grounds independent of the preſent paſſage.]

[2] B. iii. c. xxviii. Joſeph of Exeter in his *Antiocheis* has borrowed from this tomb of Hector, in his brilliant deſcription of the mauſoleum of Teuthras, lib. iv. 451. I have quoted the paſſage in the [third] *Diſſertation.* [For another deſcription of Hector's tomb, and of his embalming, ſee the *Deſtruction of Troy*, edit. 1869, pp. 284-5.—*Donaldſon.*]

a tranſlation of Colonna's *Trojan Hiſtory* into verſe,[1] which [of courſe will not be] confounded with Lydgate's *Troy-Book* now before us. It is an entirely different work, and is written in the ſhort minſtrel-metre. I have given a ſpecimen of the Prologue above. It appears to me to be Lydgate's *Troy-Book* diveſted of the octave-ſtanza, and reduced into a meaſure which might more commodiouſly be ſung to the harp.[2] It is not likely that Lydgate is its author: that he ſhould

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[1] MSS. Laud, K. 76, fol. [now Laud, 595. I am told that it is a fine MS. and worth printing.]

[2] It may, however, be thought, that this poem is rather a tranſlation or imitation of ſome French original, as the writer often refers to *The Romance*. If this be the caſe, it is not immediately formed from the *Troy-book* of Lydgate, as I have ſuggeſted in the text. I believe it to be about Lydgate's age; but there is no other authority for ſuppoſing it to be written by Lydgate than that, in the beginning of the Bodleian MS. now before us, a hand-writing, of about the reign of James I. aſſigns it to that poet [in this prefix: "Dares a Trojan haralte and Dictas a Grecian haralte, wrat this booke in Greeke, and lefte it in Athenes, and theare it was founde by Guido de Columpius, a notary at Rome, and digeſted into Latyn, and in anno 1414 tranſlated into Engliſhe by John Lidgate monke of Bury. Vide fo. 2."—*Park.*] I will give a few lines from the poem itſelf, which begins with Jaſon's expedition to Colchos, the conſtant prelude to the Trojan ſtory in all the writers of this ſchool:

"In colkos Ile a Cite was,
That men called thanne reconitas;
Fair and mekel,[1] large and longe,
With walles heye and wondir ſtronge:
Ful of toures and heye paleis,
Off riche knyȝtes and burgeis:
A kyng that tyme that hete[2] Cetes
Gouerned than that lond In pes,[3]
With his baronage and his meyne,
Dwelleden thanne in that Cyte:
For al aboute that riche toun
Stode wodes and parkis enviroun,
That were replenyſched wondirful
Off herte and hynde, bore and bul,
And other many ſauage beſtis,
Be-twix that wode and that foreſtis,
Ther was large contray & playn,
Faire wodes & fair Champayn,
Ful of ſemely-rennyng welles,
As the romaunce the ſothe[4] telles,
With-oute the cete that ther ſprong.
Ther was of briddes michel ſang
Thorow alle the ȝer[5] and mykel cry,
Off alle Ioyes gret melody.
¶ To that Cite & kyng Cetes
Ȝode[6] Iaſon and hercules,
And alle the felawes that he hadde
In clothes of gold, as kynges be cladde," &c.—fol. 8 *b.*

Afterwards, fol. 9 *b.* the ſorcereſs Medea, the king's daughter, is thus characteriſed:

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[1] great. [2] hight, named. [3] peace. [4] truth.
[5] year. [6] came.

either thus transform his own compoſition, or write a new piece on the ſubject. That it was a poem in ſome conſiderable eſtimation, appears from the ſize and ſplendour of the MS.: and this circumſtance induces me to believe, that it was at a very early period aſcribed to Lydgate. On the other hand, it is extraordinary that the name of the writer of ſo prolix and laborious a work, reſpectable

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"Sche coude the ſcience of clergy,
And mochel of Nigramauncy.—
¶ Sche coude with coniuriſouns,
With here ſcleyghte[1] and oreſouns,
The day, that was moſt fair & lyght,
Make as derk es any nyght:
Sche coude alſo In ſelcouth wyſe
Make the wynde bothe blowe & ryſe,
And make hi*m* ſo lowde blowe,
As it ſcholde houſes ouerthrowe.
He couthe turne, verement,
Alle wederes[2] and the firmament," &c.

The reader, in ſome of theſe lines, obſerves the appeal to *The romance* for authority. This is common throughout the poem, as I have hinted. But at the cloſe, the poet wiſhes eternal ſalvation to the ſoul of the author of the *Romaunce*, fol. 275:

"¶ And thus was Troye dryuen dou*n* . . . .
As In this romaunce men may rede . . . .
¶ And thus endis this ſtrong*e* batayle . . . .
As the romaunce ther-of doth ſay . . . .
¶ And he that this romaunce wroght & made
Lord In heuene thow him glade."

[I think the word *Romance* does not occur any where elſe in the MS. except in the firſt page.]

If this piece is tranſlated from a French romance, it is not from the ancient metrical one of Benoit [de Sainte More,] but perhaps from ſome later French romance, which copied or tranſlated Colonna's book. This, among other circumſtances, we may collect from theſe lines:

"Dares the heraud of Troye ſays,
And Dites that was of the Gregeis, &c.
And after him cometh *maiſter* Gy,
That was of Rome a notary."

This *maiſter Gy* or *Guy*, that is Guido di Colonna, he adds, wrote this hiſtory:

"In the *manere* I ſchall telle."

That is "my author, or romance, follows Colonna." *Dares the heraud* is Dares Phrygius, and *Dites* Dictys Cretenſis.

This poem, in the Bodleian MS. aforeſaid, is finiſhed, as I have partly obſerved, with an invocation to God, to ſave the author and the readers or hearers, and ends with this line:

"Seythe alle Amen for charite."

But this rubric immediately follows, at the beginning of a page: "Hic bellum de Troye Ffinit et Greci tranſierunt verſus patriam ſuam." Then follow ſeveral lineated pages of vellum, without writing. I have never ſeen any other manuſcript of this piece.

[See the Alliterative *Troy-Book* from the MS. in the Hunterian Muſeum, Glaſgow, printed for the Early Engliſh Text Society, 1869, and M. Joly's admirable edition of Benoit de Saint More's *Roman de Troie*, Paris, 1870, with an eſſay on the author's works (already quoted).— F.]

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[1] ſleight, art. [2] weathers.

and conſpicuous at leaſt on account of its length, ſhould have never tranſpired. The language accords with Lydgate's age, and is of the reign of Henry VI.: and to the ſame age I refer the hand-writing, which is executed with remarkable elegance and beauty.[1]

[To the ſame reign belongs William Lichfield, Parſon of All-Hallows, Thames Street, who died in 1447. He is the author of a poem in ſeventy-two eight-line ſtanzas, entitled *The Complaint between God and man.* There was an edition of it, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and it occurs in more than one MS.[2]]

SECTION XXIV.

TWO more poets remain to be mentioned under the reign of Henry VI., if mere tranſlation merit that appellation. Theſe are Hugh [de] Campeden and Thomas Cheſtre.

The firſt was a great traveller, and tranſlated into Engliſh verſe the French romance of *Sidrac*, [of which there is a copy in MS. Egerton, 751.] This tranſlation, [which is not very uncommon in MS.] was printed with the following title at the expenſe of Robert Saltwood, a monk of Saint Auſtin's convent at Canterbury [about 1530]: "The Hiſtory of Kyng Boccus and Sydracke how he confounded his lerned men and in the ſyght of them dronke ſtrong venym in the Name of the Trinite and dyd him no hurt. Alſo his dyuynyte that he lerned of the Boke of Noe. Alſo his profycye that he had by Revelacyon of the aungell," &c.] There is no ſort of elegance in the diction, nor harmony in the verſification. It is in the minſtrel-metre. [It begins:][3]

Men may fynde in olde bookes,
Who ſoo yat in them lookes,
That men may mooche here,
And yerefore yff yat yee wolle lere,

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[1] [Mr. Heber had a poetical tract, printed by W. de Worde, entitled *The Proverbes of Lydgate.* In the colophon it is termed *The Proverbes of Lydgate upon the fall of prynces.* It begins

"To kyſſe the ſteppes of them that were fortheryng
Laureate poetes which had ſoveraynte."

It conſiſts of ſeveral detached poems gathered from Lydgate's imitation of Boccaccio. The whole are compoſed in ſtanzas which have the peculiarity of cloſing with a ſimilar line in each piece. The third of theſe bears relation to a ſong which is in abeyance between Chaucer and Lydgate.—*Park.* But the piece referred to by Mr. Park is the *Good Counſel of Chaucer.* See Bell's ed. viii. 143.]

[2] MSS. Caius Coll. Camb. E 147, b. This writer, who ſhone moſt in proſe, is ſaid to have written 3083 Engliſh ſermons [in a note to a copy of his *Complaint* in a folio MS. of the early part of the fifteenth century in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Henry Huth.] See T. Gaſcoigne MS. Dict. art. *Prædicator;* Stow's *Survey of London*, 251, 386; and Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 819.

[3] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud, G. 57, [which differs literally from the old printed copy.]

I ſhall teche yoowe a lytill jeſte
That befell oonys in the eſte.
There was a kynge that Boctus hyght
And was a man of mooche myght.
His londe lay be grete Inde:
Bectorye hight hit as we fynde,
After the tyme of Noee even
VIIJ^te^ hundred yere fourty and ſeven
The kynge Bochus hym be thought
That he would have a citee wrought
The rede Jewes fro hym ſpere
And for to mayntene his were
Ayenſt a kyng that was hys foo,
And hath moſte of Inde longyng hym too:
His name Garaab the kyng.
Bocchus tho proved all this thing,
And ſmartly a towre begenne he,
There he wolde make his citee;
And it was right at the incomyng
Of Garabys londe the kyng.
The maſons with grete laboure
Beganne to worke uppon the toure;
And all that they wroghten on day
On night was hit done away.
On morn when Bochus hit herde,
Hee was wroth that hit ſo ferde,
And dyd hyt all new begynne.
At even whan they ſhuld blynne
Off worke when they went to reſte
In the night was all downe heſte.
Well vii monthes this thei wrought,
And in the night avaylid yt nought.
Boccus was wroth wonderly
And callid his folke that was hym by.
Councellith me lordinges, ſeyde hee,
Howe I may beſte make this citee.
They ſayde: ſir, ſendith a noon
Aftir your philoſophers everychon,
And the aſtronomers of your londe;
Of hem ſhall yee counſeill fonde—

Afterwards King Tractabare is requeſted to ſend

The booke of aſtronomye
That whilom Noe had in baylye,

together with his aſtronomer Sidracke. At the end:

And that Hugh of Campedene
That this boke hath thorogh ſoght,
And untoo Englyſh ryme hit brought.

Sidrack, who is a Chriſtian, at length builds the tower *in Nomine S. Trinitatis*, and he teaches Bocchus, who is an idolater, many articles of true religion.[1]

Thomas Cheſtre appears alſo to have been a writer for the minſtrels. No anecdote of his life is preſerved. He has left a poem entitled *Sir Launfal*, one of Arthur's knights, who is celebrated with

[1] [For copious extracts from the printed edition, ſee Corſer's *Collectanea Anglo-poetica*, ii. 289, *et ſeq.*]

other champions in the French lays, [which is a tranſlation from a lay written on the ſame ſtory by Marie de France. But the tranſlator has introduced occaſional additions and variations]. It is opened with a feaſt celebrated at Whitſuntide by King Arthur at Kardoyl, a French corruption from Carliol, by which is meant Cairleon in Wales, ſometimes in romances confounded with Cardiff:[1]

Jci commence le Lay de Launval.
Laventure de un Lay,
Cum ele avint vus cunteray,
Fait fu dun gentil vaſſal,
En Bretaigne lapelent Launval:
A Kardoyl ſuiornont li reys
Arthur, li prouz, e li curteys,
Pur les Eſcot, e pur les Pis,
Ki deſtrueient les pays;
En la terre de Logres[2] le trououent,
Mult ſouent le damagouent:
A la Pentecuſte en eſtè,
I aveit li reys ſojournè,
A les i dona riches duns,
E al cuntes,[3] e al baruns,
A ceus de la Table Runde, &c.

That is, Here begins the Lay of Launval.—[I will relate to you] the Adventure of a certain Lay, made of a gentle vaſſal, whom in Bretaigne they called Launval. The brave and courteous King Arthur ſojourned at Kardoyl, for making war againſt the Scots and Picts, who deſtroyed the country. He found them in the land of Logres, where they committed frequent outrages. The king was there at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, where he gave rich gifts to the counts and barons, and the knights of the round table, &c.[4]

[The Engliſh] begins thus:

Launfal Miles.
Be douȝty Artours dawes
That held Engelond yn good lawes,
There felle a wondyre cas,
Of a ley[5] that was y-ſette,
That hyȝt Launval and hatte ȝette.
Now herkeneth how hyt was.
Douȝty Artoure ſom whyle
Sojournede yn Kardevyle,[6]

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[1] [See *Geoffr. Monm.* ix. 12.]

[2] Logres, or Loegria, from Locrine, was the middle part of Britain.

[3] counts. So in *Robert of Glouceſter*, we have Contaſs for counteſs. On which word his editor Hearne obſerves, that King James I. uſed to call a counteſs a cuntys. He quotes one of James's letters, "Come and bring the three Cuntys [for counteſſes] with you." *Gloſs.* p. 635.

[4] The writing of this MS. of *Launval* ſeems about 1300. The compoſition is undoubtedly much earlier. There is another (MSS. Harl. 978, § 112). This I have cited in the Firſt Diſſertation. From the Engliſh *Launfall*, I have given extracts in the Diſſertation on the *Geſta Romanorum*, ſupr. pp. 261, 267, of vol. i. See alſo vol. iv. p. 108.]

[5] [lay.]

[6] [Mr. Halliwell ſays: "The old romance of Merlin calls it, 'la ville de Cardueil en Galles [Wales],'" and the editor believes that Carlion-on-Uſk (the *Iſca*

Wyth joye and greet ſolas,
And knyȝtes that were profitable,
With Artour of the rounde table,
Never noon better ther was.
Sere Perſevalle, and ſyr Gawayn,
Syr Gyheryes, and ſyr Agrafrayn,
And Launcelet du Lake,
Syr Kay, and ſyr Ewayn,
That welle couthe fyȝte yn plain,
Bateles for to take.
Kyng Ban Booȝt, and kyng Bos,
Of ham ther was a greet los,
Men ſawe tho nowhere[1] her make,[2]
Syr Galafre, and ſyr Launfale,
Wherof a noble tale
Among us ſchalle a wake.
With Artoure ther was a bachelere
And hadde y-be welle many a ȝere,
Launfal for ſoth he hyȝt,
He gaf gyftys largelyche
Gold and ſylver, and clodes ryche,
To ſquyer and to knyȝt.
For hys largeſſe and hys bountè
The kynges ſtuward made was he
Ten yer, y you plyȝt,
Of alle the knyȝtes of the table rounde
So large ther nas noon y-founde,
Be dayes ne be nyȝt.
So hyt by-fylle yn the tenthe ȝere
Marlyn was Artours counſalere,
He radde hym fore to wende
To kyng Ryon of Irlond ryȝt,
And fette hym ther a lady bryȝt
Gwennere hys douȝtyr hende, &c.

In the concluſion occurs:

Thomas Cheſtre made thys tale
Of the noble knyȝt ſyr Launfale,
Good of chyvalrye:
Jheſus that ys hevene kyng
Yeve us alle hys bleſſyng
And hys modyr Marye. *Amen.*
EXPLICIT LAUNFALE.[3]

[There does not ſeem to be any real] evidence to prove, that Cheſtre was the [tranſlator] of the metrical romance called the *Earle of Tholouſe*.[4] This is [alſo] one of the romances called *Lais*, as appears from theſe lines:

Silurum of the Romans) is the place intended. Carliſle, which Ritſon conjectured, is ſurely very improbable.]

[1] ther. [2] match.

[3] [Printed twice: by Ritſon in his *Romances*, 1802, and again by Halliwell. A later verſion, where the hero is called *Sir Lambwell*, is in the lately edited Percy MSS.; and, of courſe, the ſtory is among the *Fabliaux*.]

[4] MSS. Aſhmol. Oxon. 45 [6926]. And MSS. More, Camb. 27. Princip.:

"Jeſu Criſt in trinite,
Only god in perſons thre, &c.

In romance this geſt
A Ley[1] of Britayn callyd I wys, &c.

That it is a tranſlation, appears from the reference to an original, "The Romans telleth ſo." I will, however, give the outlines of the ſtory, which is not unintereſting, nor inartificially conſtructed.

Diocleſian, a powerful emperor in Germany, has a rupture with Barnard, earl of Toulouſe, concerning boundaries of territory. Contrary to the repeated perſuaſions of the empreſs, who is extremely beautiful, and famous for her conjugal fidelity, he meets the earl with a numerous army in a pitched battle, to decide the quarrel. The earl is victorious, and carries home a great multitude of priſoners, the moſt reſpectable of which is Sir Tralabas of Turkey, whom he treats as his companion. In the midſt of their feſtivities they talk of the beauties of the empreſs; the earl's curioſity is inflamed to ſee ſo matchleſs a lady, and he promiſes liberty to Sir Tralabas, if he can be conducted unknown to the emperor's court, and obtain a ſight of her without diſcovery. They both ſet forward, the earl diſguiſed like a hermit. When they arrive at the emperor's court, Sir Tralabas proves falſe: treacherouſly imparts the ſecret to the empreſs that he has brought with him the Earl of Toulouſe in diſguiſe, who is enamoured of her celebrated beauty, and propoſes to take advantage of ſo fair an opportunity of killing the emperor's great and avowed enemy. She rejects the propoſal with indignation, enjoins the knight not to communicate the ſecret any farther, and deſires to ſee the earl next day in the chapel at maſs. The next day the earl in his hermit's weeds is conveniently placed at maſs. At leaving the chapel, he aſks an alms of the empreſs; and ſhe gives him forty florins and a ring. He receives the preſent of the ring with the higheſt ſatisfaction, and although obliged to return home, in point of prudence and to avoid detection, comforts himſelf with this reflection:

Well is me, I have thy grace,
Of the to have thys thyng!
If ever I have grace of the,
That any love betweene us be,
This may be a Tokenyng.

He then returns home. The emperor is called into ſome diſtant country, and leaves his conſort in the cuſtody of two knights who, attempting to gain her love without ſucceſs, contrive a ſtratagem to defame her chaſtity. She is thrown into priſon, and the emperor

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Lefe frendys I ſhall you telle
Of a tale that ſometyme befell
Far in unkouthe lande,
Howe a lady had grete myſchefe, &c."

[A copy from the latter has been publiſhed by Mr. Ritſon. In orthography it varies conſiderably from the Aſhmole MS., and is evidently of an earlier date.—*Price.*]

[1] Perhaps *ley* in the fourth line of *Sir Launfal* may mean lay in this ſenſe. See note at the beginning of the Firſt Diſſertation.

returns unexpectedly,[1] in conſequence of a viſion. The tale of the two treacherous knights is believed, and ſhe is ſentenced to the flames; yet under the reſtriction, that if a champion can be found who ſhall foil the two knights in battle, her honour ſhall be cleared, and her life ſaved. A challenge is publiſhed in all parts of the world; and the Earl of Toulouſe, notwithſtanding the animoſities which ſtill ſubſiſt between him and the emperor, privately undertakes her quarrel. He appears at the emperor's court in the habit of a monk, and obtains permiſſion to act as confeſſor to the empreſs in her preſent critical ſituation. In the courſe of the confeſſion ſhe proteſts that ſhe was always true to the emperor, yet owns that once ſhe gave a ring to the Earl of Toulouſe. The ſuppoſed confeſſor pronounces her innocent of the charge brought againſt her; on which one of the traitorous knights affirms that the monk was ſuborned to publiſh this confeſſion, and that he deſerved to be conſumed in the ſame fire which was prepared for the lady. The monk pretending that the honour of his religion and character was affected by this inſinuation, challenges both the knights to combat: they are conquered; and the empreſs, after this trial, is declared innocent. He then openly diſcovers himſelf to be the Earl of Toulouſe, the emperor's ancient enemy. A ſolemn reconciliation enſues. The earl is appointed ſeneſchal of the emperor's domain. The emperor lives only three years, and the earl is married to the empreſs.

In the execution of this performance our author was obliged to be conciſe, as the poem was intended to be ſung to the harp. Yet, when he breaks through this reſtraint, inſtead of dwelling on ſome of the beautiful ſituations which the ſtory affords, he is diffuſe in diſplaying trivial and unimportant circumſtances. Theſe popular poets are never ſo happy as when they are deſcribing a battle or a feaſt.

It will not perhaps be deemed impertinent to obſerve that about this period the minſtrels were often more amply paid than the clergy. In this age, as in more enlightened times, the people loved better to be pleaſed than inſtructed. During many of the years of the reign of Henry VI., particularly in the year 1430, at the annual feaſt of the fraternity of the Holy Croſs at Abingdon, in Berkſhire, twelve prieſts each received four pence for ſinging a dirge; and the ſame

[1] The emperor's diſappointment is thus deſcribed:

"Anon to the chamber went he,
He longyd ſore his wyf to ſe,
That was ſo ſwete a wyght:
He callyd theym that ſhulde her kepe,
Where is my wif: is ſhe on ſlepe?
How farys that byrd ſo bryght?
The traytors anſweryd anon,
And ye wiſt how ſhe had done, &c.
The yonge knyght ſir Artour,
That was her hervour, &c.
For bale his armys abrode he ſprede,
And fell in ſwoone on his bed."

number of minſtrels were rewarded each with two ſhillings and four pence, beſide diet and horſe-meat. Some of theſe minſtrels came only from Maydenhithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great diſtance in the ſame county.[1] In the year 1441 eight prieſts were hired from Coventry to aſſiſt in celebrating a yearly obit in the church of the neighbouring priory of Maxtoke; as were ſix minſtrels, called *mimi*, belonging to the family of Lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining caſtle of Maxtoke, to ſing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monaſtery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the monks on that anniverſary. Two ſhillings were given to the prieſts, and four to the minſtrels;[2] and the latter are ſaid to have ſupped in *camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the ſub-prior,[3] on which occaſion the chamberlain furniſhed eight maſſy tapers of wax.[4] That the gratuities allowed to prieſts, even if learned, for their labours, in the ſame age of devotion, were extremely ſlender, may be collected from other expenſes of this priory.[5] In the ſame year the prior gives ſixpence for a ſermon to a *doctor prædicans*, or an itinerant doctor in theology of one of the mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houſes.

[We have mentioned Dan Robert Saltwood, monk of St. Auſtin's, at Canterbury, in the reigns of Henry VII. and his ſucceſſor, as the perſon who undertook the expenſe of tranſlating and publiſhing *The Hiſtory of King Boccus and Sydracke.* This Robert Saltwood, however, beſides being an encourager of letters, was a better poet than either Caumpeden or Cheſtre. He produced, about 1540 or 1550, a poem in ſeven-line ſtanzas, of which only one copy is ſuppoſed to remain, entitled "A comparyſon bytwene. iiii. byrdes the Larke/ the Nyghtingale/ the Thruſshe/ and the Cucko/ for theyr Syngynge who ſhould be chauntoure of the quere." This title occurs over a woodcut of a branch with four birds perched upon it. On the eighteenth leaf is the colophon: "This endythth (*ſic*) the comparyſon of the byrdes compyled by dan Robert Saltwood monke," &c.]

We have now arrived at the reign of Edward IV., who acceded to the throne in the year 1461. But before I proceed in my ſeries, I will employ the remainder of this ſection in fixing the reader's attention on an important circumſtance (now operating in its full extent, and therefore purpoſely reſerved for this period) which greatly contributed to the improvement of our literature, and conſequently of our poetry: I mean the many tranſlations of Latin books, eſpecially claſſics, which the French had been making for about the two laſt centuries, and were ſtill continuing to make, into their own language. In order to do this more effectually, I will collect into one view the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe verſions: not

[1] Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scacc. Append.* p. 598.

[2] *Ex Computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtock, penes me.* "Dat. ſex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, citharizantibus, et ludentibus, in aula in dicta Pietantia, iiii. s."

[3] "Mimis cenantibus in camera picta cum ſuppriore eodem tempore," [the ſum obliterated.]

[4] Ex comp. Camerarii, *ut ſupr.*

[5] Ex comp. prædict.

ſolicitous about thoſe notices on this ſubject which have before occurred incidentally; nor ſcrupulous about the charge of anticipation which, to prepare the reader, I ſhall perhaps incur by lengthening this inquiry, for the ſake of comprehenſion, beyond the limits of the period juſt aſſigned. In the meantime it may be pertinent to premiſe that, from the cloſe communication which formerly ſubſiſted between England and France, manuſcript copies of many of theſe tranſlations, elegantly written and often embelliſhed with the moſt ſplendid illuminations and curious miniatures, were preſented by the tranſlators or their patrons to the kings of England; and that they accordingly appear at preſent among the royal manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum. Some of theſe, however, were tranſcribed, if not tranſlated, by command of our kings; and others brought into England, and placed in the royal library by John, duke of Bedford, regent of France.

It is not conſiſtent with my deſign to enumerate the Latin legends, rituals, monaſtic rules, chronicles, and hiſtorical parts of the Bible, ſuch as the Books of Kings and of the Maccabees, which were looked upon as ſtories of chivalry,[1] tranſlated by the French before the year 1200. Theſe ſoon became obſolete, and are beſides too deeply tinctured with the deplorable ſuperſtition and barbarity of their age to bear a recital.[2] I will therefore begin with the thirteenth century. In the year 1210 Peter Comeſtor's[3] *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, a ſort of breviary of the Old and New Teſtament, accompanied with elaborate expoſitions from Joſephus and many pagan writers, a work compiled at Paris about the year 1175, and ſo popular as not only to be taught in ſchools, but even to be publicly read in the churches with its gloſſes, was tranſlated into French by Guyart des Moulins, a canon of Aire.[4] About the ſame time ſome of the old tranſlations into French made in the eleventh century by Thibault de Vernon, canon of Rouen, were retouched; and the Latin legends of many lives of ſaints, particularly of St. George, of Thomas a Becket, and the martyrdom of St. Hugh, a child murdered in 12[55] by [certain Jews] at Lincoln,[5] were reduced

[1] As *Pluſieurs Battailes des Roys d'Iſrael en contre les Philiſtiens et Aſſyriens*, &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 D. 1, 7.

[2] I muſt however except their *Lapidaire*, a poem on precious ſtones from the Latin of Marbodeus, [as to which, ſee Brunet, laſt edit. iii. 1391,] and the *Beſtiaire [d'Amour*, by Richard de Fournival, written in the middle of the thirteenth century, of which there was an imitation and moralization in verſe. The latter and the *Lapidaire*,] however, ought to be looked upon as efforts of their early poetry, rather than tranſlations.

[3] Or *Le Mangeur*, becauſe he devoured the Scriptures.

[4] The French was firſt publiſhed [by Antoine Verard (1499), 2 vols. folio,] with woodcuts. Voſſius ſays that the original was abridged by Gualter Hunt, an Engliſh Carmelite, about the year 1460. *Hiſt. Lat.* lib. iii. c. 9, p. 197, edit. 1689. It was tranſlated into German rhymes about 1271. Sander. *Bibl. Belg.* pag. 285. There are numerous and very ſumptuous MSS. of this work in the Britiſh Muſeum. One of them, with exquiſite paintings, was written by order of Edward IV. at Bruges, 1470. MSS. Reg. 15 D. i. Another is written in 1382. *Ibid.* 19 B. xvii.

[5] See Chaucer, *Priores T.* ver. 3193. [Everything known relative to St. Hugh

into French verſe. Theſe pieces, to which I muſt add a metrical verſion of the Bible from Geneſis to Hezekiah, by being written in rhyme and eaſy to be ſung, ſoon became popular, and produced the deſired impreſſion on the minds of the people.[1] They were ſoon followed by the verſion of [Ægidius di Colonna] *de Regimine Principum*,[2] by Henri de Gauchi. Dares Phrygius, *The Seven Sages of Rome* by Herbert, Eutropius,[3] and Ariſtotle's *Secretum Secretorum*,[4] appeared about the ſame time in French. To ſay nothing of voluminous verſions of Pandects and feudal cuſtoms,[5] Michel de Harnes tranſlated Turpin's *Charlemagne* in the year 1207.[6] It was into proſe, in oppoſition to the practice which had long prevailed of turning Latin proſe into French rhymes. This piece, in compliance with an age addicted to romantic fiction, our tranſlator undoubtedly preferred to the more rational and ſober Latin hiſtorians of Charlemagne and of France, ſuch as Gregory of Tours, Fredegaire, and Eginart. In the year 1245 the *Speculum Mundi*, a ſyſtem of theology, the ſeven ſciences, geography, and natural philoſophy,[7] was tranſlated at the inſtance of the Duke of Berry and Auvergne.[8] Among the royal MSS. is a ſort of [devotional manual,] compiled in Latin by [Brother Laurence, (Frère Lorens or *Laurentius Gallus*),] the confeſſor of Philip III. in 1279, and tranſlated into French;[9] which tranſlation [uſually known under the title of *Le Somme de Vices et de Vertus*,] Queen Iſabel ordered to be placed in the church of the Innocents at Paris for the uſe of the people.

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has been collected together with great induſtry by M. Franciſque Michel, and publiſhed under the following title: "Hugues de Lincoln; Recueil de Ballades Anglo-Normandes et Ecoſſoiſes rélatives au meurtre de cet enfant," &c. 8vo. Par Silveſtre, 1834.—M.]

[1] It is rather beſide my purpoſe to ſpeak particularly of ſome of the divine offices now made French, and of the church-hymns.

[2] See MSS. Reg. 15 E. vi. 11; *ibid.* 19 B. i.; and *ibid.* 19 A. xx. "Stephanus Fortis clericus ſcripſit. an. 1395."

[3] He was early tranſlated into Greek at Conſtantinople.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. iv. 3.

[5] See a French Juſtinian, &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 D. ix. 2, 3. A MS. before 1300.

[6] Caxton printed a life of *Charles the Great*, 1485. [It is a tranſlation from the French, but the author of the original work is not known. The Early Engliſh Text Society promiſes us a ſeries of the Charlemagne romances. Mr. Shelly of Plymouth has meanwhile communicated to the preſent work his intereſting monograph on the ſubject. See *infrâ*, ſect. v.]

[7] One of the moſt eminent aſtronomers in this work is the poet Virgil.

I know not when *Le Livre Royall* [a verſion of the treatiſe well known in Engliſh under the title of *The Remorſe of Conſcience*, of which Wynkyn de Worde printed a popular metrical epitome], was made French. The Latin original was compiled at the command of Philip le Bel, king of France, in 1279. [Epilogue] to *Caxton's Engl. Tranſlat.* 1484. [A Kentiſh verſion, called the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, has been edited twice; for the Roxburghe Club by Mr. Stevenſon, in 1855, and for the Early Engliſh Text Society by Dr. Morris, in 1866. Several MSS. of the Engliſh work exiſt, but only one of this dialectic verſion.]

[8] See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. ix. [This agrees cloſely with Caxton's *Mirrour of the World*, abſque nota (but 1481), Blades (ii. 82-3) notices ſeveral MSS. in verſe or proſe, differing in certain particulars.]

[9] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. ii. [and Cotton MS., Cleop. A, v.]

The fourteenth century was much more fertile in French tranſlation. The ſpirit of devotion and indeed of this ſpecies of curioſity, raiſed by St. Louis, after a ſhort intermiſſion rekindled under John II. and Charles V. I paſs over the proſe and metrical tranſlations of the Latin Bible in the years 1343 and 1380 by Macè and Raoul de Preſles. Under thoſe reigns, St. Auſtin, Caſſianus, and Gregory the Great[1] were tranſlated into French; and they are the firſt of the fathers that appeared in a modern tongue. St. Gregory's *Homilies* are by an anonymous tranſlator.[2] His *Dialogues* were probably tranſlated by an Engliſh eccleſiaſtic.[3] St. Auſtin's *De Civitate Dei* was tranſlated by Raoul de Preſles, who acted profeſſedly both as confeſſor and tranſlator to Charles V.[4] about the year 1374. During the work he received a yearly penſion of ſix hundred livres from that liberal monarch, who was the firſt founder of a royal library in France, and at whoſe command it was undertaken. It is accompanied with a prolix commentary, valuable only at preſent as preſerving anecdotes of the opinions, manners and literature of the writer's age; from which I am tempted to give the following ſpecimen, as it ſtrongly illuſtrates the ancient ſtate of the French ſtage, and demonſtrably proves that comedy and tragedy were now known only by name in France. He obſerves that comedies are ſo denominated from a room of entertainment, or from thoſe places, in which banquets were accuſtomed to be cloſed with ſinging, called in Greek *conias:* that they were like thoſe *jeux* or plays, which the minſtrel (le chanteur) exhibits in halls or other public places, at a feaſt: and that they were properly ſtyled *Interludi*, as being preſented between the two courſes. Tragedies, he adds, were ſpectacles, reſembling thoſe perſonages which at this day we ſee acting in the life and paſſion of a martyr.[5] This ſhows that only the religious drama now ſubſiſted in France. But to proceed: the *Collationes Patrum* or *Conferences* of Caſſianus, was tranſlated by John Goulain, a Carmelite monk, about 1363. Two tranſlations of that theological romance by Boethius, the *Conſolation of Philoſophy,* one by the celebrated Jean de Meun, author of the *Roman de la Roſe*, exiſted before the year 1340. Others of the early Latin Chriſtian writers were ordered to be turned into French by Jeanne of Navarre, about 1332. But finding that the Archbiſhop of Rouen, who was commiſſioned to execute this arduous taſk, did not underſtand Latin, ſhe employed a Mendicant friar. About the ſame period, and under the ſame patronage, the *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine, archbiſhop of Genoa about the year 1260, an inexhauſtible repoſitory

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[1] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* 15 D. v. 1, 20 D. v.

[3] It is ſuppoſed that they were rendered by an Engliſhman, or one living in England, as the tranſlator's name is marked by an A. And as there is a prayer in the manuſcript to St. Frideſwide, an Oxford ſaint. *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 735, 4to.

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. iii. With pictures. And 14 D. i.

[5] Ch. viii. liv. ii.

of religious fable,[1] was tranſlated by Jehan de Vignay, a monk hoſpitaller.[2] The ſame tranſlator gave alſo a verſion of a famous ritual entitled *Speculum Eccleſiæ*, or the *Mirror of the Church*, of *Cheſs moraliſed*, written by Jacobus de Caſſolis,[3] and of the *Voyage into the Eaſt*,[4] by Odoricus. Thomas Benoit, a Prior of Sainte-Genevieve, gratified the religious with a tranſlation into a more intelligible language of ſome Latin liturgic pieces about the year 1330. But his chief performance was a tranſlation into French verſe of the *Rule of St. Auſtin*. This he undertook merely on a principle of affection and charity, for the edification of his pious brethren who did not underſtand Latin:

> Pour l'amour de vous, très chers freres,
> En François ai traduit ce Latin.

And in the preface he ſays, "Or ſçai-je que *pluſieurs* de vous n'*entendent pas bien* Latin auquel il fut choſe neceſſaire de la rieule [regle] *entendre*." Benoit's ſucceſſor in the priorate of Sainte-Genevieve was not equally attentive to the diſcipline and piety of his monks. Inſtead of tranſlating monkiſh Latin, and enforcing the ſalutary regulations of St. Auſtin, he wrote a ſyſtem of rules for ballad-writing (L'Art de dictier Ballades et Rondels), the firſt Art of Poetry that ever appeared in France.

Among the moral books now tranſlated, I muſt not omit the *Spirituelle Amitie* of John of Meun, from the Latin of Aldred [Ailred, or Ethelred, a Ciſtercian monk of Rievaux, an abbey in the North Riding of York. He was born in 1109, died in 1166, and was canonized in 1191. He produced a large variety of works, beſides the preſent.][5] In the ſame ſtyle of myſtic piety was the treatiſe of Conſolation, written in Latin by Vincent de Beauvais, and tranſlated in the year 1374. In the year 1340, Henri de Suſon, a German dominican and a myſtic doctor, wrote a moſt comprehenſive treatiſe called *Horologium Sapientiæ*. This was tranſlated into French by a monk of Saint François.[6] Even the officers of the court of Charles V. were ſeized with the ardour of tranſlating religious pieces, no leſs than the eccleſiaſtics. The moſt elegant tract of moral Latinity tranſlated into French was the celebrated book of our countryman, John of Saliſbury, *De Nugis Curialium*. This verſion was made by Denis Soulechart, a learned

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[1] In the year 1555, the learned Claude Eſpence was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it *Legenda Ferrea*. Thuan. *ſub ann.* Laun. *Hiſt. Gymnas. Navarr.* pp. 704, 297.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 B. xvii. The copy was written 1382. This verſion [is] the ſame which Caxton tranſlated and printed [three times.] While it was printing, William Lord Arundel, [at whoſe command Caxton undertook it,] gave Caxton annually a buck in ſummer and a doe in winter.

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 C. xi. i. This verſion was tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed by Caxton.

[4] *Ibid.* 19 D. i. 4. 5.

[5] [Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 187, *et ſeqq.*]

[6] [This is a different work from the *Doctrinal of Sapyence*, printed by Caxton in 1489.]

Cordelier, about the year 1360. Notwithſtanding the Epiſtles of Abelard and Eloiſa, not only from the celebrity of Abelard as a Pariſian theologiſt, but on account of the intereſting hiſtory of that unfortunate pair, muſt have been as commonly known, and as likely to be read in the original, as any Latin book in France, they were tranſlated into French in this century by John of Meun, who proſtituted his abilities, when he relinquiſhed his own noble inventions, to interpret the pedantries of monks, ſchoolmen, and proſcribed claſſics. I think he alſo tranſlated Vegetius, who will occur again.[1] In the library of Sainte-Genevieve, there is, in a ſort of ſyſtem of religion, a piece called *Jerarchie*, tranſlated from Latin into French at the command of our Queen Eleanor, in the year 1297, by a French friar.[2] I muſt not however forget, that amidſt this profuſion of treatiſes of religion and inſtruction, civil hiſtory found a place. That immenſe chaos of events real and fictitious, the *Hiſtorical Mirror* of Vincent de Beauvais, was tranſlated by Jehan de Vignay above mentioned.[3] One is not ſurpriſed that the tranſlator of the *Golden Legend* ſhould make no better choice.

The deſolation produced in France[4] by the victorious armies of the Engliſh was inſtantly ſucceeded by a flouriſhing ſtate of letters. King John, having indulged his devotion and ſatisfied his conſcience by procuring numerous verſions of books written on ſacred ſubjects, at length turned his attention to the claſſics. His ignorance of Latin was a fortunate circumſtance, as it produced a curioſity to know the treaſures of Latin literature. He employed Pierre Bercheur, Prior of Saint Eloi at Paris, an eminent theologiſt, to tranſlate Livy into French;[5] notwithſtanding that author had been anathematiſed by Pope Gregory. But ſo judicious a choice [may have been] dictated by Petrarch, who regarded Livy with a degree of enthuſiaſm, who was now reſident at the court of France, and who perhaps condeſcended to direct and ſuperintend the tranſlation. The tranſlator, in his Latin work called *Repertorium* (a ſort of general dictionary, in which all things are proved to be allegorical, and reduced to a moral meaning), under the word Roma records this great attempt in the following manner: "Titum Livium, ad requi-

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[1] There is a copy written in [1384,] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. xv. Often, *ibid.* John of Meun is alſo ſaid to have tranſlated *Mirabilia Hiberniæ.*

[2] "Cette *Jerarchie* tranſlata frere Jehan de Pentham de Latin en Françoys, à la requeſte la reine d'Engleterre Alienore femme le roy Edward." There is alſo this note in the manuſcript. "Ceſt livre reſigna frere Jordan de Kyngeſtone à la commune des freres Menurs de Southampton, par la volunte du graunt frere Willame Notington [f. Northington in Hampſhire,] miniſtre d'Engleterre... l'an. de grace M.CCC.XVII."

[3] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E. i.

[4] A curious picture of the diſtracted ſtate of France is recorded by Petrarch. The king, with the Dauphin, returning from his captivity in England, in paſſing through Picardy, was obliged to make a pecuniary bargain with the numerous robbers that infeſted that country, to travel unmoleſted. *Vie de Petr.* iii. 543.

[5] See Henault. *Nouvel. Abreg. Hiſt. Fr.* p. 229, edit. 1752. And *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. 547.

ſitionem domini Johannis inclyti Francorum regis, non ſine labore et ſudoribus in linguam Gallicam tranſtuli."[1] To this tranſlation we muſt join thoſe of Salluſt, Lucan and Cæſar: all which ſeem to have been finiſhed before the year 1365. This revival of a taſte for Roman hiſtory [which, after all, can hardly have been very powerfully] propagated by Petrarch during his ſhort ſtay in the French court, immediately produced a Latin hiſtorical compilation called *Romuleon* by an anonymous gentleman of France, who ſoon found it neceſſary to tranſlate his work into the vernacular language. Valerius Maximus could not remain long untranſlated. A verſion of that favourite author, begun by Simon de Heſdin, a monk, in 1364, was finiſhed by Nicolas de Goneſſe, a maſter in theology, 1401.[2] Under the laſt-mentioned reign, Ovid's *Metamorphoſes moraliſed*[3] were tranſlated by Guillaume de Nangis: and the ſame poem was tranſlated into French verſe, at the requeſt of Jeanne de Bourbon, afterwards conſort of Charles V. by Philip de Vitri, biſhop of Meaux, Petrarch's friend who was living in 1361.[4] A biſhop would not have undertaken this work, had he not perceived much moral doctrine couched under the pagan ſtories. Jean le Fevre, by command of Charles V. tranſlated the poem *De Vetula*, falſely aſcribed to Ovid.[5] Cicero's *Rhetorica* appeared in French, tranſlated by Jean de Antioche, at the requeſt of one Friar William, in the year 1383. About the ſame time, ſome of Ariſtotle's pieces were tranſlated from Latin; his *Problems* by Evrard de Conti, phyſician to Charles V.; and his *Ethics* and *Politics* by Nicole d'Oreſme, while canon of Rouen. This was the moſt learned man in France, and tutor to

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[1] This was the tranſlation of Livy which, with other books, the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, about 1425 ſent into England to Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter. The copy had been a preſent to the King of France. *Mem. Litt.* ii. 747, 4to. See the third *Diſſertation*. In the Sorbonne library at Paris, there is a moſt valuable MS. of this verſion in two folio volumes. In the front of each book are various miniatures and pictures, moſt beautifully finiſhed. Dan. Maichel, *de Bibliothec. Paris.* p. 79. There is a copy, tranſcribed about the time the tranſlation was finiſhed (Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. vi.): *Des Fais de Romains*. With pictures.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18 E. iii. iv. With elegant delineations, and often in the ſame library.

[3] [See *ſupra*, vol. i. p. 216.]

[4] There was a French Ovid in Duke Humphrey's library at Oxford. See *ſupra*. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iv. 1. [Warton ſuppoſed that this might be the verſion of which Caxton executed an Engliſh proſe tranſlation, at preſent known only in an imperfect MS. in the Pepyſian. The latter, ſuch as it is, has been printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1819. It is to be obſerved that, in ſome old liſts of Caxton's publications, this book is entered as printed in 1479; but no copy has ever come to light.]

[5] Leyſerus ſuppoſes this piece to be the forgery of one Leo Protonotarius, an officer in the court at Conſtantinople, who writes the preface. *Hiſt. Poes. Med. Ævv.* p. 2089. He proves the work ſuppoſititious, from its ſeveral Arabiciſms and ſcriptural expreſſions, &c. Bradwardine cites many lines from it, *Advers. Pelag.* p. 33. As does Bacon, in his aſtrological tracts. It is condemned by Bede as heretical (in Boeth. de Trinit.) Selden intended a *Diſſertation* on this forgery, *De Synedr.* iii. 16. It is in hexameters, in three books.

Charles V. who, in conſequence of his inſtructions, obtained a competent ſkill in Latin and the rules of grammar.[1] Other Greek claſſics, which had become known by being tranſlated into Latin, were ſtill more familiariſed, eſpecially to general readers, by being turned into French. Thus the recent Latin verſion of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, by Poggius, was tranſlated into French by Vaſque de Lucerie, 1370.[2] The *Tactics* of Vegetius, an author who frequently confounds the military practices of his own age with thoſe of antiquity, appeared under the title of [*L'Art de Cheualerie ſelon Vegece*, &c.] by Chriſtin[e de Piſe].[3] Petrarch's work *De Remediis utriuſque Fortunæ*, a ſet of Latin dialogues, was tranſlated, not only by Nicole d'Oreſme, but by two of the officers of the royal houſehold,[4] in compliment to Petrarch at his leaving France.[5] Many philoſophical pieces, particularly in aſtrology of which Charles V. was remarkably fond, were tranſlated before the end of the fourteenth century. Among theſe, I muſt not paſs over the *Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy by d'Oreſme; the *Agricultura*,[6] or *Libri ruralium Commodorum* of Peter de Creſcentiis, a phyſician of Bologna, about the year 1285, by a nameleſs friar-preacher;[7] and the book *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomeus Glanvill, the Pliny of the monks, by John Corbichon, an Auguſtine monk.[8] I have ſeen a French MS. of Guido di Colonna's Trojan romance, the handwriting of which belongs to this century.[9]

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[1] Chriſtin. *Vie Charles V.*

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. v. 1; and 16 G. ix. with pictures.

[3] MSS. Reg. 19 B. xviii. &c. [And compare Brunet, v. 1111.] Vegetius was early tranſlated into all the modern languages. There is an Engliſh one, probably by John Treviſa, as it is addreſſed to his patron Lord Berkeley, A.D. 1408. MSS. Digb. 233, *Princ.* "In olde tyme it was the manere." There is a tranſlation of Vegetius, written at Rhodes, "die 25 Octobris, 1459, per Johannem Newton." ad calc. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. K. 53. Chriſtine's verſion was tranſlated and printed by Caxton, 1489.

[4] See Niceron, tom. 28, p. 384.

[5] Lebeuf ſays Seneca inſtead of Petrarch. *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 752. I muſt not forget to obſerve, that ſeveral whole books in Brunetto's *Teſoro* conſiſt of tranſlations from Ariſtotle, Tully, and Pliny, into French. Brunetto [Latini] was a Florentine, and the maſter of Dante. He died in 1295. The *Teſoro* was a ſort of Encyclopedia, exhibiting a courſe of practical and theoretic philoſophy, of divinity, coſmography, geography, hiſtory, ſacred and profane, phyſics, ethics, rhetoric, and politics. It was written in French by Brunetto during his reſidence in France: but [it was afterwards tranſlated into Latin by Buonu Giamboni, which verſion was publiſhed at Treviſo in 1474;] and it has been tranſlated by others into Latin. It was the model and foundation of [Glanvill's *Proprietates Rerum*,] of Bercheur's *Repertorium*, and of many other works of the ſame ſpecies, which ſoon followed. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. i. [The original French ſtill remains unprinted.]

[6] *Des Prouffitz champeſtres et ruraux.* Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E.

[7] In twelve books. See Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 666.

[8] Leland ſays, that this tranſlation is elegant; and that he ſaw it in Duke Humfrey's library at Oxford. *Script. Brit.* cap. ccclxviii. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iii. With pictures. *Ibid.* 15 E. ii. Where the tranſlation is aſſigned to the year 1362, and the writing of the MS. to 1482. With pictures.

[9] Brit Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 F. ix. Caxton's *Godefroy of Bologne*, tranſlated from the French, and printed 1481, had a Latin original. The French, a fine copy, is in Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. v. &c.

In the fifteenth century it became faſhionable among the French to poliſh and reform their old rude tranſlations made two hundred years before; and to reduce many of their metrical verſions into proſe. At the ſame time, the rage of tranſlating eccleſiaſtical tracts began to decreaſe. The latter circumſtance was partly owing to the introduction of better books, and partly to the invention of printing. Inſtead of procuring laborious and expenſive tranſlations of the ancient fathers, the printers, who multiplied greatly towards the cloſe of this century, found their advantage in publiſhing new tranſlations of more agreeable books, or in giving ancient verſions in a modern dreſs.[1] Yet in this century ſome of the more recent doctors of the church were tranſlated. Not to mention the Epiſtles of St. Jerom, which Antoine Dufour, a Dominican friar, preſented in French to Anne de Bretagne, conſort to King Charles VIII., we find St. Anſelm's *Cur Deus Homo*,[2] the *Lamentations of St. Bernard*, the *Sum of Theology* of Albertus Magnus, the *Prick of Divine Love* of St. Bonaventure, a ſeraphic doctor,[3] with other pieces of the kind, exhibited in the French language before the year 1480, at the petition and under the patronage of many devout ducheſſes. Yet in the meantime, the lives of ſaints and ſacred hiſtory gave way to a ſpecies of narrative more entertaining and not leſs fabulous. Little more than Joſephus, and a few *Martyrdoms*, were now tranſlated from the Latin into French.

The truth is, the French tranſlators of this century were chiefly employed on profane authors. At its commencement, a French

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[1] I take this opportunity of obſerving, that one of theſe was the romance of *Sir Lancelot du Lac*, tranſlated from the Latin by Robert de Borron, at the command of our Henry II. See *ſupra*, ſect. 3. This new Lancelot is [ſubſtantially] the ſame which was printed at Paris by Antony Verard, 1494, in three vaſt folio volumes. Another is the romance of *Gyron le Courtois*, tranſlated alſo from Latin, at the command of the ſame monarch, by Lucus or Luce, *chevalier du Chateau du Gaſt*, or *Gat*, or *Gal*, and printed by Verard as above. See Lenglet, *Bibl. Rom.* ii. p. 117. See *ſupra*, ſect. 3.

[See on this ſubject the excellent work of M. Paris, *Les Manuſcrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 8vo. *Par. Techener*, 1836-48, i. pp. 167-177, 209-211.—M.]

[Mr. W., ſays Ritſon, ſhould have proved that the romance of *Lancelot* had exiſted in *Latin*, before he mentioned it as a tranſlation from that tongue. MS. note and Obs.—*Park.*]

[2] Written in 1098.

[3] He flouriſhed in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deſerves notice more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention formerly paid to theological literature. There were preſent Pope Gregory X., the Emperor of Greece by ſeveral Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin II. the Latin emperor, James, king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, five hundred biſhops and archbiſhops, ſixty abbots, more than a thouſand prelates and prieſts of lower rank, the ambaſſadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourſe of people of all orders and degrees. The ſepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the moſt conſummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced by a future pope. *Miræi Auctar. Script. Eccles.* p. 72, edit. Fabric. [See *ſupra*.]

abridgment of the three firſt decads of Livy was produced by Henri Romain, a canon of Tournay. In the year 1416, Jean de Courci, a knight of Normandy, gave a tranſlation of ſome Latin chronicle, a hiſtory of the Greeks and Romans, entitled, *Bouquaſſiere*. In 1403, Jean de Courteauiſſe, a doctor in theology at Paris, tranſlated Seneca on the *Four Cardinal Virtues*.[1] Under the reign of King Charles VII. Jean Coſſa tranſlated the *Chronology* of Mattheus Palmerius, a learned Florentine, and a writer of Italian poetry in imitation of Dante. In the dedication to Jeanne III., queen of Jeruſalem, and among other titles Counteſs of Provence, the tranſlator apologiſes for ſuppoſing her highneſs to be ignorant of Latin; when at the ſame time he is fully convinced, that a lady endowed with ſo much natural grace muſt be perfectly acquainted with that language. "Mais pour ce que le vulgar Françoys eſt plus commun, j'ai pris peine y tranſlater ladite oeuvre." Two other tranſlations were offered to Charles VII. in the year 1445. One, of the *Firſt Punic War* of Leonard of Arezzo, an anonymous writer, who does not chooſe to publiſh his name *à cauſe de ſa petiteſſe*; and the *Stratagems* of Frontinus, often cited by John of Saliſbury, and mentioned in the Epiſtles of Peter of Blois,[2] by Jean de Rouroy, a Pariſian theologiſt. Under Louis XI., Sebaſtian Mamerot of Soiſſons, in the year 1466, attempted a new tranſlation of the *Romuleon*; and he profeſſes, that he undertook it ſolely with a view of improving or decorating the French language.[3]

Many French verſions of claſſics appeared in this century. A tranſlation of Quintus Curtius is dedicated to Charles, duke of Burgundy, in 1468.[4] Six years afterwards, the ſame liberal patron commanded Cæſar's *Commentaries* to be tranſlated by Jean du Cheſne.[5] Terence was made French by Guillaume Rippe, the king's ſecretary, in the year 1466. The following year a new tranſlation of Ovid's *Metamorphoſes* was executed by an eccleſiaſtic of Normandy. But Laurent Premierfait, mentioned above, tranſlated (from the Latin), the *Oeconomics* of Ariſtotle, and Cicero *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*, before the year 1420.[6] He is ſaid alſo to have tranſ-

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[1] It is ſuppoſititious. It was forged, about the year 560, by Martianus an archbiſhop of Portugal, whom Gregory of Tours calls the moſt eminent writer of his time. *Hiſt. Franc.* v. 38. It was a great favourite of the theological ages.

[2] *Epiſt.* 94.

[3] I am not ſure whether this is not much the ſame as *Le Grande Hiſtoire Ceſar*, &c. Taken from Lucan, Suetonius, Oroſius, &c. Written at Bruges at the command of our Edward IV. in 1479. That is, ordered to be *written* by him. A manuſcript with pictures. MSS. Reg. 17, F. ii. 1. Brit. Mus. But ſee ibid. *Romeleon, ou des Faits des Romains*, in ten books. With pictures. MSS. Reg. 19, E. v. See alſo 20 C i. [Bruges ſeems to have been a ſhop for this kind of work long after printing had been diſcovered.—*Aſhby*.]

[4] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. i. With beautiful pictures.

[5] *Ibid.* Reg. 16, G. viii. With pictures. Another appeared by Robert Gaguin in 1485.

[6] The two latter verſions were tranſlated into Engliſh by William Botoner and John Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, and printed by Caxton, 1481. Botoner preſented

lated ſome pieces, perhaps the *Epiſtles*, of Seneca. Encouraged by this example, Jean de Luxembourgh, Laurence's contemporary, tranſlated Tully's Oration againſt Verres. I muſt not forget that Hippocrates and Galen were tranſlated from Latin into French in the year 1429. The tranſlator was Jean Tourtier, ſurgeon to the Duke of Bedford, then Regent of France; and he humbly ſupplicates Rauoul Palvin, confeſſor and phyſician to the ducheſs, and John Major, firſt phyſician to the duke, and graduate *en l'eſtuao d'Auxonford*,[1] and Maſter Roullan, phyſician and aſtronomer of the univerſity of Paris, amicably to amend the faults of this tranſlation, which is intended to place the ſcience and practice of medicine on a new foundation. I preſume it was from a Latin verſion that the *Iliad*, about this period, was tranſlated into French metre.

Among other pieces that might be enumerated in this century, in the year 1412, Guillaume de Tignonville, provoſt of Paris, tranſlated the *Dicta Philoſophorum*.[2] This verſion was tranſlated into Engliſh by Lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton, 1477. [The ſame noble author executed an Engliſh tranſlation of a ſmall piece by Chriſtine de Piſe, entitled *Les Proverbes Moraux*, of which there is a copy, with other productions from her pen, in Harl. MS. 4431. The verſion by Lord Rivers is called *The morale prouerbes of Criſtyne*, and was printed by Caxton in February, "the cold ſeaſon," 1477-8.[3] This is one of the ſtanzas:

There is noo thinge ſo riche I you enſeur
As the ſeruice of gode oure createur
Litle vailleth goode exemple to ſee
For him that wole not the contraire flee
Though that the deeth to vs be lamentable,
Hit to remembre is thinge mooſt conuenable.

Theſe lines may not appear very remarkable in quality or intereſt, yet the original writer was unqueſtionably a woman of great attainments, and was regarded by the ſucceeding literary generation in France at leaſt with reſpect. Clement Marot ſays of her:—

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his manuſcript copy to William of Waynflete, biſhop of Wincheſter, in 1473. Caxton's Engliſh *Cato*, printed 1483, was from the French [of Premierfait. His verſion of *Æſop* came from the ſame ſource; it was printed in 1483.] Crucimanius mentions [the] verſion of Seneca by Premierfait, as printed at Paris in 1500. *Bibl. Gall.* p. 287. A tranſlation of Seneca *De quatuor Virtutibus Cardinalibus*, but ſuppoſititious, is given to Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. Sanders recites the *Epiſtles* of Seneca, tranſlated into French by ſome anonymous writer, at the command of Meſſire Barthelemi Siginulfe, a nobleman of Naples. *Bibl. Cathedr. Tornacens.* p. 209. Pieces of Seneca have been frequently tranſlated into French, and very early. [See Brunet, art. *Seneca*.]

[1] Oxford.

[2] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. viii. Sæpius *ibid.*

[3] [Blades, ii. 47-8. The volume occupies only four leaves folio. The only original production of Lord Rivers ſeems to be a ballad of four ſtanzas, preſerved by Rous (*Hiſt.* edit. Hearne, p. 213. See Leland, *Itin.* ed. 1745.)

" d'avoir le prix en ſcience et en doctrine
Bien merita de Piſan la Chriſtine
Durant ſes jours." [1]]

About the ſame time, but before 1427, Jean de Guerre tranſlated a Latin compilation of all that was marvellous in Pliny, Solinus, and the *Otia Imperialia*, a book abounding in wonders, of our countryman Gervaſe of Tilbury.[2] The French romance, entitled *L'Aſſaillant*, was now tranſlated from the Latin chronicles of the kings of Cologne: and the Latin tract *De Bonis Moribus* of Jacobus Magnus, confeſſor to Charles VII., about the year 1422, was made French. Rather earlier, [Lawrence] de Premierfait, tranſlated *Boccaccio de Caſibus Virorum Illuſtrium*.[3] Nor ſhall I be thought to deviate too far from my detail, which is confined to Latin originals, when I mention here a book, the tranſlation of which into French conduced in an eminent degree to circulate materials for poetry: this is Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which Premierfait alſo tranſlated at the command of Jeanne of Navarre (who ſeems to have made no kind of conditions about ſuppreſſing the licentious ſtories), in the year 1414.[4]

I am not exactly informed when the *Eneid* of Virgil was tranſlated into a ſort of [proſe] romance or hiſtory of *Eneas*, under the title of [*Le livre des Eneides*]. But that tranſlation was printed at Lyons in 1483, and appears to have been finiſhed not many years before. Among the tranſlator's hiſtorical additions, are the deſcription of the firſt foundation of Troy by Priam, and the ſucceſſion of Aſcanius and his deſcendants after the death of Turnus. He introduces a digreſſion upon Boccaccio, for giving in his *Fall of Princes* an account of the death of Dido, different from that in the fourth book of the *Eneid*. Among his omiſſions, he paſſes over Eneas's deſcent into hell, as a tale manifeſtly forged, and not to be believed by any rational reader; as if many other parts of the tranſlator's ſtory were not equally fictitious and incredible.[5]

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[1] [*Hiſtory of the Venetian Republic*, 1860, iv. 198, 368-9.]

[2] He flouriſhed about the year [1183].

[3] This verſion was [tranſlated by Lydgate, and printed in 1494, &c., as already mentioned.]

[4] See Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 E. 1. It was printed at Paris [in 1485, &c. See Brunet, i. 1004-6. Another tranſlation by Antoine de Maçon appeared in 1545, and others later.]

In [the ſecond edition iſſued by Verard, but not in that by the ſame printer in 1485] of Premierfait's tranſlation of the *Decameron*, it is ſaid to be tranſlated from Latin into French. But *Latin* here means *Italian*. Hence a miſtake aroſe, that Boccaccio wrote his *Decameron* in Latin. The Italian, as I have before obſerved, was anciently called *Il volgare Latino*. Thus the French romance of *Meliadus de Leonnois* is ſaid to be *tranſlaté du Latin*, by Ruſticien de Piſe: edit. 1532. Thus alſo *Gyron le Courtois* is called a verſion from the Latin. M. de la Monnoye obſerves, " Que quand on trouve que certains vieux Romans ont été traduits de Latin en François, par Luces de Saleſberies, Robert de Borron, Ruſticien de Piſa, ou autres, cela ſignifie que ç'a été d'Italien en François." *Rem. au Bibl. Fr.* du La Croix du Maine, &c. tom. ii. p. 33, edit. 1772. Premierfait's French *Decameron* is a moſt wretched caricature of the original.

[5] [" C'eſt probablement d'après cette paraphraſe anonyme que Caxton a donné

The concluſion intended to be drawn from this long digreſſion is obvious. By means of theſe French tranſlations, our countrymen, who underſtood French much better than Latin, became acquainted with many uſeful books which they would not otherwiſe have known. With ſuch aſſiſtances, a commodious acceſs to the claſſics was opened, and the knowledge of ancient literature facilitated and familiariſed in England, at a much earlier period than is imagined; and at a time, when little more than the productions of ſpeculative monks and irrefragable doctors could be obtained or were ſtudied. Very few Engliſhmen, I will venture to pronounce, had read Livy, before the tranſlation of Bercheur was imported by the regent Duke of Bedford. It is certain that many of the Roman poets and hiſtorians were now read in England in the original. But the Latin language was for the moſt part confined to a few eccleſiaſtics. When theſe authors, therefore, appeared in a language almoſt as intelligible as the Engliſh, they fell into the hands of illiterate and common readers, and contributed to ſow the ſeeds of a national erudition, and to form a popular taſte. Even the French verſions of the religious, philoſophical, hiſtorical, and allegorical compoſitions of thoſe more enlightened Latin writers who flouriſhed in the middle ages, had their uſe, till better books came into vogue: pregnant as they were with abſurdities, they communicated inſtruction on various and new ſubjects, enlarged the field of information, and promoted the love of reading, by gratifying that growing literary curioſity which now began to want materials for the exerciſe of its operations. How greatly our poets in general availed themſelves of theſe treaſures, we may collect from this circumſtance only: even ſuch writers as Chaucer and Lydgate, men of education and learning, when they tranſlate a Latin author, appear to execute their work through the medium of a French verſion. It is needleſs to purſue this hiſtory of French tranſlation any farther. I have given my reaſon for introducing it at all. In the next age, a great and univerſal revolution in literature enſued; and the Engliſh themſelves began to turn their thoughts to tranſlation.

Theſe French verſions enabled Caxton, our firſt printer, to enrich the ſtate of letters in this country with many [*comparatively*] valuable publications. He found it no difficult taſk, either by himſelf or by the help of his friends, to turn a conſiderable number of theſe pieces into Engliſh, which he printed. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progreſs among us to encourage this enterpriſing and induſtrious artiſt to publiſh the Roman authors in their original language: and had not the French furniſhed him with theſe materials, it is not likely that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good writers would by the means of his preſs have been circulated in the Engliſh tongue, ſo early as the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

It is, however, remarkable that from the year 147[2, about which

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l'Eneide en anglois, imprimée en 1490." — Brunet, *Manuel*, laſt edit. v. 1304. Compare *Blades*, ii. 222.]

time] Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the Engliſh preſs flouriſhed greatly under the conduct of many induſtrious, ingenious, and even learned artiſts, only the very few following claſſics, ſome of which hardly deſerve that name, were printed in England. Theſe were [Cicero *De Senectute* and *De Amicitiâ*, printed by Caxton in 1481; Boethius *De Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, printed by Caxton before 1479; the proſe *Æſop*, alſo printed by Caxton; the proſe *Eneid*, from the ſame preſs, in 1490; and Cicero *De Officiis*, tranſlated by Robert Whittinton, and printed in 1534. The metrical *Æſop* from Wynkyn de Worde's preſs; *Terence* with the Gloſs of Aſcenſius, 1503 and 1504, the *Bucolics* of Virgil, 1512, 1529, and 1533, and the *Seneca* of 1529 were the original Latin.] The Univerſity of Oxford, during this period, produced only the firſt book of Tully's *Epiſtles*, at the charge of Cardinal Wolſey, [if at leaſt an edition publiſhed about 1520 be really from an Oxford preſs, as has been ſuppoſed]. Cambridge did not yield a ſingle claſſic.

No Greek book, of any kind, had yet appeared from an Engliſh preſs. I believe the firſt Greek characters uſed in any work printed in England are in Linacer's tranſlation of Galen *De Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521. A few Greek words and abbreviatures are here and there introduced. The printer was John Siberch, a German and friend of Eraſmus; he ſtyles himſelf "primus utriuſque linguæ in Anglia impreſſor." There are Greek characters in ſome of his other books of this date. But he printed no entire Greek book. In Linacer's treatiſe *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, printed by Pinſon in 1524, many Greek characters are intermixed. In the ſixth book are ſeven Greek lines together. But the printer apologiſes for his imperfections and unſkilfulneſs in the Greek types which, he ſays, were but recently caſt, and not in a ſufficient quantity for ſuch a work. The paſſage is curious.[1] About the ſame period of the Engliſh preſs, the ſame embarraſſments appear to have happened with regard to Hebrew types, which yet were more likely, as that language was ſo much leſs known. In the year 1524 Dr. Robert Wakefield, chaplain to Henry VIII., publiſhed his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum: Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ*, &c. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde; and the author complains that he was obliged to omit his whole third part, becauſe the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced, but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the firſt of the ſort uſed in England. This learned orientaliſt was inſtrumental in preſerving, at the diſſolution of monaſteries, the Hebrew MSS. of Ramſey Abbey, collected by Holbech, one of the monks, together with Holbech's *Hebrew Dictionary*.[2]

[1] "Æquo animo feras ſiquæ literæ, in exemplis Helleniſmi, vel tonis vel ſpiritibus careant. His enim non ſatis inſtructus erat typographus, videlicet recens ab eo fuſis characteribus Græcis, nec parata ei copia qua ad hoc agendum opus eſt."

[2] Wood, *Hiſt. Ant. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 251. Leland, *Scriptor.* v. *Holbeccus.*

It was a circumſtance favourable at leaſt to Engliſh literature, owing indeed to the general illiteracy of the times, that our firſt printers were ſo little employed on books written in the learned languages. Almoſt all Caxton's books are Engliſh. The multiplication of Engliſh copies multiplied Engliſh readers, and theſe again produced new vernacular writers. The exiſtence of a preſs induced many perſons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue.

To ſome part of the reign of Henry [VI. belongs] the *Tournament of Tottenham, or the wooing, winning, and wedding of Tibbe the Reeve's Daughter there.*[1] It was publiſhed from an ancient MS. in 1631, and reduced to a more modern ſtyle, by William Bedwell, rector of Tottenham, and one of the tranſlators of the Bible. He ſays it was written by Gilbert Pilkington, ſuppoſed to have been rector of the ſame pariſh, and author of an unknown tract, called *Paſſio Domini Jeſu.* But Bedwell, without the leaſt comprehenſion of the ſcope and ſpirit of the piece, imagines it to be a ſerious narrative of a real event, and (with as little ſagacity) believes it to have been written before the year 1330. Allowing that it might originate from a real event, and that there might be ſome private and local abuſe at the bottom, it is impoſſible that the poet could be ſerious. Undoubtedly the chief merit of this poem, although not deſtitute of humour, conſiſts in the deſign rather than the execution. As Chaucer, in the *Rime of Sir Thopas*, traveſtied the romances of chivalry, the *Tournament of Tottenham* is a burleſque on the parade and fopperies of chivalry itſelf. In this light, it may be conſidered as a curioſity, and does honour to the good ſenſe and diſcernment of the writer who, ſeeing through the folly of theſe faſhionable exerciſes, was ſenſible at the ſame time that they were too popular to be attacked by the more ſolid weapons of reaſon and argument. Even on a ſuppoſition that here is an alluſion to real facts and characters, and that it was intended to expoſe ſome popular ſtory of the amours of the daughter of the Reve of Tottenham, we muſt acknowledge that the ſatire is conveyed in an ingenious mode. He has introduced a parcel of clowns and ruſtics, the inhabitants of Tottenham, Iſlington, Highgate, and Hackney (places then not quite ſo poliſhed as at preſent),[2] who imitate all the ſolemnities of the bar-

[1] MSS. *Harl.* 5396. [One of the entries in this MS. is dated the 34th year of Henry VI. or 1456. There can be no doubt that the poem is of equal antiquity. —*Price.* The Rev. Wilhelm Bedwell, who publiſhed the *Tournament of Tottenham* from an ancient MS. in 1631, 4to. ſays in his epiſtle to the reader, "It is now ſeven or eight years ſince I came to the ſight of the copy, and that by the meanes of the worthy and my much honoured good friend, M. George Withers: of whom alſo, now at length, I have obtained the uſe of the ſame. And becauſe the verſe was then by him (a man of ſo exquiſite judgement in this kinde of learning) much commended, as alſo for the thing it ſelfe, I thought it worth while to tranſcribe it and to make it public," &c.—*Park.* The MS. in queſtion is now in the Public Library at Cambridge.]

[2] [Here Dr. Aſhby remarks that Tottenham, &c. were always as near the capital, and conſequently as much ſo then as now, comparatively. But what is more to the point, and as true as ſtrange, the lower claſſes are little better than thoſe of the ſame rank at a greater diſtance.—*Park.*]

riers. The whole is a mock parody on the challenge, the various events of the encounter, the exhibition of the prize, the devices and eſcutcheons, the diſplay of arms, the triumphant proceſſion of the conqueror, the oath before the combat, and the ſplendid feaſt which followed, with every other ceremony and circumſtance which conſtituted the regular tournament. The reader will form an idea of the work from a ſhort extract.[1]

[He that berys hym beſt in the turnament,
He ſhal be graunted the gre by the comyn aſſent,
For to wynne my doȝter with duȝtyneſſe of dent,
And coppull my brode hen that was broȝt out of Kent,
And my donned cow:
For no ſpence wille I ſpare,
For no catell wille I care,
He ſhalle haue my gray mare,
And my ſpottyd ſowe.

Ther was mony a bolde lad theire bodys to bede,
Than thei toke theire leue, and hamwarde thei ȝede:
And alle the weke afterward thei graythed her wede,
Tille hit come to the day that thei ſhulde do thaire dede.
Thei armyd theym in mattes:
Thei ſett on theire nollys
Gode blake bollys,
For to kepe theire pollis,
From batteryng of battes.

Thei ſewed hem in ſchepe ſkynnes, for thei ſhuld not breſt:
And euer ilkon of hem toke a blac hatte inſtidde of a creſt:
A baſkett or a panyer be fore on thaire breſt,
And a flayle in theire honde: for to fyȝt preſt.
Forth con thei fare:
Ther was kid micull fors,
Who ſhulde beſt fend his cors:
He that hade no gode hors,
Borrowyd hym a mare.]

[In the Cambridge MS. however, of the *Tournament*, there is a ſequel entitled *The Feeſt*. It is in the ſame vein of burleſque as the remainder of the poem:

Then come in the fruture,
With a nobul ſauoure,
With feterloks fried:
And alle the cart wheles of Kent,
With ſtonys of the payment,
Full wel were thei tried.

Such humour is, it muſt be owned, ſomewhat dreary, and if the antiquity of the production is no longer a point of doubt, at leaſt its merit muſt always remain ſo.]

To this period belong two perſons who had the ſame name in common, and who have been conſequently confounded[2] — two

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[1] [The whole of the poem is republiſhed in *Rem. of E. P. P. of Engl.* iii.]

[2] The *Myrrour of Life*, aſcribed to Hampole, and the poem quoted above in the text, are one and the ſame. The true author is aſcertained by the following lines at the end, taken from MS. Reg. 17, c. viii.:

writers known as William of Naſſyngton. One wrote a treatiſe *De Trinitate et Unitate*; the other, who was a proctor in the eccleſiaſtical court at York, tranſlated into Engliſh John de Waldenby's *Myrrour of Life*, of which there is a MS. dated 1418, in MS. Reg. 17 C. viii., the author was] an Auguſtine friar of Yorkſhire, a ſtudent in the Auguſtine convent at Oxford, the provincial of his order in England, and a ſtrenuous champion againſt the doctrines of Wickliffe.[1] [I am] tempted to tranſcribe the few following lines from Naſſyngton's prologue [to his *Mirror of Life*][2] as they convey an idea of our poet's character, record the titles of ſome old popular romances, and diſcover ancient modes of public amuſement:

I warne you firſte at the begynnynge,
That I will make no vayne carpynge,
Of dedes of armes, ne of amours,
As does mynſtrellis and geſtours,
That maketh carpynge in many a place
Of Octoviane and Iſenbrace,
And of many other Geſtes,
And namely when they come to feſtes;
Ne of the lyf of Bevys of Hamptoune,
That was a knyght of grete renoune:
Ne of ſyr Gye of Warwyke, &c.

Our tranſlator in theſe verſes formally declares his intention of giving his reader no entertainment, and diſavows all concern with ſecular vanities, eſpecially thoſe unedifying tales of love and arms, which were the cuſtomary themes of other poets, and the delight of an idle age.[3] I will tranſcribe a few more dull lines:

Latyn als, I trowe, canne nane
Bot thaſe that it of ſcole hane tane,
Some canne *frankes* and *latyn*
That hanes vſed covrte and dwelled theryn,
And ſom canne o *latyn* a party
That canne *frankes* bot febely,

"Now wille I na mare ſay;
ȝe that have herde, I you pray
That ȝe wald pray ſpecialy
For Freere Johan ſaule of Waldby,
That faſt ſtudyd day and nyght,
And made this tale in Latyne right, &c.
Prayes alſo wt deucion
For William ſaule of Naſſyngtone,
That gaf hym als fulle beſyly
Night and day to grete ſtudy
And made this tale in Inglys tonge,
Prayes for hyme old and ȝonge."

The poem in the Lincoln MS., A. i. 17, is quite a different work, and only conſiſts of about 440 ſhort lines. It commences:

"O! Lord God of myghtes moſte,
Fadere and Sone and Holy Goſte."—M.]

[1] Wood, *Ant. Univ. Oxon.* i. 117.
[2] See alſo MSS. Reg. 17 C. viii. p. 2.
[3] [See MSS. Bodl. 48, p. 47, a. And *ibid.* MSS. Langb. 5, p. 64.]

And ſom vnderſtandes in *inglys*
That canne nother *latyn* ne *frankys*,
But lered and lewed alde and younge
All vnderſtandes *inglyſche* tounge:
Thare fore I halde it maſte ſyker thon
To ſchewe that langage that ilk a man konne,
And for all lewed men namely
Thet can no maner of clergy,
To kenne thanne what ware maſte nede,
For clerkes canne bathe ſe and rede, &c.

This poem, conſiſting of many thouſand verſes, begins with the ſpiritual advantages of the Lord's Prayer, of its ſeven petitions, their effects, &c., and ends with the ſeven Beatitudes and their rewards. Theſe are the two concluding lines:

To whylk blyſſe he vs bryng
That on the croſſe for vs all wolde hyng.[1]

The romances of Octavian, Sir Bevis, and Sir Guy have already been diſcuſſed at large. That of Sir Iſembras was familiar in the time of Chaucer, and occurs in the *Rime of Sir Thopas*.[2] In [the] Garrick [collection,] there is an edition by Copland, extremely different from the manuſcript copies preſerved at Cambridge[3] and in the Cotton collection.[4] I believe it to be originally a French romance, yet not of very high antiquity. It is written in the ſtanza of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*. The incidents are for the moſt part thoſe trite expedients, which almoſt conſtantly form the plan of theſe metrical narratives.

I take this opportunity of remarking, that the minſtrels, who in this prologue of Naſſyngton are named ſeparately from the *geſtours* or tale-tellers, were ſometimes diſtinguiſhed from the harpers. In the year 1374, ſix minſtrels, accompanied by four harpers, on the anniverſary of Biſhop Alwyne performed their minſtrelſies at dinner, in the hall of the convent of Saint Swithin at Wincheſter; and during ſupper ſang the ſame geſt or tale in the great arched chamber of the prior; on which ſolemn occaſion the ſaid chamber was hung with the arras or tapeſtry of the Three Kings of Cologne.[5]

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[1] [Lord Aſhburnham has, it is ſaid, the beſt MS. Other copies are in MS. Vernon (about 1400); MS. Simeon (ſame date); and MS. Hatton 19 (in the Bodleian).]

[2] Of this tale there are ſix or ſeven MSS. known. That in the library of Lincoln Cathedral has been included by Mr. Halliwell, in *Thornton Romances*, 1844. There is alſo an old printed edition, with a fragment of a ſecond, ſhowing that it paſſed the preſs at leaſt twice. Percy remarks (*Rel.* ed. 1812, i. 326) that Drayton, in his *Dowſabel*, "has profeſſedly imitated the ſtyle and metre of ſome of the old metrical Romances, particularly that of *Sir Iſembras*."]

[3] MSS. Caius Coll. Claſs. A. 9. (2).

[4] Calig. A. 12, f. 128.

[5] *Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton.* "In feſto Alwyni epiſcopi ..... Et durante pietancia in aulâ conventus, ſex miniſtralli, cum quatuor citharisatoribus, faciebant miniſtralcias ſuas. Et poſt cenam, in magnâ camerâ arcuatâ dom. Prioris, *cantabant* idem geſtum, in quâ camerâ ſuſpendebatur, ut moris eſt, magnum dorſale Prioris, habens picturas trium regum Colein. Veniebant autem dicti joculatores a caſtello domini regis, et ex familiâ epiſcopi. . . ." The reſt is much obliterated,

Theſe minſtrels and harpers belonged, partly to the royal houſehold in Wincheſter caſtle, and partly to the Biſhop of Wincheſter. There was an annual maſs at the ſhrine or tomb of Biſhop Alwyne in the church, which was regularly followed by a feaſt in the convent. It is probable, that the geſt here ſpecified was ſome poetical legend of the prelate, to whoſe memory this yearly feſtival was inſtituted, and who was a Saxon biſhop of Wincheſter [from 1032 to 1047.][1] Although ſongs of chivalry were equally common, and I believe more welcome to the monks, at theſe ſolemnities. In an accompt-roll of the priory of Biceſter, in Oxfordſhire,[2] I find a parallel inſtance under the year 1432. It is in this entry. "*Dat.* ſex Miniſtrallis de Bokyngham cantantibus in refectorio Martyrium ſeptem dormientium *in Feſto epiphanie*, iv *s.*" That is, the treaſurer of the monaſtery gave four ſhillings to ſix minſtrels from Buckingham, for ſinging in the refectory a legend called the Martyrdom of the Seven Sleepers,[3] on the feaſt of the Epiphany. In the Cotton library, there is a Norman poem on this ſubject,[4] which was probably tranſlated afterwards into Engliſh rhyme. The original is a Greek

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and the date is hardly diſcernible. Among the Harleian manuſcripts, there is an ancient ſong of the three kings of Cologne, in which the old ſtory of that favourite romance is reſolved into alchemy. MSS. 2407. 13. fol. Wynkyn de Worde printed this romance [at leaſt four times between 1500 and 1533.] It is in MSS. Harl. 1704. 11. fol. 49, b. (imperf.); Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. 14. [C. 16.]; MSS. More 37; and frequently in other places. Barclay, in his *Egloges* [which, however, are merely tranſlations,] mentions this ſubject, a part of the nativity, painted on the walls of a church cathedral. Egl. v. ſignat. D. iv. ad calc. *Ship of Fools*, edit. 1570:

> "And the *thre kinges*, with all their company,
> Their crownes gliſtering bright and oriently,
> With their preſentes and giftes miſticall,
> All this behelde I in picture on the wall."

[Some additional information on this ſubject may be found in Halliwell's *Inventories of Ancient Tapeſtry, Plate*, &c. 1854.]

In an inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of Holbech, in Lincolnſhire, and ſold in the year 1548, we find this article. "*Item*, for the coats of the iii. kyngs of Coloyne, v *s.* iiii *d.*" I ſuppoſe theſe coats were for dreſſing perſons who repreſented the three kings in ſome proceſſion on the Nativity. Or perhaps for a Myſtery on the ſubject, played by the pariſh. But in the ſame inventory we have, *Item*, for the apoſtylls [the apoſtles] coats, and for Harods [Herod's] coate, &c. Stukeley's *Itin. Curios.* p. 19.

[1] He is buried in the north wall of the preſbytery, with an inſcription.

[2] In Theſaurario Coll. Trin. Oxon. [See *ſupr.*]

[3] In the fourth century, being incloſed in a cave at Epheſus by the Emperor Decius, 372 years, they were afterwards found ſleeping, and alive.

[4] [The poem is written in the common French hand of the thirteenth century; and the Engliſh poem mentioned in the note below is written in the reign of Henry VII. Very little dependence can be placed on Warton's knowledge of the age of MSS.—M.] MSS. Cott. *Calig.* A. ix. iii. fol. 213, b. [See *ſupr.*] "*Ici commence la vie* de Set dormanz."

> "La uertu deu ke tut iur dure
> E tut iurz eſt cereme e pure."

[This poem was written in the thirteenth century by an Anglo-Norman named Chardry. See De la Rue's *Eſſais ſur les Trouvères*, &c., tom. iii. p. 130.—M.]

legend[1] which, in the dark ages, went about in a barbarous Latin tranſlation by one Syrus;[2] or in a narrative framed from it by Gregory of Tours.[3]

The ſame era (of Henry VI.) claims the honour of a well-known poem by James I. king of Scotland, who was atrociouſly murdered at Perth in the year 1436. It is allegorical, and in the ſeven-lined ſtanza. [The title is: *The Quair, maid be king James of Scotland the Firſt, callit the king's Quair*, where the king's Quair means the king's book (Quire).] The ſubject was ſuggeſted to the poet by his own misfortunes, and the mode of compoſition by reading Boethius.

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[1] MSS. Lambec. viii. p. 375. Photius, without naming the author, gives the ſubſtance of this Greek legend, Bibl. *Cod.* ccliii. p. 1399, edit. 1591. This ſtory was common among the Arabians. The Muſſulmans borrowed many wonderful narratives from the Chriſtians, which they embelliſhed with new fictions. They pretend that a dog, which was accidentally ſhut up in the cavern with the ſeven ſleepers, became rational. See Herbelot, *Dict. Orient.* p. 139, a. v. *Aſhab.* p. 17. In the Britiſh Muſeum there is a poem, partly in Saxon characters, *De pueritia domini noſtri Jheſu Criſti*; or, *the childhood of Criſti.* MSS. Harl. 2399. 10, fol. 47. It begins thus:

"Alle myzthty god yn Trynyte,
That bowth [bought] man on rode dere;
He gefe ows waſhe to the
A lytyl wyle that ye wyll me hyre."

Who would ſuſpect that this abſurd legend had alſo a Greek original? It was taken, I do not ſuppoſe immediately, from an apocryphal narrative aſcribed to St. Thomas the apoſtle, but really compiled by Thomas Iſraelites, and entitled, Λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μεγαλεῖα τῦ κυρίυ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησῦ Χριστῦ, *Liber de pueritia et miraculis domini*, &c. It is printed in part by Cotelerius, *Not. ad Patr. Apoſtol.* p. 274. Who there mentions a book of Saint Matthew the Evangeliſt, *De Infantia Salvatoris*, in which our Lord is introduced learning to read, &c. See Iren. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 104. Among other figments of this kind, in the Pſeudo-Gelaſian Decree are recited, The hiſtory and nativity of our Saviour, and of Mary and the midwife; and, The hiſtory of the infancy of our Saviour. *Jur. Can. Diſtinct.* can. 3. The latter piece is mentioned by Anaſtaſius, where he cenſures as ſuppoſititious, the puerile miracles of Chriſt. Ὁδηγ. c. xiii. p. 26.

On the ſame ſubject there is an Arabic book, probably compiled ſoon after the riſe of Mahometaniſm, tranſlated into Latin by Sikius, called *Evangelium infantiæ*, Arab. et Latin, 1697. In this piece, Chriſt is examined by the Jewiſh doctors, in aſtronomy, medicine, phyſics, and metaphyſics. Sikius ſays, that the puerile miracles of Chriſt were common among the Perſians. *Ibid.* in Not. p. 55. Fabricius cites a German poem, more than four hundred years old, founded on theſe legends. *Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Teſt.* tom. i. p. 212. Hamburg. 1703.

At the end of the Engliſh poem on this ſubject above cited, is the following rubric. "Qöd dnus Johannes Arcitenens canonicus Bodminie et natus in illa." Whether this Canon of Bodmin, in Cornwall, whoſe name was perhaps Archer or Bowyer, is the poet, or only the tranſcriber, I cannot ſay. See fol. 48. In the ſame manuſcript volume, [8.] there is an old Engliſh poem to our Saviour, with this note. "Explicit *Contemplationem bonam.* Quöd dnus Johannes Arcuarius canonicus Bodminie." See what is ſaid below of the *Pſeudo-Evangelium* attributed to Nichodemus.

[2] *Apud* Surium, ad 27 Jul.

[3] *Hiſtoria ſeptem Dormientium.* Paris, 1511, *ibid.* 1640. And *apud* Ruinart, p. 1270. See *Præf. Ruinart.* § 79. And Gregory himſelf, *De gloria martyrum*, cap. 95, p. 826. This piece is noticed and much commended by the old chronicler Albericus, *ad ann.* 319.

At the cloſe he mentions Gower and Chaucer as ſeated on the "ſteppys of rhetoryke."[1] This unfortunate monarch was educated while a priſoner in England, at the command of our Henry IV.; and the poem was written during his captivity there. The Scotiſh hiſtorians repreſent him as a prodigy of erudition. He civilized the Scotiſh nation. Among other accompliſhments, he was an admirable muſician, and particularly ſkilled in playing on the harp.[2] Among other pieces, which I have never ſeen, Bale mentions his *Cantilenæ Scoticæ* and *Rhythmi Latini*.[3] It is not the plan of this work to comprehend and examine in form pieces of Scotiſh poetry, except ſuch only as are of ſingular merit. Otherwiſe, our royal bard would have been conſidered at large, and at his proper period. I will, however, add here two ſtanzas of the poem contained in the Selden manuſcript, which ſeems to be the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his compoſitions:[4]

In ver that full of vertue is and gude,
When nature firſt begynneth her empryſe,
That quilham was by cruell froſt and ſlude,
And ſhoures ſcharp, oppreſt in many wyſe;
And Cynthius gynneth to aryſe
Heigh in the eſt a morow ſoft and ſwete
Upwards his courſe to drive in Ariete:

Paſſit bot mydday foure grees evyn
Off lenth and brede, his angel wingis bright
He ſpred uppon the ground down fro the hevyn:
That for gladneſs and confort of the ſight,
And with the tikling of his hete and light
The tender floures opinyt thanne and ſprad
And in thar nature thankit him for glad.[5]

Both theſe poems ſeem to be written on his wife Joan, daughter of the Ducheſs of Clarence, with whom he fell in love while a priſoner in England. Major mentions beſides a *libellus artificioſus*, whether verſe or proſe I know not, which he wrote on this lady in

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[1] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Selden. Archiv. B. 24, chart, fol. [With many pieces of Chaucer.]

[2] See Leſley, *De Reb. Geſt. Scot.* lib. vii. pp. 257, 266, 267, edit. 1675. The ſame hiſtorian ſays, "ita orator erat, ut ejus dictione nihil fuerit artificioſius: ita poeta, ut carmina non tam arte ſtrinxiſſe, quam natura ſponte fudiſſe videretur. Cui rei fidem faciunt carmina diverſi generis, quæ in rhythmum Scotice illigavit, eo artificio," &c. *Ibid.* 267. See alſo Buchanan, *Rer. Scot.* lib. x. pp. 186-196. Opp. tom. i. Edinb. 1715.

[3] Bale, *Paral.* poſt Cent. xiv. 56, pag. 217.

[4] [*Poetic Remains of ſome of the Scotiſh Kings*, edit. Chalmers, 1824, p. 31, where, however, the ſpelling is modernized.]

[5] This piece is not ſpecified by Bale, Dempſter, or Mackenzie. See Bale, *ubi ſupr.* Dempſter, *Scot. Scriptor.* ix. 714, pag. 380, edit. 1622. Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 318, Edinb. 1708, fol. John Major mentions the beginning of ſome of his other poems, viz. "Yas ſen," &c. And "At Beltayn," &c. [Both theſe poems are ſuppoſed to be ſtill exiſting. They will be found in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottiſh Poetry*, vol. i. pp. 55-129. There does not, however, appear to be any good authority for attributing the latter, uſually called *Peblis to the Play*, to James I. The internal evidence ſpeaks decidedly for a later æra than the reign of this diſtinguiſhed monarch.—*Price*.]

England before his marriage; and which Bale entitles *Super Uxore futura*. This hiſtorian, who flouriſhed about the year 1520, adds that our monarch's *Cantilenæ* were commonly ſung by the Scot[s] as their moſt favourite compoſitions: and that he played better on the harp than the moſt ſkilful Iriſh or highland harper. Major does not enumerate the poem I have here cited.[1] Biſhop Percy had one of James's *Cantilenæ*, in which there is much merit.

For the uſe of thoſe who collect ſpecimens of alliteration, I will add an inſtance in the reign of Edward III. from the *Banocburn* of Minot, all whoſe pieces, in ſome degree, are tinctured with it:

Skottes out of Berwik and of Abirdene,
At the Bannokburn war ȝe to kene;
Thare ſlogh ȝe many ſakles, als it was ſene.
And now has king Edward wroken it I wene;
It es wroken I wene, wele wurth the while,
War ȝit with the Skottes, for thai er ful of gile.

Whare er ȝe, Skottes of ſaint Johnes toune?
The boſte of ȝowre baner es betin all doune;
When ȝe boſting will bede, ſir Edward es boune,
For to kindel ȝow care and crak ȝowre crowne:
He has crakked ȝowre croune, wele worth the while,
Schame bityde the Skottes, for thai er full of gile.

Skottes of Striflin war ſteren and ſtout,
Of God ne of gude men had thai no dout;
Now have thai the pelers priked obout,
Bot at the laſt ſir Edward rifild thaire rout;
He has rifild thaire rout, wele wurth the while,
Bot euer er thai under bot gaudes and gile.

Rughfute riueling, now kindels thi care,
Bere-bag with thi boſte, thi biging es bare;
Fals wretche and forſworn, whider wiltou fare?
Buſk the unto Brig and abide thare.
Thare wretche ſaltou won, and wery the while,
Thi dwelling in Donde es done for thi gile.

The Skottes gaſe in burghes and betes the ſtretes,
All thiſe Inglis men harmes he hetes;
Faſt makes he his mone to men that he metes,
Bot ſone frendes he finds that his bale betes;
Sune betes his bale, wele wurth the while,
He uſes all threting with gaudes and gile.

Bot many man thretes and ſpekes full ill,
That ſumtyme war better to be ſtane ſtill;
The Skot in his wordes has wind for to ſpill,
For at the laſt Edward ſall haue al his will:
He had his will at Berwick, wele wurth the while,
Skottes broght him the kayes, bot get for thaire gile.

A *Viſion* on vellum, perhaps of the ſame age, is alliterative.[2] Theſe are ſpecimens:

Ryȝt as the maynful mone con rys,
Er thenne the day glem dryve al doun,
So ſodanly, on a wonder wyſe,
I watȝ war of a proſeſſyoun.

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[1] *Geſt. Scot.* lib. vi. cap. xiv. fol. 135, edit. 1521.
[2] MSS. Cott. Nero, A. x. [Morris's *Early Allitt. Poems*, pp. 1, 33-4, 56.]

This noble cite of ryche empreſſe
Watȝ ſodanly full with-outen ſommoun,
Of ſuch vergynes in the ſame gyſe
That watȝ my blisful an under croun,
And coronde wern alle of the ſame faſoun,
Depaynt in perleȝ and wedeȝ qwhyte.

Again,

On golden gateȝ that glent as glaſſe.

Again,

But mylde as maydeneȝ ſeme at mas.

The poem begins,

Perle pleſaunte to princes paye,
To clanly clos in golde ſo clere.

In the ſame manuſcript is an alliterative poem without rhyme, exactly in the verſification of [Langland's *Viſion*], of equal or higher antiquity, [entitled *Cleanneſs*. The following is a ſpecimen]:

Olde Abraham in erde oneȝ he ſyttеȝ,
Even byfore his hous dore under an oke grene,
Bryȝt blykked the bem of the brod heven
In the hyȝe hete therof Abraham bideȝ.

The handwriting of theſe two laſt-mentioned pieces cannot be later than Edward III.

SECTION XXV.

THE firſt poet that occurs in the reign of Edward IV. is John Harding. He was of northern extraction and educated in the family of Lord Henry Percy,[1] and at twenty-five years of age hazarded his fortunes as a volunteer at the deciſive battle of Shrewſbury, fought againſt Percy and the Scots under Lord Douglas in the year 1403. He appears to have been indefatigable in examining original records, chiefly with a deſign of aſcertaining the fealty due from the Scotiſh kings to the crown of England; and he carried from Scotland for the elucidation of this important inquiry at the hazard of his life many inſtruments which he delivered at different times to the Fifth and Sixth Henry, and to Edward IV.[2] Theſe inveſtigations ſeem to

[1] One William Peeris, a prieſt, and ſecretary to the fifth Earl of Northumberland, wrote in verſe, *William Peeris's diſcente of the Lord Percis. Pr.* Prol. "Cronykills and annuel books of kyngs." Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 18. D. 9. Then immediately follows (10) in the ſame manuſcript, perhaps written by the ſame author, a collection of metrical proverbs painted in ſeveral chambers of Lekingfield and Wreſille, ancient ſeats of the Percy family.

[2] Henry VI. granted immunities to Harding in ſeveral patents for procuring the Scotiſh evidences. The earlieſt is dated an. reg. xviii. [1440]. There is a memorandum in the exchequer, that in 1458, John Harding of Kyme delivered to John Talbot, treaſurer of England and chancellor of the exchequer, five Scotiſh letters patent, acknowledging various homages of the kings and nobility of Scotland.

have fixed his mind on the ſtudy of our national antiquities and hiſtory. At length he clothed his reſearches in rhyme, which he dedicated under that form to Edward IV. and with the title of *The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of king Edward the Fourth.*[1] The copy probably preſented to the king, although it exhibits at the end the arms of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, moſt elegantly tranſcribed on vellum, and adorned with ſuperb illuminations, is preſerved among Selden's MSS. in the Bodleian library.[2] Our author is conciſe and compendious in his narrative of events from Brutus to the reign of Henry IV.: he is much more minute and diffuſe in relating thoſe affairs of which, for more than the ſpace of ſixty years, he was a living witneſs, and which occurred from that period to the reign of Edward IV. The poem ſeems to have been completed about the year 1470. In his final chapter he exhorts the king to recall his rival Henry VI. and to reſtore the partiſans of that unhappy prince.

This work is almoſt beneath criticiſm, and fit only for the attention of an antiquary. Harding may be pronounced to be the moſt impotent of our metrical hiſtorians, eſpecially when we recollect the great improvements which Engliſh poetry had now received. I will not even except Robert of Glouceſter, who lived in the infancy of taſte and verſification. The chronicle of this authentic and laborious annaliſt has hardly thoſe more modeſt graces, which could properly recommend and adorn a detail of the Britiſh ſtory in proſe. He has left ſome pieces in proſe: and Winſtanley ſays, "as his proſe was very uſefull, ſo was his poetry as much delightfull." I am of opinion, that both his proſe and poetry are equally uſeful and delightful. What can be more frigid and unanimated than theſe lines?

They are incloſed in a wooden box in the exchequer, kept in a large cheſt, under the mark, Scotia. Harding. So ſays Aſhmole [MSS. Aſhmol. 860, p. 186] from a regiſter in the exchequer called the Yellow-book.

[1] Printed at London, 1543, 4to. by Grafton who has prefixed a dedication of three leaves in verſe to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. A continuation in proſe from Edward IV. to Henry VIII. is added, probably by [Sir Thomas More. See Ellis's Preface to edit. 1812.]

[Harding "was a moſt dexterous and notable forger, and obtained great rewards from Henry VI. and Edward IV. for a number of ſuppoſititious charters of fealty and homage from the Scotiſh monarchs to the kings of England, which he pretended to have obtained in Scotland at the hazard of his life, and which are ſtill carefully preſerved in the exchequer."—*Ritſon.*]

[A new edition has ſince been publiſhed by Sir H. Ellis, who has collated both the Selden and Aſhmole MSS., together with a very valuable one now in the Britiſh Muſeum, and formerly belonging to Lord Lanſdowne. The text of Sir H. Ellis has been followed upon the preſent occaſion. It may be right to add, that this gentleman has ſuggeſted a poſſibility, that Harding was himſelf impoſed upon in the affair of the charters; that he was the dupe, and not the perpetrator, of the fraud.—*Price.*]

[2] MSS. Archiv. Seld. B. 26. It is richly bound and ſtudded. At the end is a curious map of Scotland; together with many proſe pieces by Harding of the hiſtorical kind. The Aſhmolean manuſcript is entitled, *The Chronicle of John Harding in metre from the beginning of England unto the Reign of Edward the Fourth.* MSS. Aſhmol. Oxon. 34.

Kyng Arthure then in Aualon ſo died,
Wher he was buried in a chapell fayre,
Whiche nowe is made and fully edified,
The mynſter churche this daye of great repayre,
Of Glaſtenbury where nowe he hath his leyre;
But then it was called the blacke chapell
Of our Lady, as chronicles can tell.

Wher Geryn, erle of Chartres, then abode,
Beſyde his toumbe for whole devocion,
Whether Launcelot de Lake came, as he rode
Upon the chace with trompette and clarion,
And Geryn tolde hym ther all up and downe,
Howe Arthure was there layde in ſepulture,
For whiche with hym to byde he hight full ſure.[1]

Fuller affirms our author to have "drunk as deep a draught of Helicon as any of his age." An aſſertion partly true: it is certain, however, that the diction and imagery of our poetic compoſition would have remained in juſt the ſame ſtate, had Harding never written.

In this reign the firſt mention of the king's poet, under the appellation of *Laureate*, occurs. John Kay was appointed poet laureate to Edward IV. It is extraordinary that he ſhould have left no pieces of poetry to prove his pretenſions in ſome degree to this office, with which he is ſaid to have been inveſted by the king at his return from Italy. The only compoſition he has tranſmitted to poſterity is a proſe Engliſh tranſlation of a Latin hiſtory [by Gulielmus Caorſinus][2] of the Siege of Rhodes: in the dedication addreſſed to King Edward, or rather in the title, he ſtyles himſelf "hys humble poete laureate." Although this our laureate furniſhes us with no materials as a poet, yet his office, which here occurs for the firſt time under this denomination, muſt not paſs unnoticed in the annals of Engliſh poetry, and will produce a ſhort digreſſion.

Great confuſion has entered into this ſubject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and verſification,[3]

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[1] Ch. lxxxiv. edit. [Ellis, p. 147.]

[2] MSS. Cotton. Vitell. D. xii. 10. [Printed by W. Caxton (*circa* 1490), folio. Warton ſpeaks of an edit. of 1506. The original Latin, as ſtated by him, is entitled, *Obſidio Rhodiæ Urbis* (1480). See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Caorſinus*]. The works of this Gulielmus, which are numerous, were printed together, at Ulm, 1496, fol. with rude wooden prints. See an exact account of this writer, *Diar. Eruditor. Ital.* tom. xxi. p. 412.

[3] In the ancient ſtatutes of the univerſity of Oxford, every Regent Maſter in Grammar is prohibited from reading in his faculty, unleſs he firſt paſs an examination "de modo verſificandi et dictandi," &c. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. fol. membran. Arch. A. 91. [nunc. 2874.] f. 55, b. This ſcholaſtic cultivation of the art of Proſody gave riſe to many Latin ſyſtems of Metre about this period. Among others, Thomas Langley, a monk of Hulm in Norfolk, in the year 1430 wrote in two books *De Varietate Carminum.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 100. One John Seguard, a Latin poet and rhetorician of Norwich [after 1413.] wrote a piece of this kind called *Metriſtenchiridion*, addreſſed to Courtenay, Biſhop of Norwich, treating of the nature of metre in general, and eſpecially of the common metres of the Hymns of Boecius and Oracius [Horace]. Oxon. MSS. Coll. Merton. Q. iii. 1.

anciently taken in our univerſities, particularly at Oxford: on which occaſion a wreath of laurel was preſented to the new graduate, who was afterwards uſually ſtyled "poeta laureatus."[1] Theſe ſcholaſtic laureations, however, ſeem to have given riſe to the appellation in queſtion. I will give ſome inſtances at Oxford, which at the ſame time will explain the nature of the ſtudies for which our academical philologiſts received their rewards. [On the 11th March, 1511-12,] one [Edward] Watſon, a ſtudent in grammar, obtained a conceſſion to be graduated and laureated in that ſcience; on condition that he compoſed one hundred Latin verſes in praiſe of the univerſity, or a Latin comedy.[2] Another grammarian, [Richard Smyth,] was diſtinguiſhed with the ſame badge, after having ſtipulated that, at the next public Act, he would affix the ſame number of hexameters on the great gates of Saint Mary's Church, that they might be ſeen by the whole univerſity. This was at that period the moſt convenient mode of publication.[3] [In December, 1511,] one Maurice Byrchenſhaw, a ſcholar in rhetoric, ſupplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree in that faculty; and his petition was granted with a proviſion, that he ſhould write one hundred verſes on the glory of the univerſity, and not ſuffer Ovid's *Art of Love* and the *Elegies* of Pamphilus[4] to be ſtudied in his auditory.[5] [On the 3rd June, 1511,] one John Bulman, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms impoſed, of explaining the firſt book of Tully's *Offices* and likewiſe the firſt of his *Epiſtles*, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric; and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellor of the univerſity.[6] [Before] the year 14[90,][7] Skelton was laureated

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[1] When any of theſe graduated grammarians were licenſed to teach boys, they were publicly preſented in the Convocation-houſe with a rod and ferula. Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 72, a.

[2] Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 143. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the learned Mr. Swinton, keeper of the Archives at Oxford, for giving me frequent and free acceſs to the Regiſters of that univerſity.

[3] *Ibid.* fol. 162. [Smyth petitioned for leave to teach, May 12, 1512; and he was ordered, in January following, to proceed to his degree before Eaſter. Churton (*Life of Biſhop Smyth*, p. 153).—*Park.*]

[4] [Byrchinſhaw was admitted to his degree, Feb. 5, 1511-12, Churton, *ut ſupra.* —*Park.*] Ovid's ſuppoſititious pieces, and other verſes of the lower age, were [re]printed together by Goldaſtus, 1610. Among theſe is, "Pamphili Mauriliani Pamphilus, ſive de Arte Amandi Elegiæ lxiii." This is from the ſame ſchool with Ovid *De Vetula*, and by ſome thought to be forged by the ſame author.

[5] Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 134, a.

[6] Regiſtr. *ut ſupra.* G. fol. 124, b.

[7] Caxton, in the preface to the Engliſh *Eneydos*, mentions "Mayſter John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the univerſite of Oxenford," &c. This work was printed in 1490. Churchyard mentions Skelton's academical laureation in his poem prefixed to Skelton's Works, 1568:

"Nay Skelton wore the lawrel wreath,
And paſt in ſchoels ye knoe."

And again,

"That ware the garland gay
Of lawrel leaves but laet."

at Oxford, and in the year 1493 was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge.[1] Robert Whittinton affords [another] inſtance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a ſecular prieſt, and eminent for his various treatiſes in grammar and for his facility in Latin poetry: having exerciſed his art many years, and ſubmitting to the cuſtomary demand of an hundred verſes, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512.[2] This title is prefixed to one of his grammatical ſyſtems: *Roberti Whittintoni, Lichfeldienſis, Grammatices Magiſtri, Protovatis Angliæ, in florentiſſima Oxonienſi Achademia Laureati, de Octo Partibus Orationis.*[3] In his *Panegyric* to Cardinal Wolſey, he mentions his laurel,

Suſcipe lauricomi munuſcula parva Roberti.[4]

With regard to the Poet laureate of the kings of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the ſame that is ſtyled the King's Verſifier [in the Treaſurer's Accounts for 1249 and 1251, as has been already mentioned.] But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever ſolemnly crowned with laurel at his firſt inveſtiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the ſearches of the learned Selden on this queſtion have proved unſucceſsful. It ſeems moſt probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of verſifier gradually gave way to an appellation of more elegance and dignity: or rather, that at length thoſe only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received academical ſanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the univerſities for their abilities in Latin compoſition, particularly Latin verſification. Thus the king's Laureate was nothing more than "a graduated rhetorician employed in the ſervice of the

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[1] Regiſtr. Univ. Cantabrig. *ſub ann.* "Conceditur Johī Skelton Poetæ in partibus tranſmarinis atque Oxon. Laurea ornato, ut apud nos eadem decoraretur." And afterwards, an. 1504-5. "Conceditur Johi Skelton Poete Laureat. quod poſſit ſtare eodem gradu hic quo ſtetit Oxoniis, et quod poſſit uti habitu ſibi conceſſo a Principe." The latter clauſe, I believe, relates to ſome diſtinction of habit, perhaps of fur or velvet, granted him by the king. Skelton is ſaid to have been poet laureate to Henry VIII. He alſo ſtyles himſelf "Orator regius," pp. [xiii. xx. &c.], *Works*, [1843].

[2] Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. *ut ſupra.* G. 173, b. 187, b. [Robert Whittington had been a ſcholar of rhetoric fourteen years. He was admitted to the degree of Bachelor April 15, 1513, allowed to wear a ſilk hood, July 3, and crowned with laurel at the act next day. Churton, *ut ſupra.—Park.*]

[3] Lond. 1513.

[4] In [the] "Opuſculum Roberti Whittintoni in florentiſſima Oxonienſi achademia laureati," ſignat. A. iii. The Panegyrics are on Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolſey. The Epigrams, which are long copies of verſe, are addreſſed to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas More, and to Skelton, under the title *Ad lepidiſſimum poetam Scheltonem carmen*, &c. Some of the lines are in a very claſſical ſtyle, and much in the manner of the earlier Latin Italian poets. At the end of theſe Latin poems is a defence of the author, called *Antilycon*, &c. Theſe pieces are in MS Oxon. MSS. Bodl. D. 3, 22. [. . . I do not trace any inſertion under the title Antilycon. The ſplendid eulogium "in clariſſimi Scheltonis Lovanienſis poetæ Epigramma" is followed by a Latin diſtich, and by twelve lines "In Zoilum," which cloſe the collection.—*Park.*]

king." That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the ancient title Verſificator, and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which [Robert] Baſton and Gulielmus [Peregrinus,] who appear to have reſpectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard I. and Edward II. officially compoſed on Richard's cruſade and Edward's ſiege of Stirling caſtle.[1]

Andrew Bernard, ſucceſſively poet laureate of Henry VII. and VIII. affords a ſtill ſtronger proof that this officer was a Latin ſcholar. He was a native of Toulouſe, and an Auguſtine monk. He was not only the king's poet laureate,[2] as it is ſuppoſed, but his hiſtoriographer,[3] and preceptor in grammar to prince Arthur. He obtained many eccleſiaſtical preferments in England.[4] All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin.[5] Theſe are *An Addreſs to Henry the Eighth for the moſt auſpicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign*, with an *Epithalamium on the marriage of Francis the Dauphin of France with the king's daughter*,[6] a *New Year's Gift* for the year 1515,[7] and verſes wiſhing proſperity to his majeſty's thirteenth year.[8] He has left ſome

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[1] By the way, Baſton is called by Bale "laureatus apud Oxonienſes." Cent. iv. cap. 92.

[2] See an inſtrument *pro Poeta laureato*, dat. 1486. Rymer's *Foed.* tom. xii. p. 317. But, by the way, in this inſtrument there is no ſpecification of any thing to be done officially by Bernard. The king only grants to Andrew Bernard, *Poetæ laureato*, which we may conſtrue either "The laureated poet," or "A poet laureate [but doubtleſs more properly the former,] a ſalary of ten marks, till he can obtain ſome equivalent appointment. This, however, is only a precept to the treaſurer and chamberlains to diſburſe the ſalary, and refers to letters patent, not printed by Rymer. It is certain that Gower and Chaucer were never appointed to this office. Skelton in his [*Garland*] *of Laurell*, ſees Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate approach: he deſcribes their whole apparel as glittering with the richeſt precious ſtones, and then immediately adds,

"They wanted nothing but the laurell."

Afterwards, however, there is the rubric "Maiſter Chaucer laureate poete to Skelton." *Works*, edit. [1843].

[3] Apoſtolo Zeno was both poet and hiſtoriographer to his imperial majeſty. So was Dryden to James II. It is obſervable that Petrarch was laureated as poet and hiſtorian.

[4] One of theſe, the maſterſhip of Saint Leonard's hoſpital at Bedford, was given him by Biſhop Smith, one of the founders of Braſenoſe college, Oxford, in the year 1498. Regiſtr. Smith, epiſc. Lincoln. *ſub ann.*

[5] Some of Skelton's Latin poems ſeem to be written in the character of the Royal laureate, particularly [two ſubſcribed reſpectively] *Hæc Laureatus Skeltonus, orator reginæ, ſuper triumphali*, [and] *Per Skeltonida Laureatum, oratorem regium. Works* [by Dyce, i. 190-1]. Hardly any of his Engliſh pieces, which are numerous, appear to belong to that character. With regard to the *Orator Regius*, I find one John Mallard in that office to Henry VIII. and his epiſtolary ſecretary. He has left *a Latin elegiac paraphraſe on the Lord's Prayer* (MSS. Bibl. Reg. 7 D. xiii.) dedicated to that king. *Le premier livre de la coſmographie*, in verſe, *ibid.* 20 B. xii. And a *Pſalter*, beautifully written by himſelf for the uſe of the king. In the margin, are ſhort notes in the handwriting, and two exquiſite miniatures, of Henry VIII. *Ibid.* 2 A. xvi.

[6] MS. olim penes Thom. Martin de Palgrave.

[7] MSS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 287.

[8] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12 A. x. The copy preſented. On paper. There is a wretched falſe quantity in the firſt line,

"Indue, honor, cultus, et *adole* munera flammis."

Latin hymns:[1] and many of his Latin proſe pieces, which he wrote in the quality of hiſtoriographer to both monarchs, are remaining.[2]

I am of opinion that it was not cuſtomary for the royal laureate to write in Engliſh, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminiſh the veneration for the Latin language: or rather, till the love of novelty and a better ſenſe of things had baniſhed the narrow pedantries of monaſtic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the meantime it is to be wiſhed that another change might at leaſt be ſuffered to take place in the execution of this inſtitution, which is confeſſedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a compoſition on a trite argument would be no longer required. I am conſcious I ſay this at a time when the beſt of kings affords the moſt juſt and copious theme for panegyric; but I ſpeak it at a time when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taſte and genius, which are idly waſted on the moſt ſplendid ſubjects, when impoſed by conſtraint, and perpetually repeated.[3]

To what is here incidentally collected on an article more curious than important, I add an obſervation, which ſhews that the practice of other nations in this reſpect altogether correſponded with that of our own. When we read of the laureated poets of Italy and Germany, we are to remember, that they moſt commonly received this honour from the ſtate or ſome univerſity; ſeldom, at leaſt not immediately, from the prince: and if we find any of theſe profeſſedly employed in the department of a court-poet, that they were not, in conſequence of that peculiar ſituation, ſtyled poets laureate. The diſtinction, at leaſt in general, was previouſly conferred.[4] The Ser-

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[1] And a Latin life of Saint Andrew. MSS. Cotton. Domitian. A. xviii. 15.

[2] A chronicle of the life and achievements of Henry VII. to the taking of Perkin Warbek, MSS. Cotton. Domitian. A. xviii. 15. Other hiſtorical commentaries on the reign of that king. Ibid. *Jul.* A. 4. *Jul.* A. 3. [Publiſhed in *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain*, 1858.—*Rye.* See *Archæologia*, xxvii. pp. 154, 192.—*Madden.*]

[3] [The birth-day of William III. in 1694 appears to have been officially celebrated by Tate, whom Rowe ſucceeded in the laureateſhip; and from the year 1718 a regular ſeries may almoſt be traced of birth-day and new-year odes. Warton gave an hiſtorical dignity and a ſplendour of poetical diction to thoſe he compoſed, which would hardly leave a reader to conceive that the ſubjects were "impoſed by conſtraint." His predeceſſor Whitehead muſt ſtrongly have felt the irkſome force of this conſtraint, when he lamented, in his pathetic apology for all laureates, that—

"His muſe, *obliged* by ſack and penſion,
Without a ſubject, or invention,
Muſt certain words in order ſet
As innocent as a gazette;
Muſt ſome half-meaning half diſguiſe,
And utter neither truth nor lies."

Park.]

[4] The reader who requires a full and particular information concerning the firſt origin of the laureation of poets, and the ſolemnities with which this ceremony was performed in Italy and Germany, is referred to Selden's *Tit. Hon.* Op. tom. p. 457, *ſeq.* *Vie de Petrarque*, tom. iii. *Notes, &c.* p. 1. *Not. quat.* And to a memoir

jeant of the King's Minſtrels occurs under this reign, and in a manner which ſhews the confidential character of this officer, and his facility of acceſs to the king at all hours and on all occaſions. "And as he [k. Edward IV.] was in the north contray in the moneth of Septembre, as he laye in his bedde, one namid Alexander Carliſle, that was *ſariaunt of the mynſtrallis*, cam to him in grete haſte, and bade him aryſe, for he hadde enemys cummyng," &c.[1]

John Scogan is commonly ſuppoſed to have been a cotemporary of Chaucer, but this miſtake [has ariſen from confounding him with *Henry* Scogan, who appears to have been actually coeval with the author of the *Canterbury Tales*, and who has left one or two pieces, including *A Moral Balade*, inſerted in the old editions of Chaucer. John Scogan[2] was educated [it is ſaid, though on very ſlender authority,] at Oriel college in Oxford: and being an excellent mimic, and of great pleaſantry in converſation, became the favourite buffoon of the court of Edward IV., in which he paſſed the greateſt part of the life. Bale inaccurately calls Scogan the Joculator of Edward IV.: by which word he ſeems ſimply to underſtand the king's Joker, for he certainly could not mean that Scogan was his majeſty's minſtrel.[3] [Under the name of] Andrew Borde, a phyſician and author in the reign of Henry VIII., was publiſhed [a ſilly book called] *Scogin's Jeſts*,[4] which are without humour and invention, and give us no very favourable idea of the delicacy of the king and courtiers, who could be exhilarated by the merriments of ſuch a writer. [In the unique quarto volume at Cambridge with ſome minor pieces by Chaucer and Lydgate, all from Caxton's preſs, occurs: "Here after foloweth a tretyſe whiche John Skogan ſente vnto the lordes and gentilmen of the kinges hows exhortyng them to loſe no tyme in theyr yougthe, but to vſe vertues;" but this was, in all probability, by *Henry*, not John, Scogan or Skogan.][5] Bale men-

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of M. l'Abbè du Reſnel, *Mem. Lit.* x. 507, 4to. I will only add the form of the creation of three poets laureate by the chancellor of the univerſity of Straſburgh, in the year 1621. "I create you, being placed in a chair of ſtate, crowned with laurel and ivy, and wearing a ring of gold, and the ſame do pronounce and conſtitute, Poets Laureate, in the name of the holy Trinity, the father, ſon, and holy Ghoſt. Amen."

[1] *A Remarkable Fragment*, &c. [an. ix. Edward IV.] ad calc. Sportti *Chron.* edit. Hearne. Compare Percy's *Eſſ. Minſtr.* p. 56. Anſtis, *Ord. Gart.* ii. 303.

[2] See Holinſh. *Chron.* iii. f. 710, and MSS. Fairfax. xvi. [See alſo Ritſon's *Bibl. Poet.* art. *Scogan.*]

[3] *Script.* xi. 70.

[4] It is from theſe pieces we learn that he was of Oriel college: for he ſpeaks of retiring, with that ſociety, to the hoſpital of Saint Bartholomew, while the plague was at Oxford. Theſe *Jeſts* are [78 in number in the edit. of 1626.] *Pr. Pref.* [edit. 1626:] "There is nothing beſides." *Pr.* "On a time in Lent." [The earlieſt impreſſion now known is that of 1613, 8vo.] They were reprinted [with omiſſions] about the reſtoration, [but one of the genuine editions (1626) is republiſhed in *Old Engliſh Jeſt-Books*, ii. That of 1613 (in the Bodleian) varies from the later one—a fact of which I was not aware when I edited the ſeries juſt named.]

[5] The little piece, [correctly] printed as Chaucer's [Urr. ed. p. 548], called *Flee*

tions his *Comedies*,[1] which certainly mean nothing dramatic, and are perhaps only his *Jeſts* above mentioned. He ſeems to have flouriſhed about the year 1480.

Two didactic poets on chemiſtry appeared in this reign, [Thomas] Norton and George Ripley. Norton was a native of Briſtol,[2] and the moſt ſkilful alchemiſt of his age.[3] His poem is called the *Ordinal*, or a manual of the chemical art.[4] It was preſented to Nevil archbiſhop of York, a great patron of the hermetic philoſophers;[5] who had lately grown ſo numerous in England, as to occaſion an act of parliament againſt the tranſmutation of metals. Norton's reaſon for treating his ſubject in Engliſh rhyme, was to circulate the principles of a ſcience of the moſt conſummate utility among the unlearned.[6] This poem is totally void of every poetical elegance. The only wonder which it relates, belonging to an art ſo fertile in ſtriking inventions, and contributing to enrich the ſtore-houſe of Arabian romance with ſo many magnificent imageries, is that of an alchemiſt, who projected a bridge of gold over the River Thames near London, crowned with pinnacles of gold, which being ſtudded with carbuncles, diffuſed a blaze of light in the dark.[7] I will add a few lines only, as a ſpecimen of his verſification:

Wherefore he would ſet up in hiȝt
That bridge, for a wonderfull ſiȝt,
With pinnacles guilt, ſhininge as goulde,
A glorious thing for men to behoulde.
Then he remembered of the newe,
Howe greater fame ſhulde him purſewe,
If he mought make that bridge ſo brighte,
That it mought ſhine alſoe by night:
And ſo continewe and not breake,
Then all the londe of him would ſpeake, &c.[8]

Norton's heroes in the occult ſciences are Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Raymond Lully, to whoſe ſpecious promiſes of ſupplying the coinage of England with inexhauſtible mines of philoſophical gold Edward III. became an illuſtrious dupe.[9]

George Ripley, Norton's cotemporary, was accompliſhed in many parts of erudition, and ſtill maintains his reputation as a learned

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from the Preſſe, is [wrongly] given to Scogan, and called *Proverbium Joannis Skogan*, MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 203. [See *ſupr.* ii. 384.]

[1] xi. 70.

[2] He ſpeaks of the wife of William Canning, five times mayor of Briſtol, and the founder of Saint Mary of Radcliffe church there. *Ordinal*, p. 34.

[3] Printed by Aſhmole, in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652, p. 6. It was finiſhed A.D. 1477. *Ordin.* p. 106. It was tranſlated into Latin by Michael Maier, M.D. 1618. Norton wrote other chemical pieces.

[4] See *Ordin.* pp. 9, 10. Norton declares, that he learned his art in forty days, at twenty-eight years of age. *Ibid.* pp. 33, 88.

[5] Aſhmole, *ubi ſupr.* p. 455, *Notes.* [6] Pag. 106.

[7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*

[9] Aſhmol. *ubi ſupr.* pp. 443, 467, and Camden's *Rem.* p. 242, edit. 1674. By the way, Raymond Lully is ſaid to have died at eighty years of age, in the year 1315. Whart. *App. Cave*, cap. p. 6.

chemiſt of the lower ages. He was a canon regular of the monaſtery of Bridlington in Yorkſhire, and a great traveller,[1] and ſtudied both in France and Italy. At his return from abroad, Innocent VIII. abſolved him from the obſervance of the rules of his order, that he might proſecute his ſtudies with more convenience and freedom. But, his convent not concurring with this very liberal indulgence, he turned Carmelite at Saint Botolph's in Lincolnſhire, and died an anchorite in that fraternity in the year 1490.[2] His chemical poems are nothing more than the doctrines of alchemy clothed in plain language, and a very rugged verſification. The capital performance is *The Compound of Alchemy*, written in the year 1471.[3] It is in the octave metre, and dedicated to Edward IV.[4] Ripley has left a few other compoſitions on his favourite ſcience, printed by Aſhmole, who was an enthuſiaſt in this abuſed ſpecies of philoſophy.[5] One of them, the *Medulla*, written in 1476, is dedicated to Archbiſhop Nevil.[6] Theſe pieces have no other merit than that of ſerving to develope the hiſtory of chemiſtry in England. They certainly contributed nothing to the ſtate of our poetry.

It will be ſufficient to throw three of the obſcurer rhymers of this period together. Oſbern Bokenham wrote or tranſlated metrical lives of the ſaints, about 1445, [printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1835.] Gilbert Baneſter wrote in Engliſh verſe the *Miracle of ſaint Thomas*, in the year 1467.[7] Of the ſame date [(if not earlier),

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[1] Aſhmole ſays that Ripley, during his long ſtay at Rhodes, gave the knights of Malta 100,000*l.* annually towards maintaining the war againſt the Turks. *Ubi ſupr.* p. 458. Aſhmole could not have made this incredible aſſertion, without ſuppoſing a circumſtance equally incredible, that Ripley was in actual poſſeſſion of the philoſopher's ſtone.

[2] Aſhmol. p. 455, *ſeq.* Bale, viii. 49. Pits, p. 677.

[3] Aſhmol. *Theatr. Chem.* p. 193. It was firſt printed in 1591, 4to. Reprinted by Aſhmole, *Theatr. Chem.* ut ſupr. p. 107. It has been thrice tranſlated into Latin, Aſhm. *ut ſupr.* p. 465. See *ibid.* pp. 108, 110, 122. Moſt of Ripley's Latin works were printed [at Frankfort in 1614.]

[4] He mentions the abbey church at Weſtminſter as unfiniſhed. Pag. 154, ſt. 27, P. 156, and ſt. 34.

[5] Aſhmole conjectures that an Engliſh chemical piece in the octave ſtanza, which he has printed, called *Hermes's Bird*, no unpoetical fiction, was tranſlated from Raymond Lully by Cremer, abbot of Weſtminſter, a great chemiſt; and adds that Cremer brought Lully into England, and introduced him to the notice of Edward III. about the year 1334. Aſhmol. *ubi ſupra*, pp. 213, 467. [It was tranſlated by Lydgate from a French Fabliau. See Way's Fabliaux, vol. i. It had been previouſly printed by Caxton, De Worde, &c., under the title of the *Chorle and the Byrde.*—*Price.*] Aſhmole mentions a curious picture of the grand Myſteries of the Philoſopher's Stone, which Abbot Cremer ordered to be painted in Weſtminſter Abbey, upon an arch where the waxen kings and queens are placed; but that it was obliterated with a plaſterer's bruſh by the Puritans in Oliver's time. He alſo mentions a large and beautiful window, behind the pulpit in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, painted with the ſame ſubject, and deſtroyed by the ſame ignorant zealots, who miſtook theſe innocent hieroglyphics for ſome ſtory in a popiſh legend. Aſhmol. *ibid.* 211, 466, 467. Compare Widmore's *Hiſt. Weſtminſter-Abbey*, p. 174, *ſeq.* edit. 1751.

[6] Aſhmol. p. 389. See alſo p. 374, *ſeq.*

[7] CCCC. MSS. Q. viii. Lel. *Collectan.* tom. i. (p. ii.) pag. 510, edit. 1770.

in its priſtine ſhape, is perhaps the *King and the Tanner of Tamworth*,[1] which is called in the original draft the *King and the Barker* (or Tanner).] Hearne affirms that in this piece there are ſome "romantic aſſertions; otherwiſe 'tis a book of value, and more authority is to be given to it than is given to poetical books of late years."[2]

SECTION XXVI.

THE ſubſequent reigns of Richard III., Edward V., and Henry VII., abounded in obſcure verſifiers.

[Two mutilated poems occur] among the Cotton MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, [one of which] contains a ſatire on the nuns who, not leſs from the nature of their eſtabliſhment than from the uſual degeneracy which attends all inſtitutions, had at length loſt their original purity, ſeems to belong to this period.[3] It is without wit, and almoſt without numbers. [The other] was written, [or rather, perhaps, tranſcribed,] by one Bertram [Waton],[4] whoſe name now firſt appears in the catalogue of Engliſh poets, and whoſe life I calmly reſign to the reſearches of ſome more laborious and patient antiquary.

About the year [1470] Benedict Burgh, a Maſter of Arts of Oxford, among other promotions in the church, archdeacon of Colcheſter, prebendary of Saint Paul's, canon of Saint Stephen's Chapel at Weſtminſter,[5] [and vicar of Malden in Eſſex,] tranſlated [Dionyſius] Cato's *Diſticha Moralia* into the royal ſtanza for the uſe of his pupil Viſcount Bourchier, ſon of the Earl of Eſſex.[6] Encouraged

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[1] [*Remains of the Early Pop. Poetr. of Engl.* i.]

[2] Edit. 1770 of Leland's *Collect.* ii. 103.

[3] Diſadvantageous ſuſpicions againſt the chaſtity of the female religious were pretended in earlier times. About the year 1250 [Robert Groſſeteſte,] biſhop of Lincoln, viſited the nunneries of his dioceſe; on which occaſion, ſays the continuator of Matthew Paris, "ad domos religioſarum veniens, fecit exprimi mamillas earundem, ut ſic phyſice, ſi eſſet inter eas corruptela, experiretur." Matt. Paris. *Hiſt.* p. 789:—*Henricus* iii. edit. Tig. 1589, fol. An anecdote, which the hiſtorian relates with indignation; not on account of the nuns, but of the biſhop.

[4] [Sir F. Madden firſt pointed out that Warton had confounded the fragments of two poems together. The firſt, he ſays, contains the invective againſt nunneries; the other, Waton's copy of the indulgences granted to the monaſteries at Rome. Of the latter, of which Waton is probably no more than the copyiſt, there is another text in Lambeth MS. 306, printed in Mr. Furnivall's *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, 1866, p. 113, *et ſeq.*; and a third, earlier and better, in Vernon MS., printed by the ſame gentleman in 1867.]

[5] See Newcourt, *Repertor.* i. 90, ii. 517. The univerſity ſealed his letters teſtimonial, Jul. 3, 1433. Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon. T. f. 27, b. He died 1483.

[6] Gaſcoigne ſays that "Rythme royall is a verſe of tenne ſillables, and ſeuen ſuch verſes make a ſtaffe," &c. *Inſtructions for verſe*, &c., [1575. Works, by Hazlitt, i. 506.] Burgh's ſtanza is here called "balade royall;" by which, I believe, is commonly ſignified the octave ſtanza. All thoſe pieces in Chaucer, called "Cer-

by the example and authority of ſo venerable an eccleſiaſtic, Caxton [not only iſſued three editions of Burgh's Engliſh verſion, but in 1483 tranſlated and publiſhed the large French gloſs, a folio volume of nearly 200 pages, accompanied by woodcuts.] He calls, in his preface, the meaſure uſed by Burgh the Balad Royal. Caxton's tranſlation, which ſuperſeded Burgh's work, and with which it [ſhould not be] confounded, is divided into four books, which comprehend ſeventy-two heads.

In the Britiſh Muſeum there is a poem entitled *A Chriſtemaſſe Game made by maiſter Benet howe God Almyghty ſeyde to his apoſtelys and echeon of them were baptiſte and none knew of othir.* The piece conſiſts of twelve ſtanzas, an apoſtle being aſſigned to each ſtanza. Probably "maiſter Benet" is Benedict Burgh. This is St. Paul's ſtanza:

> Doctour of gentiles, a perfite Paule,
> By grace convertid from thy grete erroure,
> And cruelte, changed to Paule from Saule,
> Of fayth and trouth moſt perfyte prechoure,
> Slayne at Rome undir thilke emperoure
> Curſyd Nero. Paule, ſyt down in thy place
> To the ordayned by purveaunce of grace.[1]

I do not mean to affront my readers when I inform them without any apology that the Latin original of this piece was not written by Cato the cenſor, nor by Cato of Utica,[2] although it is perfectly in the character of the former, and Aulus Gellius has quoted Cato's poem *de Moribus*.[3] Nor have I the gravity of the learned Box-

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taine Ballads," are in this meaſure. In Chaucer's *Legend of good Women*, written in long verſe, a ſong of three octave ſtanzas is introduced; beginning, "Hide Abſolon thy gilte treſſis clere," ver. 249. Afterwards Cupid ſays, ver. 537:

> "—— A ful grete necligence
> Was yt to the, that ilke tyme thou made,
> Hyd Abſolon thy treſſes in balade."

In the Britiſh Muſeum there is "a Kalandre in Englyſhe, made in Balade by Dann John Lydgate monke of Bury;" that is, in this ſtanza. MSS. Harl. 1706, 2, fol. 10, b. The reader will obſerve that, whether there are eight or ſeven lines, I have called it the octave ſtanza. Lydgate has, moſt commonly, only ſeven lines, as in his poem on Guy, earl of Warwick, MSS. Laud. D. 31, fol. 64, "Here ginneth the lyff of Guy of Warwyk." [Pr. From Criſtes birth compleat nine 100 yere.] He is ſpeaking of Guy's combat with the Daniſh giant Colbrand, at Wincheſter:

> "Without the gate remembered as I rede,
> The place callyd of antiquytye
> In Inglyſh tonge named hyde mede,
> Or ellis denmarch nat far from the cyte:
> Meeting to gedre, there men myght ſee
> Terryble ſtrokys, lyk the dent of thonder;
> Sparklys owt of thar harnyſs," &c.

[1] Harl. MS. 7333. [The Harl. MS. 1706 contains "Ariſtotle's A, B, C," made by this mayſter Benet.—*Ritſon.* Burgh's *Cato* is very common in MSS. There are at leaſt ſeven copies of it in the Britiſh Muſeum: Arundel MS. 168, and Harleian MSS. 116, 172, 271, 2251, 4733, 7333.—*Brock.*]

[2] See [B. d'Argonne, *Melanges*,] tom. i. p. 56.

[3] *Noct. Att* xi. 2.

hornius, who in a prolix and elaborate diſſertation has endeavoured to demonſtrate that theſe diſtichs are undoubtedly ſuppoſititious, and that they could not poſſibly be written by the very venerable Roman, whoſe name they bear. [In the early editions the title is ſimply] *Diſticha de Moribus*, which [diſtiches] are diſtributed into four books.

[A needleſs diſtinction has been made ſometimes between *Parvus* and *Magnus Cato*, names uſed in the later manuſcripts to diſtinguiſh between a ſet of ſhort precepts in proſe and the diſtichs which follow them. The former appear in the beſt editions under the title of *Breves Sententiæ*, and are found in the oldeſt known MS. of Cato, written about A. D. 900, preſerved at Zurich, and printed in Dr. Zarncke's work, *Der deutſche Cato*. It is, moreover, a miſtake to confound *Parvus Cato* with a diſtinct poem entitled *Facetus*, the author of which (ſometimes, but perhaps incorrectly, ſaid to be Johannes de Garlandia) tells us in his opening lines:

Cum nihil vtilius humanæ credo ſaluti
Quam rerum nouiſſe modos & moribus vti;
Quod minus exequitur moroſi dogma Catonis
Supplebo pro poſſe meo monitu rationis.

As to the writer of *Facetus*, a commentary on the work in Arundel MS. 243 informs us that he was "vnus religioſus nomine Iohannes qui, videns homines a via morum et virtutum declinare et vicijs inherere, compoſuit hunc librum de moribus et virtutibus, volens eos in via morum et virtutum conſeruare."]

This work has been abſurdly attributed by ſome critics to Seneca, and by others to Auſonius.[1] It is, however, more ancient than the time of the Emperor Valentinian III. who died in 455.[2] On the other hand, it was written after the appearance of Lucan's *Pharſalia*, as the author, at the beginning of the ſecond book, commends Virgil, Macer,[3] Ovid, and Lucan. The name of Cato probably became prefixed to theſe diſtichs, in a lower age, by the officious ignorance of tranſcribers, and from the acquieſcence of readers equally ignorant, as Marcus Cato had written a ſet of moral diſtichs. Whoever was the author, this metrical ſyſtem of ethics had attained the higheſt degree of eſtimation in the barbarous ages. [There is a paraphraſe in Anglo-Saxon proſe of many of Cato's diſtichs in the Cotton MS. Julius A II. and a later (or ſemi-Saxon) copy of the ſame in Cotton MS. Veſpaſian, D. XIV. In the Vernon MS. in

[1] It was printed under the name of Auſonius, Roſtoch. 1572. 8vo.

[2] *Ex Epiſtol.* Vindiciani Medici, ad Valent. They are mentioned by Notkerus, who flouriſhed in the tenth century, among the *Metrorum, Hymnorum, Epigrammatumque conditores*. Cap. vi. *De Illuſtrib. Vir.* &c., printed by Fabric. *M. Lat.* v. p. 904.

[3] The poem *De Virtutibus Herbarum*, under the name of Macer, now extant, was written by Odo or Odobonus, a phyſician of the dark ages. It was tranſlated into Engliſh by John Lelarmoner, or Lelamar, maſter of Hereford ſchool, about the year 1373. MSS. Sloane. 29. *Princ.* "Apium, Ache is hote and drie." There is *Macer's Herbal*, *ibid.* 43. [Of this there were at leaſt two printed editions. In one of them it is called *Macers Herball Practyſyd by Doctor Lynacro.* Both were from the preſs of R. Wyer.]

the Bodleian library there is a triglot Cato in Latin, French, and Engliſh. The French text is a ſomewhat corrupt copy of Everard's tranſlation, the Engliſh an imitation of Everard. This verſion ſeems never to have been completed, as blanks are left in the MS. where ſeveral of the ſtanzas ſhould ſtand; ſimilar blanks occur at the ſame ſpots in another copy (Additional MS. 22,283). There is a fragment of another early Engliſh tranſlation in Fairfax MS. 14.[1] Among Langbaine's MS. bequeathed to the Univerſity of Oxford by Antony Wood, it is accompanied by a Saxon paraphraſe.[2] John of Saliſbury, in his *Polycraticon*, mentions it as the favourite and eſtabliſhed manual in the education of boys.[3] To enumerate no others,

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[1] [Mr. Brock's addition. See Blades's *Life and Typography of William Caxton*, i. 52, *et ſeq.* and 278.]

[2] Cod. [2. old number 8615.]

[3] *Polycrat.* vii. 9, p. 373, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. It is cited, *ibid.* pp. 116, 321, 512. In the *Art of Verſification*, a Latin poem, written by Everhardus Bethunienſis, about the year 1212, there is a curious paſſage, in which all the claſſics of that age are recited; or the beſt authors then in vogue, and whom he recommends to be taught to youth. [Leyſer. *Poet. Med. Æv.* p. 825.] They are, Cato the moraliſt. Theodolus, the author of a leonine eclogue, a dialogue between Truth and Falſehood, written in the 10th century, printed among the *Octo Morales*, and by Goldaſtus, *Man. Bibl.* 1620. MSS. Harl. 3093. 4. [This piece, ſometimes inaccurately aſcribed to the preſs of] Wynkyn de Worde, was printed under the title of *Theodoli liber, cum commento*, 1515. It was from one of theſe *Eclogues*, beginning *Æthiopum terras*, that Field, maſter of Fotheringay College about the year 1480, ſet the verſes of the book called *Æthiopum terras* in the glaſs window with figures very neatly. Leland. *Itin.* i. fol. 5. [p. 7, edit. 1745.] This ſeems to have been in a window of the new and beautiful cloiſter, built about that time. Flavius Avianus, a writer of Latin fables, or apologues. Æſop, or the Latin fabuliſt, printed among the *Octo Morales*, Lugd. Bat. 1505. Maximianus, whoſe ſix elegies, written about the ſeventh century, paſs under the name of Gallus. Chaucer cites this writer, and in a manner which ſhows his elegies had not then acquired the name of Gallus. *Court of L.* v. 798: "Maximinian truely thus doeth he write." Pamphilus Maurilianus, author of the hexametrical poem *De Vetula*, and the elegies *De Arte amandi*, entitled *Pamphilus*, publiſhed by Goldaſtus, *Catalect. Ovid.* 1610. Dares Phrygius, on the deſtruction of Troy. Macer. Marbodeus [or Marbodus Gallus, author of *Hymns*, *Epiſtles*, and a treatiſe *De Gemmis*, printed together in 1524. See Brunet, iii. 1391.] Petrus de Riga, canon of Rheims, whoſe *Aurora*, or the *Hiſtory of the Bible allegoriſed*, in Latin verſes, ſome of which are in rhyme, was never printed entire. He has left alſo *Speculum Eccleſiæ*, with other pieces, in Latin poetry. He flouriſhed about the year 1130. Sedulius. Proſper. Arator. Prudentius. Boethius. Alanus, author of the *Anticlaudian*, a poem in nine books, occaſioned by the ſcepticiſm of Claudian. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, and Perſius. John [de] Hauteville, an Engliſhman, who wrote the *Architrenius* in the twelfth century, a Latin hexameter poem in nine books. Philip Gualtier, of Chatillon, who wrote, about the ſame period, the *Alexandreis*, an heroic poem on Alexander the Great. Solymarius or Gunther, a German Latin poet, author of the *Solymarium* or *Cruſade*. Galfridus, our countryman, whoſe *Nova Poetria* was in higher celebrity than Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Matthæus of Vendome who, in the year 1170, paraphraſed the *Book of Tobit* into Latin elegiacs from the Latin bible of Saint Jerom, under the title of the *Tobiad*, ſometimes called the *Thebaid*, and firſt printed among the *Octo Morales*. Alexander [Gallus or] de Villa Dei, whoſe *Doctrinale* or Grammar in Leonine verſe ſuperſeded Priſcian about the year 1200. It was firſt printed [with the types of Johan de Spira about 1470, and] by Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. He was a French friar-minor, and alſo wrote the *Arguments of the chapters of all the books of either Teſtament*, in 212 hexameters. With ſome other forgotten pieces.

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it is much applauded by Iſidore the old etymologiſt,[1] Alcuin,[2] and Abelard:[3] and we muſt acknowledge that the writer, excluſively of the utility of his precepts, poſſeſſes the merit of a nervous and elegant brevity. It is [again and again] quoted by Chaucer. In the *Merchant's Tale*, having quoted Seneca to prove that no bleſſing is equal to an humble wife, he adds Cato's precept of prudently bearing a ſcolding wife with patience[4] [and in the *Nun's Prieſt's Tale* Pertelot appeals to Cato to diſprove the ſignificance of dreams]. Chaucer conſtantly [but miſtakenly refers to Facetus under the name of] Catoun, which [however] ſhows that he was more familiar in French than in Latin. It was tranſlated into Greek at Conſtantinople by Maximus Planudes, who has the merit of having familiarized to his countrymen many Latin claſſics of the lower empire by metaphraſtic verſions:[5] and at the reſtoration of learning in Europe, illuſtrated by Eraſmus with a commentary which is much extolled by Luther.[6] There are [ſeveral] French tranſlations.[7] That of Mathurine Corderoy is dedicated to Robert Stevens. In the Britiſh Muſeum there is a French tranſlation by Helis de Guinceſtre or Wincheſter, made perhaps at the time when our countrymen affected to write more in French than in Engliſh.[8] Caxton in

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Marcianus Capella, whoſe poem on the *Marriage of Mercury with Philology* rivalled Boethius. [See *ſupra*.] Joannes de Garlandia, an Engliſhman, a poet and grammarian, who ſtudied at Paris about the year 1200. The moſt eminent of his numerous Latin poems, which crowd our libraries, ſeem to be his *Epithalamium on the Virgin Mary* in ten books of elegiacs (MSS. Cotton. Claud. A. x.) and *De Triumphis Eccleſiæ*, in eight books, which contains much Engliſh hiſtory. (MS. *ibid.*) Some of his pieces, both in proſe and verſe, have been printed. [But ſee Brunet, in v. *Garlandia*.] Bernardus Carnotenſis or Sylveſter, much applauded by John of Saliſbury, who ſtyles him the moſt perfect Platonic of that age. *Metallog.* iv. c. 35. His *Megacoſm* and *Microcoſm*, a work conſiſting both of verſe and proſe, is frequently cited by the barbarous writers. He is imitated by Chaucer, *Man of L. Tale*, v. 4617. "In ſterres many a winter," &c. Phyſiologus or Theobaldus Epiſcopus, who wrote in Latin verſe *De Naturis xii. animalium*, MSS. Harl. 3093. 5. He is there called Italicus. There is alſo a Magiſter Florinus, ſtyled alſo *Phyſiologus*, on the ſame ſubject. Chaucer quotes Phyſiologus. "For Phiſiologus ſays ſikerly." *Nonnes Pr. Tale*, v. 15,277. Sidonius, who wrote a metrical dialogue between a Jew and a Chriſtian on both the Teſtaments, and a Sidonius, perhaps the ſame, *regis qui fingit prælia*. To theſe our author adds his own *Greciſmus*, or a poem in hexameters on rhetoric and grammar which, as Du Cange [*Præf. Lat. Gloſſ.* ſect. xlv.] obſerves, was anciently a common manual in the ſeminaries of France, and, I ſuppoſe, of England.

[1] *Etymol.* v. *Officiperda.* [2] *Contra Elipand.* lib. ii. p. 949.

[3] Lib. i. *Theol. Chriſt.* p. 1183. [4] v. 9251.

[5] It occurs often among the Baroccian MSS. (Bibl. Bodl. viz. 64, 71. bis. 95, 111, 194). The firſt edition of Cato, ſoon followed by many others [is without a date, but *circa* 1467. See Brunet, i. 1666. It was printed (at Straſburgh) in 1475.] The moſt complete edition is that of Chriſt. Daumius. Cygn. 1672, 8vo.: containing the Greek metaphraſes of Maximus Planudes, Joſeph Scaliger, Matthew Zuber and John Mylius; a German verſion by Martinus Apicius, with annotations and other acceſſions. It was before tranſlated into German rhymes by Abraham Morterius, of Weiſſenburgh. Francof. 1590. 8vo.

[6] *Colloq. Menſal.* c. 37.

[7] One [attributed to] Pierre Groſnet, *Les mots dores de Cathon.* Paris, [1530.]

[8] MSS. Harl. 4388. This MS. is older than 1400. [Brunet (laſt edit. i. 1669) cites ſeveral French editions of the French Gloſs on Cato; but in 1548 appeared a

the preface to his aforeſaid tranſlation, affirms that Poggius Florentinus [or Poggio Bracciolini,] whoſe library was furniſhed with the moſt valuable authors, eſteemed *Cathon gloſed*, that is, Cato with notes, to be the beſt book in his collection.[1] The gloſſariſt I take to be Philip de Pergamo, a prior at Padua, who wrote a moſt elaborate *Moraliſation on Cato*, under the title of *Speculum Regiminis*, ſo early as the year 1380.[2] In the ſame preface, Caxton obſerves that it is "the beſte book for to be taught to yonge children in ſcole." But he ſuppoſes the author to be Marcus Cato, whom he duly celebrates with the two Scipios and other "noble Romaynes."[3] Burgh's performance is too jejune for tranſcription; and (I ſuſpect) would not have afforded a ſingle ſplendid extract, had even the Latin poſſeſſed any ſparks of poetry. It is indeed true, that the only critical excellence of the original, which conſiſts of a terſe con-

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tranſlation of the Latin work into French verſe with certain additions.] See MSS. Aſhmol. 789. 2, [and conſult Brunet *ut ſupr.*]

In Bennet College library there is a copy of the French *Cato* by Helis of Wincheſter, MSS. cccev. 24, fol. 317. It is entitled and begins thus—*Les Diſtiches Morales de Caton miſes en vers par* Helis de Guynceſtre.

"Ki vout ſaver la faitement
Ki Catun a ſun fiz a prent,
Si en Latin nel ſet entendre,
Jci le pot en rumainz* aprendre,
Cum Helis de Guynceſtre
Ki deu met a ſe deſtre
La tranſlate ſi fatemente."

The tranſcript is of the 14th century. Compare Verdier, *Bibl. Franc.* tom. iii. p. 288, edit. 1772. In the [*Paralipomena*] of Anonymus Salernitanus, written about the year 900, the writer mentions a deſcription in Latin verſe of the palace of the city of Salerno, but laments that it was rendered illegible through length of time: "Nam ſi unam paginam fuiſſemus nacti, comparare illos [verſus] profecto potuiſſemus Maroni in voluminibus, Catonique, ſive profecto aliis Sophiſtis." cap. xxviii. Muratori, *Scriptor. Rer. Ital.* vol. ii.

[1] Many of the gloſſed manuſcripts, ſo common in the libraries, were the copies with which pupils in the Univerſity attended their readers or lecturers, from whoſe mouths paraphraſtic notes were interlined or written in the margin, by the more diligent hearers. In a Latin tranſlation of ſome of Ariſtotle's philoſophical works, once belonging to Rocheſter priory, and tranſcribed about the year 1350, one Henry de Rewham is ſaid to be the writer, and to have gloſſed the book, during the time he heard it explained by a public reader in the ſchools of Oxford. "Et audivit in ſcholis Oxonie, et emendavit et gloſavit audiendo." MSS. Reg. 12, G. ii. In the meantime, I am of opinion that the word *reader* originally took its riſe from a paucity of books: when there was only one book to be had, which a profeſſor or lecturer recited to a large audience.

[2] Printed Auguſt, 1475. In Exeter College library there is *Cato Moraliſatus*, MSS. 37. [837.] And again at All Souls, MSS. 9. [1410.] Compare MSS. More, 35. [9221.] And Bibl. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 651. 14. And MSS. Harl. 6294.

[3] [A ſufficiently copious account of all the early Engliſh printed works on this ſubject will be found in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* under Cato; but the reader may alſo conſult Herbert's *Ames* and Blades's monograph on Caxton.] The *Proverbia Catonis* are a different work from [this], written in hexameters, by Marbodeus, Opp. Hildebert. p. 1634. Paris 1708. fol.

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* in romance, *i.e.* in French.

ciſeneſs of ſentences, although not always expreſſed in the pureſt latinity, will not eaſily bear to be transfuſed.[1]

About the year 1481, Juliana Barnes, more properly Berners, ſiſter of Richard, lord Berners, and Prioreſs of the Nunnery of Sopewell, wrote three Engliſh tracts on *Hawking*, *Hunting*, and *Armory* or *Heraldry*, which were ſoon afterwards printed in the neighbouring monaſtery[2] of Saint Alban's.[3] From an abbeſs diſpoſed to turn author, we might more reaſonably have expected a manual of meditations for the cloſet, or ſelect rules for making ſalves or diſtilling ſtrong waters. But the diverſions of the field were not thought inconſiſtent with the character of a religious lady of this

[1] There is a tranſlation of the *Wyz Cato* and *Æſop's Fables* into Engliſh dogrell, [and on the phonetic principle] by William Bulloker, 1585. [See *inf.* ſect. 55.]

[2] There was a ſtrong connection between the two monaſteries. In that of Saint Alban's a monk was annually appointed, with the title of Cuſtos monialium de Sopewelle. Regiſtr. Abbat. Wallingford, [*ſub ann.* 1480] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Tanner.

[3] 1486. fol. Again, by W. de Worde, 1496 [folio, and n. d.] 4to. The barbariſm of the times ſtrongly appears in the indelicate expreſſions which ſhe often uſes; and which are equally incompatible with her ſex and profeſſion. [The entire work was reprinted from the edit. of 1496 by Haſlewood, 1810, and Dallaway, in his *Heraldry*, 1793, gave the ſection on *Blaſon* from the edition of 1486. The diviſion relating to *Angling* was alſo reprinted ſeparately in 1827.] The poem begins thus. I tranſcribe from a good MS. (MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl.):

"Mi dere ſones, where ye fare, by frith or by fell,*
Take good hede in his tyme how Triſtrem† wol tell;
How many maner beſtes of venery there were,
Liſtenes now to our Dame, and ye ſhullen here.
Fowre maner beſtes of venery there are,
The firſt of hem is a hart, the ſecond is an hare;
The boor is one of tho,
The wolff, and no mo.
And whereſo ye comen in play‡ or in place,
Now ſhal I tel you which ben beſtes of chace:
One of the a buck, another a doo,
The Fox and the marteryn, and the wilde roo:
And ye ſhall, my dere ſones, other beſtes all,
Where ſo ye hem finde, raſcall hem call,
In frith or in fell,
Or in Forreſt, y yow tell.
And to ſpeke of the hert, if ye wil hit lere,
Ye ſhall call him a calfe at the firſt yere;
The ſecond yere a broket, ſo ſhall he be,
The third yere a ſpayard, lerneth this at me;
The .iiii. yere calles hem a ſtagge, be any way
The firſt yere a grete ſtagge, my dame bade you ſay."

[A full account of the various editions of this intereſting and valuable publication is given in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, and need ſcarcely be reproduced here. The edition of 1586, mentioned by Dibdin, whom it incautiouſly followed, is a different work. The lateſt iſſue of the *Book of St. Albans* was in 1614, when Gervaſe Markham's alteration of the original text was printed with further changes, and adaptations to the more modern practice, under the title of *A Jewell for Gentrie.*]

* See Gaſcoigne, ii. 345.]
† See Haſlewood's edit. *Introd.* and Gaſcoigne's *Works*, ii. 306.] ‡ plain.

eminent rank, who reſembled an abbot in reſpect of exerciſing an extenſive manorial juriſdiction; and who hawked and hunted in common with other ladies of diſtinction.[1] This work, however, is here mentioned, becauſe the ſecond of theſe treatiſes is written in rhyme.[2] It is ſpoken in her own perſon; in which, being otherwiſe a woman of authority, ſhe aſſumes the title of dame. I ſuſpect the whole to be a tranſlation from the French and Latin.[3]

Henry Bradſhaw has rather larger pretenſions to poetical fame, although ſcarcely deſerving the name of an original writer in any reſpect. He was a native of Cheſter, educated at Glouceſter College in Oxford, and at length a Benedictine monk of Saint Werburgh's Abbey in his native place.[4] Before the year 1500, he wrote the *Life of Saint Werburgh*, a daughter of a king of the Mercians, in Engliſh verſe.[5] This poem, beſide the devout deeds and paſſion of the poet's patroneſs-ſaint, comprehends a variety of other ſubjects;

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[1] At the magnificent marriage of the princeſs Margaret with James IV. king of Scotland, in 1503, his majeſty ſends the new queen, "a grett tame hart, for to have a corſe." Leland. *Coll. Append.* iii. 280, edit. 1770.

[2] This part is tranſlated or abſtracted from Upton's book *De re militari, et factis illuſtribus*, written about 1441. See the fourth book *De inſignibus Anglorum nobilium.* Edit. Biſs. 1654. It begins with the following curious piece of ſacred heraldry. "Of the offspring of the gentilman Jafeth, come Habraham, Moyſes, Aron and the profettys, and alſo the kyng of the right lyne of Mary, of whom that gentilman Jheſus was borne, very god and man: after his manhode kynge of the land of Jude and of Jues, gentilman by is moder Mary, prynce of Cote armure," &c. Nicholas Upton, above mentioned, was a fellow of New College Oxford about 1430. He had many dignities in the church. He was patroniſed by Humphrey duke of Glouceſter, to whom he dedicates his book. This I ought to have remarked before. [See *ſupr.* ſect. xx.]

[3] [I can, however, hardly underſtand how ſhe could get the technical Engliſh terms, as I can hardly believe one in her ſituation followed the chaſe, and converſed with huntſmen enough for the purpoſe. I think that theſe Religious tranſlated the French or Latin books on hunting, war, &c., to pleaſe their friends, who were profeſſed ſtateſmen and warriors, and that they furniſhed the terms of art.—*Aſhby.*]

[4] *Athen. Oxon.* i. p. 9. Pits, 690.

[5] He declares, that he does not mean to rival Chaucer, Lydgate, ſententious, pregnant Barklay, and inventive Skelton. The two laſt were his cotemporaries. L. ii. c. 24. [Bradſhaw ſeems rather to ſay, that as his book was compiled for unlearned readers, it ought to ſubmit itſelf with deference to the judgment of learned poets. But as the paſſage is intereſting, I will preſent it, with the context. It occurs in a brief concluſion to the work by the tranſlator:

"Go forth, litell boke, Jeſu be thy ſpede,
And ſaue the alway from myſrepoityng,
Whiche art compiled for no clerke in dede,
But for marchaunt men hauyng litell lernyng,
And that rude people therby may haue knowyng,
Of this holy virgin and redolent roſe,
Which hath ben kept full longe tyme in cloſe.

To all auncient poetes, litell boke, ſubmytte the,
Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious,
And to all other whiche preſent nowe be,
Fyrſt to maiſter Chaucer and Ludgate ſentencious,
Alſo to preignaunt Barkley nowe beyng religious,
To inuentiue Skelton and poet laureate,
Praye them all of pardon both erly and late."—*Park.*]

as a deſcription of the kingdom of the Mercians,[1] the lives of Saint Etheldred and Saint Sexburgh,[2] the foundation of the city of Cheſter,[3] and a chronicle of our kings.[4] It is collected from Bede, Alfred

[1] Lib. i. c. ii. [2] Lib. i. cap. xviii. xix. [3] Lib. i. cap. iii.

[4] Lib. ii. cap. xv. The practice of writing metrical *Chronicles of the kings of England* grew very faſhionable in this century. See *ſupr.* Many of theſe are evidently compoſed for the harp: but they are moſtly mere genealogical deductions. Hearne has printed from the Heralds office a *Petegree* of our kings from William the conqueror to Henry VI., written in 1448. [*Appendix* to Rob. Glouceſter, vol. ii p. 585, ſee p. 588.] This is a ſpecimen:

"Then regnyd Harry nought full wyſe,
The ſone of Mold [Maud] the empereſe.
In his tyme then Seynt Thomas
At Caunterbury marteryd was.
He held Roſomund the ſhen,
Gret ſorwe hit was for the quen:
At Wodeſtoke for hure he made a toure,
That is called Roſemoundes boure.—
And ſithen regnyd his ſone Richard,
A man that was neuer a ferd:
He werred ofte tyme and wyſe
Worthily vpon godis enemyſe.
And ſithen he was ſhoten, alas!
Atte caſtelle Gailard there he was.
Att Foonte Euerard he lithe there:
He regnyd almoſt .x. yere.—
In Johne is tyme, as y vnderſtond,
Was enterdyted alle Engelond:
He was fulle wrothe and grym,
For preſtus wold nought ſynge before hym," &c.

Lydgate has left the beſt chronicle of the kind, and moſt approaching to poetry. *The regnynge of kyngys after the conqueſt by the monk of Bury.* MSS. Fairf. Bibl. Bodl. 16; [MSS. Aſhmol. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3; and a beautiful copy, with pictures of the kings, MSS. Cotton. *Julius.* E. 5. Printed by W. de Worde in 1530.] This is one of the ſtanzas. [MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 1999. 6.]

RICARDUS PRIMUS.

"Rychard the next by ſucceſſyon,
Firſt of that name, ſtrong, hardy, and notable,
Was crouned kynge, called Cur de lyon,
With Saryzonys hedys ſerved atte table:
Sleyn at Galard by death full lamentable:
The ſpace regned fully ix. yere;
His hert buryed in Roon atte highe autere."

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 5. There was partly a political view in theſe deductions: to aſcertain the right of our kings to the crowns of France, Caſtile, Leon, and the duchy of Normandy. See MSS. Harl. 326. 2.—116. 11. fol. 142. I know not whether it be worth obſerving, that about this time a practice prevailed of conſtructing long parchment-rolls in Latin, of the pedigree of our kings. Of this kind is the *Pedigree of Britiſh kings from Adam to Henry the Sixth*, written about the year 1450, by Roger Alban, a Carmelite friar of London. It begins, "Conſiderans chronicorum prolixitatem." The original copy, preſented to Henry VI., by the compiler, is now in Queen's College library at Oxford. MSS. [22.] B. 5. 3. There are two copies in Wincheſter College library, and another in the Bodleian. Among Biſhop More's MSS. there is a parchment-roll of the pedigree of our kings from Ethelred to Henry IV. in French, with pictures of the ſeveral monarchs, MSS. 495; and in the ſame collection, a pedigree from Harold to Henry IV. with elegant illuminations. MSS. 479. In the ſame rage of

of Beverley, Malmeſbury, Girardus Cambrenſis, Higden's *Polychronicon*, and the paſſionaries of the female ſaints, Werburgh, Etheldred and Sexburgh, which were kept for public edification in the choir of the church of our poet's monaſtery:

For as declareth the true Paſſionary,
A boke where her holie lyfe wrytten is,
Which boke remayneth in Cheſter monaſtery.[1]

And again,

I folow the legend and true hyſtory
After an humble ſtile, and from it lytell vary.

And in the prologue,[2]

Untoo this rude worke myne auctors theſe,
Fyrſt the true Legends, and the venerable Bede,
Mayſter Alfrydus, and Wyllyam Malmuſbury,
Gyrard, Polychronicon, and other mo indeed.

Bradſhaw is not ſo fond of relating viſions and miracles as his argument ſeems to promiſe. Although concerned with three ſaints, he deals more in plain facts than in the fictions of religious romance; and on the whole his performance is rather hiſtorical than legendary. This is remarkable in an age when it was the faſhion to turn hiſtory into legend. Even ſcripture-hiſtory was turned into romance. The ſtory of Eſther and Ahaſuerus, or of Amon or Hamon, and Mardocheus or Mordecai, was formed into a fabulous poem:[3]

Of Amon and Mordocheus.

Mony wynter witerly
Or Criſt weore boren of vre ladi,
A rich kynge, hiȝte Ahaſwere,
That ſtif was on ſtede and ſtere;
Mighti kynge he was, i wis,
He livede muchel in weolye ant blis,
His bliſſe may i nat telle ȝou,
How lange hit weore to ſchewe hit nou;
But thing that tovcheth to vre matere
I wol ȝou telle, ȝif ȝe wol here.
The kyng lovede a knight ſo wele,
That he commaunded men ſhould knele
Bifore him, in vche a ſtreete,
Over all ther men miȝte him meete;
Amon was the kniȝtes nome,
On him fell muchel worldus ſchome,
For in this ilke kynges lande
Was moche folke of Jewes wonande,
Of heore kynd the kyng hym tok
A qwene to wyve, as telleth the bok, &c.

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genealogiſing, Alban above mentioned framed the Deſcent of Jeſus Chriſt, from Adam through the Levitical and regal tribes, the Jewiſh patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets and prieſts. The original roll, as it ſeems, on vellum, beautifully illuminated, is in MSS. More, *ut ſupr.* 495. But this was partly copied from Peter of Poictou, a diſciple of Lombard about 1170 who, for the benefit of the poorer clergy, was the firſt that found out the method of forming, and reducing into parchment-rolls, *Hiſtorical Trees* of the Old Teſtament. Alberic. in *Chron.* p. 441. See MSS. Denb. 1627. 1. Rot.

[1] Lib. i. c. vii. ſignat. C. ii.

[2] Lib. i. ſignat. A iiii.

[3] MS. Vernon, *ut ſupr.* fol. 213.

In the Britiſh Muſeum, there is a long commentitious narrative of the *Creation of Adam and Eve, their Sufferings and Repentance, Death and Burial.*[1] This is from a Latin piece on the ſame ſubject.[2] In the Engliſh, Peter Comeſtor, the "maiſter" of ſtories, author of the *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, who flouriſhed about the year 1170, is quoted.[3] But he is not mentioned in the Latin at fol. 49. [In the library of Wincheſter Cathedral, is a MS. about 1320, containing *Expulſio Ade* [Adam] *de Paradiſi, et quo modo crevit crux Chriſti, et quomodo miracula facta ſunt per lignum.* It is a 4to book of ſeveral hundred pages. It contains a notice of all the popes and emperors, &c.]

In Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, v. 3538, we have this paſſage:

> Haſt thou not herd, quod Nicholas alſo,
> The ſorwe of Noe with his felawſhip,
> Or that he might get his wif to ſhip?

I know not whether this anecdote about Noah is in any ſimilar ſuppoſititious book of Geneſis. It occurs, however, in the *Cheſter Whitſun Plays*, where the authors, according to the eſtabliſhed indulgence allowed to dramatic poets, perhaps thought themſelves at liberty to enlarge on the ſacred ſtory.[4] This altercation between Noah and his wife takes up almoſt the whole third pageant of theſe interludes. Noah, having reproached his wife for her uſual frowardneſs of temper, at laſt conjures her to come on board the ark, for fear of drowning. His wife inſiſts on his ſailing without her, and ſwears by Chriſt and St. John, that ſhe will not embark till ſome of her old female companions are ready to go with her. She adds, that if he is in ſuch a hurry, he may ſail alone, and fetch himſelf a new wife. At length Shem, with the help of his brothers, forces her into the veſſel; and while Noah very cordially welcomes her on board, ſhe gives him a box on the ear.[5]

Bradſhaw's fabulous origin of Cheſter is not ſo much to be imputed to his own want of veracity, as to the authority of his voucher Ranulph Higden, a celebrated chronicler, his countryman, and a monk of his own abbey.

As to Bradſhaw's hiſtory of the foundation of Cheſter, it may be claſſed with [the anonymous poem of four leaves only printed by R. Pynſon about 1500, entitled *The Foundation of the Chapel of Walſingham* (conjecturally, as in the only known copy the firſt leaf is miſſing, and this is the ſubject). The narrative commences thus:

> Of this chapell ſe here the fundacyon,
> Bylded the yere of cryſtes incarnacyon,
> A thouſande complete ſyxty and one,
> The tyme of ſent edward kyng of this region.

Of the ſame claſs is the *Foundation of the Abbey of Glouceſter* in twenty-two ſtanzas, printed by Hearne, and written in 1534 by the

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[1] MSS. Harl. 1704. 5. fol. 18.
[2] *Ibid.* 495. 12. fol. 43. imperf.
[3] fol. 26.
[4] MSS. Harl. 2013.
[5] [In *Notes and Queries* for April 9, 1870, occurs a ſhort paper on the Anglo-Norman Morality of Adam.]

laſt abbot, William Malverne. Bradſhaw's piece is mentioned by Harpsfield.[1]

He [Bradſhaw] ſuppoſes that Cheſter, called by the ancient Britons Cair-Lleon, or the city of Legions, was founded by Leon Gaur, a giant, corrupted from *Leon Vaur*, or the great legion:

> The founder of this citie, as ſayth Polychronicon,
> Was Leon Gaur, a myghte ſtronge gyaunt,
> Which buildid caves and dongeons manie a one,
> No goodlie buildyng, ne proper, ne pleaſant.

He adds with an equal attention to etymology:

> But kinge Leir a Britan fine and valiaunt,
> Was founder of Cheſter by pleaſaunt buildyng,
> And was named Guar Leir by the kyng.[2]

But a greater degree of credulity would perhaps have afforded him a better claim to the character of a poet: and, at leaſt, we ſhould have conceived a more advantageous opinion of his imagination, had he been leſs frugal of thoſe traditionary fables, in which ignorance and ſuperſtition had clothed every part of his argument. This piece was firſt printed in 1521.[3]

[The following is one of the introductory chapters, and is headed: *A deſcrypcyon of the Geanealogy of ſaynt Werburge, and how ſhe deſcended of foure kynges of this lande & of the royall blode of Fraunce.* The genealogy is traced with much hiſtorical accuracy, and this portion of the performance may perhaps be partly original:]

> This noble prynces, the doughter of Syon,
> The floure of vertu, and vyrgyn gloryous,
> Bleſſed Saynt Werburge, full of deuocyon,
> Deſcended by auncetry, and tytle famous,
> Of foure myghty kynges, noble and victoryous,
> Reynynge in his lande, by true ſucceſſyon,
> As her lyfe hiſtoryall, maketh declaracyon.
>
> The yere of our lorde, frome the natyuyte
> Fyue hundreth. xiiii. and alſo iiii. ſcore,
> Whan Auſtyn was ſende from ſaynt Gregorye,
> To conuert this regyon unto our ſauyoure
> The noble kyng Cryda than reygned with honoure
> Vpon the mercyens, whiche kynge was father
> Vnto kynge Wybba and Quadriburge his ſyſter.
>
> This Wybba gate Penda, kynge of mercyens,
> Whiche Penda ſubdued fyue kynges of this regyon
> Reygnȳge thyrty yere, in worſhyp and reuerens
> Was grauntfather to Werburge, by lynyall ſucceſſyon
> By his quene Kyneſwith, had a noble generacyon
> Fyue valeant prynces, Penda and kynge Wulfer,
> Kynge Ethelred, ſaint Marceyl, ſaynt Marwalde, ī fere.[4]

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[1] MSS. Harl. 539. 14, fol. 111. *Hiſt. Eccles. Angl.* p. 264. Princip. "In ſundiie fayer volumes of antiquitie."

[2] Lib. ii. c. iii.

[3] In [4to.] With a wooden cut of the Saint. Princip. "Whā Phebus had roūe his cours ī Sagittari." At the beginning is [*The prologe of J. T.*, &c., including an acroſtic on the tranſlator Bradſhaw's name, and at the end are three Ballads.]

[4] [*The Holy Lyfe and Hiſtory of Saynt Werburge*, &c. Edited by Edward Hawkins, Eſq. Chetham Society, 1848].

The moſt ſplendid paſſage of this poem is the following deſcription of the feaſt made by King Wulfer in the hall of the abbey of Ely, when his daughter Werburgh was admitted to the veil in that monaſtery. Among other curious anecdotes of ancient manners, the ſubjects of the tapeſtry, with which the hall was hung, and of the ſongs ſung by the minſtrels, on this ſolemn occaſion, are given at large. The heading of the chapter is: "Of the great ſolempnyte kynge Wulfer made at the ghoſtly maryage of ſaynt Werburge his doughter, to al his louers, coſyns, and frendes."[1]

Kynge Wulfer her father/ at this ghoſtly ſpouſage
Prepared great tryumphes/ and ſolemptnyte
Made a royall feeſt/ as cuſtome is of maryage
Sende for his frendes/ after good humanyte
Kepte a noble houſholde/ ſhewed great lyberalyte
Both to ryche and poore/ that to this feeſt wolde come
No man was denyed/ every man was well come.

Her uncles and auntes/ were preſent there all
Ethelred and Merwalde/ and Mercelly alſo
Thre bleſſed kynges/ whome ſayntes we do call
Saint keneſwyd/ ſaint keneburg/ theyr ſyſters both two
And of her noble lygnage/ many other mo
Were redy that ſeaſon/ with reuerence and honour
At this noble tryumphe/ to do all theyr deuour.

Tho kynges mette them/ with theyr company,
Egbryct kynge of kent/ brother to the quene
The ſeconde was Aldulphe kynge of the eeſt party
Brother to ſaynt Audry/ wyfe and mayde ſerene
With dyuers of theyr progeny/ and nobles as I wene
Dukes/ erles/ barons/ and lordes ferre and nere
In theyr beſt aray/ were preſent all in fere.[2]

It were full tedyous/ to make deſcrypcyon
Of the great tryumphes/ and ſolempne royalte
Belongynge to the feeſt/ the honour and prouyſyon,
By playne declaracyon/ vpon euery partye
But the ſothe to ſay/ withouten ambyguyte
All herbes and floures/ fragraunt fayre and ſwete
Were ſtrawed in halles/ and layd vnder theyr fete.

Clothes of golde and arras/ were hanged in the hall
Depaynted with pyctures/ and hyſtoryes manyfolde
Well wrought and craftely/ with precyous ſtones all
Glyterynge as Phebus/ and the beten golde
Lyke an erthly paradyſe/ pleaſaunt to beholde
As for the ſayd moynes[3]/ was not them amonge
But prayenge in her cell/ as done all nouice yonge.

The ſtory of Adam/ there was goodly wrought
And of his wyfe Eue/ bytwene them the ſerpent
How they were deceyued/ and to theyr peynes brought
There was Cayn and Abell/ offerynge theyr preſent
The ſacryfyce of Abell/ accepte full euydent
Tuball and Tubalcain/ were purtrayed in that place
The inuentours of muſyke/ and craftes by great grace.

Noe and his ſhyppe/ was made there curyouſly
Sendynge forth a rauen/ whiche neuer came agayne;

[1] [Edit. 1848, cap. xvi. p. 58.]
[2] together.
[3] nun, i. e. The Lady Werburg.

And how the doue retourned/ with a braunche haſtely
A token of conforte and peace/ to man certayne
Abraham there was/ ſtandynge upon the mount playne
To offer in ſacryfyce/ Iſaac his dere ſone,
And how the ſhepe for hym/ was offered in oblacyon.

The twelue ſones of Jacob/ there were in purtrayture
And how into Egypt/ yonge Jeſeph was ſolde
There was impryſoned/ by a falſe conie&tour
After in all Egypte/ was ruler (as is tolde).
There was in py&ture/ Moyſes wyſe and bolde
Our lorde apperynge in buſshe flammynge as fyre
And nothynge therof brent/ lefe/ tree/ nor ſpyre.[1]

The ten plages of Egypt/ were well emboſt
The chyldren of Iſrael/ paſſynge the reed ſee
Kynge Pharoo drowned/ with all his proude hooſt
And how the two tables/ at the mounte of Synaye
Were gyuen to Moyſes/ and how ſoone to ydolatry
The people were prone/ and punyſshed were therfore,
How Datan and Abyron/ for pryde were loſt full youre.[2]

Duke Joſue was ioyned/ after them in py&ture,
Ledynge the Iſrehelytes/ to the lande of promyſſyon
And how the ſaid lande/ was diuyded by meſure
To the people of god/ by equall ſundry porcyon
The Judges and byſshops/ were there euerychone
Theyr noble a&tes/ and tryumphes Marcyall
Freſshly were browdred/ in theſe clothes royall.

Nexte to hye borde/ appered fayre and bryght
Kynge Saull and Dauyd/ and prudent Salomon,
Roboas ſuccedynge/ whiche ſoone loſt his myght
The good kynge Eſechyas/ and his generacyon
And ſo to the Machabees/ and dyuers other nacyon
All theſe ſayd ſtoryes/ ſo rychely done and wrought
Belōgyng to kyng Wulfer/ agayn y[t] tyme were brought.[3]

But ouer the hye deſſe[4]/ in the pryncypall place
Where the ſayd thre kynges/ ſate crowned all
The beſt hallynge[5] hanged/ as reaſon was
Wherin were wrought/ the .ix. ordres angelycall
Dyuyded in thre Jerarchyſes/ not ceſſynge to call
Sanctus/ ſanctus/ ſanctus/ bleſſed be the trynyte
Dominus Deus ſabaoth/ thre perſones in one deyte

Nexte in ordre ſuynge[6]/ ſette in goodly purtrayture
Was our bleſſed lady/ floure of femynyte
With the twelue apoſtles/ echeone in his fygure
And the foure euangelyſtes/ wrought mooſt curyouſly
Alſo the dyſcyples/ of chryſt in theyr degre
Prechynge and techynge/ vnto euery nacyon
The faythtes[7] of holy chyrche/ for their ſaluacyon.

Martyrs than folowed/ ryght manyfeſtly
The holy innocentes/ whome Herode had ſlayne,
Bleſſed ſaynt Stephan/ the prothomartyr truly
Saynt Laurēce/ ſaynt Vyncēt/ ſufferynge great payne
With many other mo/ than here ben now certayne

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[1] twig, branch. [2] burnt.
[3] All this tapeſtry, belonging to King Wulfer, was brought to Ely monaſtery on this occaſion.
[4] ſeat; [*vid. ſupr.*] [5] tapeſtry. [6] following. [7] feats; facts.

Of whiche ſayd martyrs/ exſample we may take
Pacyence to obſerue/ in herte for chryſtes ſake.

Confeſſours approched/ ryght conuenyent,
Freſshely enbrodred/ in ryche tyſshewe and fyne;
Saynt Nycholas/ ſaynt Benedycte/ and his couente
Saynt Jerom/ Baſylyus/ and ſaynt Auguſtyne
Gregory the great doctour/ Ambroſe and ſaynt Martyne
All theſe were ſette/ in goodly purtrayture
Them to beholde/ was a heuenly pleaſure.

Vyrgyns them folowed/ crowned with the lyly
Amonge whome our lady/ chefe preſydent was
Some crowned with rooſes/ for theyr great vyctory
Saynt Katheryne/ ſaynt Margerete/ ſaynt Agathas
Saynt Cycyly/ ſaynt Agnes/ and ſaynt Charytas
Saynt Lucye/ ſaynt Wenefryde/ and ſaynt Apolyn
All theſe were brothered/ [1] the clothes of golde within.

Upon the other ſyde of the hall ſette were
Noble auncyent ſtoryes/ & how the ſtronge Sampſon
Subdued his enemyes by his myghty power
Of Hector of Troy/ ſlayne by fals treaſon
Of noble Arthur/ kynge of this regyon
With many other mo/ whiche it is to longe
Playnly to expreſſe/ this tyme you amonge.

The tables were couered with clothes of Dyaper
Rychely enlarged/ with ſyluer and with golde
The cupborde with plate/ ſhynynge fayre and clere
Marſhalles theyr offyces/ fulfylled manyfolde
Of myghty wyne plenty/ bothe newe and olde
All maner kynde/ of meetes delycate
(Whan grace was ſayd) to them was preparate.

To this noble feeſt/ there was ſuche ordynaunce
That nothynge wanted/ that goten myght be
On ſee and on lande/ but there was habundaunce
Of all maner pleaſures/ to be had for monye
The bordes all charged/ full of meet plente
And dyuers ſubtyltes/ [2] prepared ſothly were
With cordyall ſpyces/ theyr gheſtes for to chere.

The Joyfull wordes/ and ſwete communycacyon
Spoken at the table/ it were harde to tell
Eche man at lyberte/ without interrupcyon
Bothe ſadnes and myrthes/ alſo pryue counſell
Some adulacyon/ ſome the truthe dyd tell
But the great aſtates/ [3] ſpake of theyr regyons
Knyghtes of theyr chyualry/ of craftes the comons.

Certayne at eche cours/ of ſeruice in the hall
Trumpettes blewe vp/ ſhalmes and claryons
Shewynge theyr melody with/ toynes [4] muſycall
Dyuers other mynſtrelles/ in crafty proporcyons
Made ſwete concordaunce/ and luſty dyuyſyons
An heuenly pleaſure/ ſuche armony to here
Reioyſynge the hertes/ of the audyence full clere.

A ſynguler mynſtrell/ all other ferre paſſynge
Toyned [5] his inſtrument/ in pleaſaunte armony

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[1] embroidered. [2] diſhes of curious cookery, ſo called. [3] kings.
[4] tunes. [5] tuned.

And ſange mooſt ſwetely/ the company gladynge
Of myghty conquerours/ the famous vyctory
Wherwith was rauyſshed/ theyr ſpyrytes and memory
Specyally he ſange/ of the great Alexandere
Of his tryumphes and honours/ endurynge .xii. yere.

Solemply he ſonge/ the ſtate of the Romans
Ruled vnder kynges/ by polycy and wyſedome
Of theyr hye iuſtyce/ and ryghtfull ordynauns
Dayly encreaſynge/ in worſhyp and renowne
Tyll Tarquyne ye proude kynge/ with ye great cōfuſyon
Oppreſſed dame Lucrece/ the wyfe of Colatyne
Kynges neuer reygned in Rome/ ſyth that tyme.

Alſo how the Romayns/ vnder thre dyctatours
Gouerned all regyons/ of the worlde ryght wyſely
Tyll Julyus Ceſar/ excellynge all conquerours
Subdued Pompeius/ and toke the hole monarchy
And the rule of Rome/ to hymſelfe manfully
But Caſſius Brutus/ the fals conſpyratour
Cauſed to be ſlayne/ the ſayd noble emperour.

After the ſayd Julyus/ ſucceded his ſyſter ſone
Called Octuyanus/ in the imperyall ſee
And by his precepte/ was made deſcrypcyon
To euery regyon/ lande/ ſhyre/[1] and cytee
A trybute to pay/ vnto his dygnyte
That tyme was/ vnyuerſall peas and honour
In whiche tyme was borne/ our bleſſed ſavyoure.

All theſe hyſtoryes/ noble and auncyent
Reioyſynge the audyence/ he ſange with pleaſuer
And many other mo of the newe teſtament
Pleaſaunt and profytable/ for theyr ſoules cure
Whiche be omytted/ now not put in vre
The mynyſters were redy/ theyr offyce to fulfyll
To take vp the tables/ at theyr lordes wyll.

Whan this noble feeſt/ and great ſolempnyte
Dayly endurynge/ a longe tyme and ſpace
Was royally ended/ with honour and royalte
Eche kynge at other/ lyſence taken hace
And ſo departed from thens/ to theyr place
Kynge Wulfer retourned/ with worſhyp and renowne
Frome the houſe of Ely to his owne manſyon.

If there be any merit of imagination or invention, to which the poet has a claim in this deſcription, it altogether conſiſts in the application. The circumſtances themſelves are faithfully copied by Bradſhaw, from what his own age actually preſented. In this reſpect, I mean as a picture of ancient life, the paſſage is intereſting; and for no other reaſon. The verſification is infinitely inferior to Lydgate's worſt manner.

Bradſhaw [died on the 15th May, 1513, and] was buried in the cathedral church, to which his convent was annexed.[2] Bale, a

[1] This puts one in mind of the *Sheriffs*, in our tranſlation of the Bible, among the officers of the kingdom of Babylon, *Dan.* iii. 2.

[2] *Ath. Oxon.* i. 9, [and Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* Anglo-Saxon period, 518-19. The *year* is aſcertained by one of the laudatory "balades" affixed, which ſpeaks of Bradſhaw:

violent reformer, obſerves that our poet was a perſon remarkably pious for the times in which he flouriſhed.[1] This is an indirect ſatire on the monks, and on the period which preceded the Reformation. I believe it will readily be granted, that our author had more piety than poetry. His Prologue contains the following humble profeſſions of his inability to treat lofty ſubjects, and to pleaſe light readers:

> To deſcrybe hye hyſtoryes/ I dare not be ſo bolde
> Syth it is a mater/ for clerkes conuenyent
> As of the .vii. aeges/ and of our parentes olde
> Or of the iiii. empyres whylom mooſt excellent
> Knowynge my lernynge therto inſufficient
> As for bawdy balades you ſhall haue none of me
> To excyte lyght hertes to pleaſure and vanyte.[2]

A great tranſlator of the lives of the Saxon ſaints from the Saxon, in which language only they were then extant, into Latin, was [Gotſelin or] Goſcelinus, a monk of [the monaſtery of St. Bertin], who paſſed from France into England with Hereman [afterwards] biſhop of Saliſbury, [in] 1058.[3] As the Saxon language was at this time but little underſtood, theſe tranſlations opened a new and ample treaſure of religious hiſtory: nor were they acquiſitions only to the religion, but to the literature, of that era. Among the reſt were the Lives of Saint Werburgh,[4] Saint Etheldred,[5] and Saint Sexburgh,[6] moſt probably the legends, which were Bradſhaw's originals. Uſher obſerves, that Goſcelinus alſo tranſlated into Latin the ancient Catalogue of the Saxon ſaints buried in England.[7] In the Regiſter of Ely it is recorded, that he was the moſt eloquent writer of his age; and that he circulated all over England, the lives, miracles and geſts of

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> "Now departed from this temporall lyght,
> The preſent yere of this Tranſlacion
> M. D. XIII. of Chriſtis incarnacion."

Sign. f ii b.—*Park.*]

[1] Cent. ix. Numb. 17.

[2] Edit. 1848, p. 4. Bradſhaw alſo wrote the *Life of Saynt Radegunde*, in 7-line ſtanzas, printed by Pynſon, without date in 4to.]

[3] W. Malmeſbur. lib. iv. *ubi infr.*—Goſcelin. in *Præfat. ad Vit. S. Auguſtini.* See Mabillon, *Act. Ben. Sæc.* i. p. 499 [and Le Neve, *Faſti Eccl. Anglic.* ii. 594, edit. Hardy.]

[4] *Act. Sanctor.* Bolland. tom. i. Februar. p. 386. A part in Leland, *Coll.* ii. 154. Compare MSS. C.C.C. Cant. J. xiii. [which contains, however, only ſo much as related to St. Auguſtine and his companions. The moſt important MS. of Gotſelin's *Lives of Saints* in Latin is MS. Cotton. Veſp. B. xx. nearly coeval with the author. See alſo *ibid.* Claudius, A, v. and Harl. MS. 105, where the ſeries of lives is called *Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtoriæ Libri* viii.]

[5] Regiſtr. Eliens. *ut infra.*

[6] See Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 152. Compare the Lives of SS. Etheldred, Werburgh, and Sexburgh, at the end of the *Hiſtoria aurea* of John of Tynemouth, MS. Lambeth, 12. I know not whether they make a part of his famous *Sanctilogium* [or *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, attributed to Capgrave. See a liſt of the contents in *Catal. Cotton. MSS.* pp. 76-7.] He flouriſhed about the year 1380.

[7] *Antiquit. Brit.* c. ii. p. 15. See Leland's *Coll.* iii. 86 *ſeq.* And Hickes, *Theſaur.* laſt vol. pp. 86, 146, 208.

the ſaints of both ſexes, which he reduced into proſe-hiſtories.[1] The words of the Latin deſerve our attention. "In hiſtoriis in *proſa* dictando mutavit." Hence we may perhaps infer, that they were not before in proſe, and that he took them from old metrical legends: this is a preſumptive proof, that the lives of the ſaints were at firſt extant in verſe. The paſſion for verſifying everything was carried to ſuch a height in the middle ages, that before the year 1300, Juſtinian's Inſtitutes and the code of French juriſprudence were tranſlated into French rhymes. There is a very ancient edition of this work, without date, place, or typographer, ſaid to be corrected *par pluſieurs docteurs* and *ſouverains legiſtes*, in which are theſe lines:—

J'ay par pareſſe demouré
Trop longuement a commencer
Pour Inſtitutes *romancer*.[2]

In the ſame light we are to underſtand the words which immediately follow in the Regiſter: "Hic ſcripſit *Proſam* ſanctæ Etheldredæ;" which is extant in this Ely regiſter, and contains 54 heads; where the *proſe* of St. Etheldred is oppoſed to her *poetical* legend. Theſe improved proſe-narratives were often turned back again into verſe, even ſo late as in the age before us: to which (among others I could mention) we may refer the legend of St. Euſtathius:—

Seynt *Euſtace*, a nobull knizte,
Of hethen law he was;
And ere than he cryſtened was
Mene callyd him *Placidas*.
He was with *Trajan* themperor, &c.[3]

By *mutavit dictando* we are to underſtand, that he *tranſlated* or *reformed*, or, in the moſt general ſenſe, *wrote anew in Latin*, theſe antiquated lives. His principal objects were the more recent ſaints, eſpecially thoſe of this iſland. Malmeſbury ſays, "Innumeras *Sanctorum Vitas Recentium ſtylo extulit*, veterum vel amiſſas, vel *informiter editas*, comptius *renovavit*."[4] In this reſpect, the labours of Gotſelin partly reſembled thoſe of Symeon Metaphraſtes, a celebrated Conſtantinopolitan writer of the tenth century, who obtained the diſtinguiſhed appellation of the *Metaphraſt* becauſe, at the command and under the auſpices of Conſtantine Porphyrogenita, he moderniſed the more ancient narratives of the miracles and martyrdoms of the moſt eminent eaſtern and weſtern ſaints for the uſe of the Greek church: or rather digeſted from detached, imperfect, or obſolete books on the ſubject a new and more commodious body of ſacred biography.

Concerning legend-makers, there is a curious ſtory in [Richard

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[1] Cap. x. *Vit. Ethel.*

[2] See Menage, *Obs. ſur la Lang. Fr.* partie prem. ch. 3. Verdier and La Croix, iii. 428, iv. 160, 554, 560. *Bibl. Fr.* edit. 1773.

[3] MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. A Latin legend on this ſaint is in MS. Harl. 2316, 42.

[4] *Hiſt. Angl.* lib. iv. p. 130.

James's *Iter Lancaſtrenſe.*][1] Gilbert de Stone, a learned eccleſiaſtic, who flouriſhed about the year 1380, was ſolicited by the monks of Holywell in Flintſhire to write the life of their patron ſaint. Stone, applying to theſe monks for materials, was anſwered that they had none in their monaſtery. Upon which he declared, that he could execute the work juſt as eaſily without any materials at all: and that he would write them a moſt excellent legend, after the *manner* of the legend of Thomas a Becket. He has the character of an elegant Latin writer, and ſeems to have done the ſame piece of ſervice, perhaps in the ſame way, to other religious houſes. From his *Epiſtles* it appears that he wrote the *Life of St. Wolfade*, patron of the priory of canons regular of his native town of Stone in Staffordſhire, which he dedicated to the prior, William de Madely.[2] He was Latin ſecretary to ſeveral biſhops, and could poſſibly write a legend or a letter with equal facility. His epiſtles are 123 in number. The firſt of them in which he is ſtyled "chancellor to the Biſhop of Wincheſter," is to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.[3] This Biſhop of Wincheſter muſt have been William of Wykeham.

The moſt extraordinary compoſition of this kind, if we conſider, among other circumſtances, that it was compiled at a time when knowledge and literature had made ſome progreſs, and when mankind were ſo much leſs diſpoſed to believe or to invent miracles, more eſpecially when the ſubject was quite recent, is the *Legend of King Henry the Sixth*. It is entitled, *De Miraculis beatiſſimi illius Militis Chriſti, Henrici ſexti*, &c. That it might properly rank with other legends, it was tranſlated from an Engliſh copy into Latin by one Johannes, ſtyled *Pauperculus*, a monk, about [1490], at the command of John Morgan, dean of Windſor, afterwards [in 1496] Biſhop of St. David's. It is divided into two books: to both of which prefaces are prefixed, containing proofs of the miracles wrought by this pious monarch. At the beginning there is a hymn with a prayer addreſſed to the royal ſaint[4]:—

Salve, miles precioſe,
Rex Henrice generoſe, &c.

Henry could not have been a complete ſaint without his legend.[5] What ſhall we think of the judgment and abilities of the dignified eccleſiaſtic, who could ſeriouſly patroniſe ſo ridiculous a narrative?

Among the many ſtriking contraſts between the manners and characters of ancient and modern life, which theſe annals preſent, we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find a mercer, a ſheriff, and an alderman of London, deſcending from his important occupations to write verſes. This is Robert Fabyan, who yet is generally better known as an

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[1] MSS. James, xxxi. p. 6 (Bibl. Bodl.) [The *Iter* was edited by Mr. Corſer for the Chetham Society, 1845.]
[2] *Epiſt.* iii. dat. 1399. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Sup. D i. Art. 123.
[3] [MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x, 17.]
[4] Fol. 72.
[5] MSS. Harl. 423, 7. And MSS. Reg. 13 C. 8.

hiſtorian than as a poet. He was eſteemed not only the moſt facetious, but the moſt learned, of all the mercers, ſheriffs and aldermen of his time: and no layman of that age is ſaid to have been better ſkilled in the Latin language. [He was the ſon of John Fabyan, and is ſuppoſed to have been a native of Eſſex. His will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, July 12, 1513 (though dated July 11 in the previous year), and Bale ſays that he died Feb. 28, 1512-13.[1] Very little is known of his perſonal hiſtory. He was ſheriff of London in 1493]. In his *Chronicle* or *Concordance of Hiſtories* from Brutus to the year 1485, it is his uſual practice, at the diviſion of the books [and elſewhere] to inſert metrical prologues and other pieces in verſe. The beſt of his metres is the *Complaint* of Edward II. who, like the perſonages in Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes*, is very dramatically introduced, reciting his own misfortunes.[2] But this ſoliloquy is nothing more than a tranſlation from a ſhort and a very poor Latin poem attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Wyrceſter, which is preſerved among the MSS. of the College of Arms, and entitled, *Lamentatio glorioſi regis Edvardi de Karnarvon quam edidit tempore ſuæ incarcerationis.* Our author's tranſitions from proſe to verſe, in the courſe of a prolix narrative, ſeem to be made with much eaſe; and when he begins to verſify, the hiſtorian diſappears only by the addition of rhyme and ſtanza. In the firſt edition of his *Chronicle*, by way of epilogues to his ſeven books, he has given us *The Seven Joys of the Bleſſed Virgin in Engliſh Rime;* and under 1325 there is a poem to the virgin, and another on one Badby a Lollard under the year 1409.[3] Theſe are [in part omitted and in part altered in Reynes's and Kingſton's editions, but inſerted entire in Raſtell's]. He has likewiſe left a panegyric on the city of London; but deſpairs of doing juſtice to ſo noble a ſubject for verſe, even if he had the eloquence of Tully, the morality of Seneca, and the harmony of that *faire Lady* Calliope.[4] The reader will thank me for citing only one ſtanza from King Edward's *Complaint:*—

> Whan Saturne with his colde iſy face,
> The grounde with his froſtys turnyth the grene to whyte,
> The tyme of wynter which trees doth deface
> And cauſyth all verdure to avoyde quyte:
> Then fortune, whiche ſharpe was with ſtormys not alyte,

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[1] [Edit. 1811, Preface, iii., where his will is printed entire.]

[2] [Page 431, edit. 1811.] See Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scacc.* p. 425. And *Præfat.* p. xxxviii. Fabyan ſays, "They are reported to be his own makynge, in the tyme of his empryſonment."—*Ibid.* By the way, there is a paſſage in this chronicler which points out the true reading of a controverted paſſage in Shakeſpeare, "Alſo children were chriſtened thorough all the land, and menne *houſeled and anealed*, excepte ſuche," &c. tom. ii. p. 30, coll. 2. Another proof which aſcertains this reading of the controverted paſſage in *Hamlet*, occurs in the romance of *Morte Arthur*. When Sir Lancelot was dying, "whan he was *howſeled* and *eneled*, and had *all that a cryſten man ought to have*, he praid the biſhop, that his felowes might beare his bodie unto Joyous Garde," &c. B. xxi. cap. xii.

[3] Edit. Lond. 1516, fol.

[4] Fol. 2, tom. ii. *ut ſupr.*

Hath me aſſautyd with hir frowarde wyll,
And me beclypped with daungeours right yll.[1]

As an hiſtorian, our author is the dulleſt of compilers. He is equally attentive to the ſucceſſion of the mayors of London and of the monarchs of England: and ſeems to have thought the dinners at Guildhall and the pageantries of the city companies more intereſting tranſactions than our victories in France and our ſtruggles for public liberty at home. One of Fabyan's hiſtorical anecdotes, under the important reign of Henry V., is that a new weathercock was placed on the croſs of Saint Paul's ſteeple. It is ſaid that Cardinal Wolſey commanded many copies of this chronicle to be committed to the flames, becauſe it made too ample a diſcovery of the exceſſive revenues of the clergy. The earlier chapters of theſe childiſh annals faithfully record all thoſe fabulous traditions, which generally ſupply the place of hiſtoric monuments in deſcribing the origin of a great nation.

Another poet of this period is John [Watton], a prieſt. He wrote a Latin theological tract entitled *Speculum Chriſtiani*, which is a ſort of paraphraſe on the decalogue and the creed.[2] But it is interſperſed with a great number of wretched Engliſh rhymes: among which is the following hymn to the Virgin Mary:[3]

Mary Moder, wel thu be;
Mary Moder thenk on me:
Mayden and moder was never non
Togedir, lady, ſave thu allon.[4]

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[1] In the Britiſh Muſeum there is a poem [by Sir Francis Hubert, knight,] on this ſubject, and in the ſame ſtanza. MSS. Harl. 2393, 4to. 1. [Printed ſurreptitiouſly in 1628, again in 1629 and 1631 from a genuine text, and fourthly in 1721. Sir F. Madden thinks the Harl. MS. may be autograph.] The ghoſt of Edward II., as here, is introduced ſpeaking. It is addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, as appears (among other paſſages) from ff. 92, 242, 243, 305. It begins thus:

"Whie ſhould a waſted ſpirit ſpent in woe
Diſcloſe the wounds receyved within his breſt?"

It is imperfect, having only 352 ſtanzas. Then follows the ſame poem, with many alterations, additions, and omiſſions. This is addreſſed to James I., as appears from ſtanza 6, 259, 260, 326, &c. It contains 581 ſtanzas. There is another copy in the ſame library, Num. 558. At the end the poet calls himſelf Infortunio. It begins thus:—

I ſing thy ſad diſaſter, fatal king,
Carnarvon Edward, ſecond of that name.

The poem on this ſubject in the addition to the *Mirror of Magiſtrates* by [Richard] Niccols, is a different compoſition, [and is called]: *A Winter Night's Viſion.* [Edit.] 1610, p. 702. Theſe two manuſcript poems deſerve no further mention: nor would they have been mentioned at all, but from their reference to the text, and on account of their ſubject. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251, 119. fol. 254. An unfiniſhed poem on Edward II., perhaps by Lydgate. Princ. *Beholde this greate prince Edward the Secunde.*

[2] MSS. C.C.C. Oxon. 155. MSS. Laud. G. 12, MSS. Thoreſb. 530. There is an abridgment of this work, [MSS. Harl. 2250. 20.] with the date 1477. This is rather beyond the period with which we are at preſent engaged.

[3] Compare a hymn to the Holy Virgin, *ſupra.*

[4] Theſe four lines are in the exordium of a prayer to the virgin, MSS. Harl. 2382. (4to) 3. fol. 86. b.

Swete lady, mayden clene,
Schilde me fro ille, ſchame, and tene,
And out of dette, for charitee, &c.[1]

[In this work is a ſtory taken from the *Geſta Romanorum.*][2]

Matthew Paris relates that Godrich, a hermit about the year 1150, who lived in a ſolitary wild on the banks of the river Wear near Durham, had a viſion in his oratory of the Virgin Mary, who taught him this ſong:

Sainte Marie [clane] virgine,
Moder Jheſu Criſtes Nazarene,
Onfo, ſchild, help thir Godric
Onfang, bring hegilich with the in godes riche.
Sainte Marie, Chriſtes bur.
Maidens clenhad, moderes flur,
Dilie min ſinne, rix in min mod,
Bring me to winne with the ſelfd god.[3]

In [Harl. MS. 2253, of the time of Edward I. or Edward II., from which ſome extracts have been given in a preceding ſection,] many very ancient hymns to the Holy Virgin occur. Theſe are ſpecimens:[4]

Bleſſed be þou levedy, ful of heovene bliſſe,
Swete flur of paradys, moder of mildeneſſe,
Preye Jheſu þy ſone þat he me rede and wyſſe
So my wey forte gon, þat he me never myſſe.[5]

As y me rod þis ender day,
By grene wode to ſeche play,
Mid herte y þohte al on a May
Sweteſt of alle þinge!
Lyþe, and ich ou telle may al of þat ſuete þinge.[6]

Mayden moder milde, *oiez cel oreyſoun,*
From ſhome þou me ſhilde, *e di ly mal feloun,*
For love of thine childe, *me menez de treſoun,*
Ich wes wod and wilde, *ore ſu en priſoun.*[7]

In the library of Mr. Farmer, of Tuſmore in Oxfordſhire, [was] a collection of hymns and antiphones, paraphraſed into Engliſh by William Herbert, a Franciſcan friar and a famous preacher about the year 1330. Theſe, with ſome other of his pieces in autograph contained in the ſame library, are unmentioned by Bale[8] and Pits,[9] Pierre de Corbian, a troubadour, has left a hymn or prayer to the Holy Virgin which, he ſays, he choſe to compoſe in the romance-language, becauſe he could write it more *intelligibly* than Latin. Another troubadour, a mendicant friar of the thirteenth century, had worked himſelf up into ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm concerning the Holy Virgin, that he became deeply *in love* with her. It is partly

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[1] Printed by William Machlinia [about 1480, in 4to.]
[2] [Sir F. Madden's information. Edit. 1838, No. 37.*]
[3] Matt. Paris, *Hiſt. Angl.* [*Henric.* ii.] p. 115, edit. 1589. [The preſent text has been taken from Mr. Ritſon's *Bibliographia Poetica.*—Price.]
[4] *Ibid.* 66, fol. 80, b.
[5] *Ibid.* 67, fol. 81, b.
[6] *Ibid.* 69, fol. 83. In French and Engliſh.
[7] See alſo *ibid.* 49, fol. 75; 57, fol. 78; and 372, 7, fol. 55.
[8] *Ibid.* v. 31.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 428.

owing, as I have already hinted, to the gallantry of the dark ages, in which the female ſex was treated with ſo romantic a reſpect, that the Virgin Mary received ſuch exaggerated honours, and was ſo diſtinguiſhed an object of adoration in the devotion of thoſe times.

Caxton, the celebrated printer, was likewiſe a poet; [ſee] the rhyming introductions and epilogues with which he frequently decorates his books.

Among the anonymous pieces of poetry belonging to this period, which are very numerous, the moſt conſpicuous is the *Calendar of Shepherds*. It ſeems to have been tranſlated into Engliſh about the year 1480, [or perhaps ſomewhat later,] from a French book entitled *Kalendrier des Bergers*. It was printed [at Paris in 1503, folio, and having been re-tranſlated or reviſed throughout by Robert Copland, was again printed before 1506. There are many later impreſſions from the preſſes of De Worde, Pynſon, and other typographers.][1] This piece was calculated for the purpoſes of a perpetual almanack, and ſeems to have been the univerſal magazine of every article of ſalutary and uſeful knowledge. It is a medley of verſe and proſe, and contains, among many other curious particulars, the ſaints of the whole year, the moveable feaſts, the ſigns of the zodiac, the properties of the twelve months, rules for blood-letting, a collection of proverbs, a ſyſtem of ethics, politics, divinity, phyſiognomy, medicine, aſtrology, and geography. Pieces of this ſort were not uncommon. In the Britiſh Muſeum there is an aſtrological poem, teaching when to buy and ſell, to let blood, to build, to go to ſea, the fortune of children, the interpretation of dreams, with other like important particulars, from the day of the moon's age.[2] In the principal letter the author is repreſented in a ſtudious poſture. The manuſcript, having [the uſual] Saxon letters intermixed, begins thus:

> He that wol herkyn of wit
> That ys witneſt in holy wryt,
> Lyſtenyth to me a ſtonde,
> Of a ſtory y ſchal ȝow telle,
> What tyme ys good to byen and to ſylle,
> In bok as hyt ys y-fownde.

The reader who is curious to know the ſtate of quackery, aſtrology, fortune-telling, midwifery, and other occult ſciences about the year 1420, may conſult the works of one John Crophill, who practiſed in Suffolk.[3] This *cunning-man* was likewiſe a poet, and has left in the ſame manuſcript ſome poetry ſpoken at an entertainment of *Frere Thomas* and five ladies of quality, whoſe names are mentioned, at which two great bowls or goblets, called *Mercy* and *Charity*, were briſkly circulated.[4]

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[1] I have an edition printed by John Waley, without date, 4to. In the prologue it is ſaid, "This book was firſt corruptly printed in France, and after that at the coſt and charges of Richard Pinſon, newly tranſlated and reprinted, although not ſo faithfully as the original copy required," &c. [See Herbert's *Ames*, i. 210-12.]

[2] MSS. Harl. 2329. 3, fol. 31.

[3] MSS. Harl. 1735. 4to. 3 *ſeq.* [See fol. 29. 36.]

[4] *Ibid.* fol. 48.

Among other authors, *Cathon the great clarke*,[1] *Solomon*, *Ptolomeus the prince of aſtronomy*, and Ariſtotle's *Epiſtle to Alexander*, are quoted [in this calendar.][2] Every month is introduced reſpectively ſpeaking, in a ſtanza of *balad royal*, its own panegyric. This is the ſpeech of May:[3]

Of all monthes in the yeare I am kinge,
Flouriſhing in beauty excellently;
For, in my time, in vertue is all thinge,
Fieldes and medes ſprede moſt beautiouſly,
And birdes ſinge with ſweete harmony;
Rejoyſing lovers with hot love endewed,
With fragrant flowers all about renewed.

In the theological part, the terrors and certainty of death are deſcribed by the introduction of Death, ſeated on the pale horſe of the Apocalypſe, and ſpeaking thus:[4]

Upon this horſe blacke and hideous
Death I am, that fiercely doth ſitte:
There is no faireneſſe, but ſight tedious,
All gay colours I do hitte.
My horſe runneth by dales and hilles,
And many he ſmiteth dead and killes.
In my trap I take ſome by every way,
By towns [and] caſtles I take my rent.
I will not reſpite one an houre of a daye,
Before me they muſt needes be preſent.
I ſlea all with my mortall knife,
And of duety I take the life.
Hell knoweth well my killing,
I ſleepe never, but wake and warke;
It[5] followeth me ever running,
With my darte I ſlea weake and ſtarke:
A great number it hath of me,
Paradyſe hath not the fourth parte, &c.

In the eighth chapter of our calendar are deſcribed the ſeven viſions, or the puniſhments in hell of the ſeven deadly ſins, which Lazarus ſaw between his death and reſurrection. Theſe puniſhments are imagined with great ſtrength of fancy, and accompanied with wooden cuts[6] boldly touched, and which the printer probably procured from ſome German engraver in the infancy of the art.[7] The proud are bound by hooks of iron to vaſt wheels, like mills, placed between craggy precipices, which are inceſſantly whirling with the moſt violent impetuoſity, and ſound like thunder. The envious are

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[1] Epilogue. [2] Cap. 42. [3] Cap. 2.

[4] Cap. xix. [Mr. Aſhby aſks, how can a black and a pale horſe be one and the ſame? Groſeley and Comines both make the ſame miſtake, owing to the likeneſs of *blanc* and *black*. MS. note.—*Park*. May not a horſe be black and pale too?]

[5] That is, hell.

[6] [Herbert remarks here, that W. de Worde's edition being but a ſmall quarto, could not admit of the more elegant drawings to the folio edition in 1503, which were exactly copied in 1656.—*Park*. But the cuts deſcribed here by Park, as in the folio of 1656, were alſo in thoſe of 1556, 1559, &c.]

[7] Compare the torments of Dante's Hell. *Inf.* Cant. v. vi. *ſeq.*

plunged into a lake half frozen, from which as they attempt to emerge for eaſe, their naked limbs are inſtantly ſmitten with a blaſt of ſuch intolerable keenneſs, that they are compelled to dive again into the lake. To the wrathful is aſſigned a gloomy cavern, in which their bodies are butchered, and their limbs mangled, by demons with various weapons. The ſlothful are tormented in a horrible hall dark and tenebrous, ſwarming with innumerable flying ſerpents of various ſhapes and ſizes, which ſting to the heart. This, I think, is the hell of the Gothic Edda. The covetous are dipped in caldrons filled with boiling metals. The gluttonous are placed in a vale near a loathſome pool, abounding with venomous creatures, on whoſe banks tables are ſpread, from which they are perpetually crammed with toads by devils. Concupiſcence is puniſhed in a field full of immenſe pits or wells, overflowing with fire and ſulphur. This viſionary ſcene of the infernal puniſhments ſeems to be borrowed from a legend related by Matthew Paris, under the reign of King John: in which the ſoul of one Turkhill, a native of Tidſtude in Eſſex, is conveyed by St. Julian from his body, when laid aſleep, into hell and heaven. In hell he has a ſight of the torments of the damned, which are preſented under the form and name of the infernal pageants, and greatly reſemble the fictions I have juſt deſcribed. Among the tormented is a knight, who had paſſed his life in ſhedding much innocent blood at tilts and tournaments. He is introduced, completely armed on horſeback, and couches his lance againſt the demon, who is commiſſioned to ſeize and to drag him to his eternal deſtiny. There is likewiſe a prieſt who never ſaid maſs, and a baron of the exchequer who took bribes. Turkhill is then conducted into the manſions of the bleſſed, which are painted with ſtrong oriental colouring: and in Paradiſe, a garden repleniſhed with the moſt delicious fruits and the moſt exquiſite variety of trees, plants and flowers, he ſees Adam, a perſonage of gigantic proportion but the moſt beautiful ſymmetry, reclining on the ſide of a fountain which ſent forth four ſtreams of different water and colour, and under the ſhade of a tree of immenſe ſize and height, laden with fruits of every kind, and breathing the richeſt odours. Afterwards St. Julian conveys the ſoul of Turkhill back to his body; and when awakened, he relates this viſion to his pariſh prieſt.[1] There is a ſtory of a ſimilar caſt in Bede,[2] which I have mentioned before.

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[1] Matt. Paris. *Hiſt.* p. 206, *ſeq.* Edit. Tig. Much the ſame ſort of fable is related, *ibid.* p. 178, *ſeq.* There is an old poem on this ſubject called *Owayne Miles*, MSS. *Cott. Calig.* A. 12, f. 90. [Another copy of *Owain Miles* is in the Auchinleck MS., and has been printed by Laing, 1837. See alſo the well-known *Viſions of Tundale*, which involve a ſimilar ſuperſtition. An Engliſh tranſlation is in the Auchinleck MS. and has been (not very carefully) edited by Turnbull. Mr. Wright's monograph on *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, 1842, ſhould alſo be conſulted. Warton himſelf ſays:] See alſo the legend of St. Patrick's cave, Matt. Paris, p. 84; and MSS. Harl. 2385. 82. *De quodam ducto videre penas Inferni*, fol. 56, b.

[2] See [*ſupra*, vol. i p. 203]. The Dead Man's Song there mentioned ſeems to be more immediately taken from this fiction as it ſtands in our *Shepherd's Kalender*. It is entitled, *The Dead Man's Song*, whoſe dwelling was near Baſinghall in

As the ideas of magnificence and elegance were enlarged, the public pageants of this period were much improved: and (beginning now to be celebrated with new ſplendour) received among other advantages the addition of *ſpeaking perſonages*. Theſe ſpectacles, thus furniſhed with ſpeakers characteriſtically habited, and accompanied with proper ſcenery, co-operated with the *Myſteries*, of whoſe nature they partook at firſt, in introducing the drama. It was cuſtomary to prepare theſe ſhows at the reception of a prince, or any other ſolemnity of a ſimilar kind; and they were preſented on moveable theatres or occaſional ſtages, erected in the ſtreets. The ſpeeches were in verſe; and as the proceſſion moved forward the ſpeakers, who conſtantly bore ſome alluſion to the ceremony, either converſed together in the form of a dialogue, or addreſſed the noble perſon whoſe preſence occaſioned the celebrity. Speakers ſeem to have been admitted into our pageants about the reign of Henry VI.

In the year 1432, when Henry VI., after his coronation at Paris, made a triumphal entry into London, many ſtanzas, very probably written by Lydgate, were addreſſed to his majeſty, amidſt a ſeries of the moſt ſplendid allegorical ſpectacles, by a giant repreſenting religious fortitude, Enoch and Eli, the holy Trinity, two Judges and eight "Serjeants of the coife, dame Clenneſſe," Mercy, Truth, and other perſonages of a like nature.[2]

In the year 1456, when Margaret, wife of Henry VI., with her little ſon Edward, came to Coventry on the Feaſt of the Exaltation of the Holy Croſs, ſhe was received with the preſentation of pageants, in one of which Edward the Confeſſor, Saint John the Evangeliſt, and Saint Margaret, each ſpeak to the queen and the prince in verſe.[3] In the next reign, in the year 1474, another Prince Edward, ſon of

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London. Wood's *Ballads* [and other copies exiſt in the various collections.] It begins thus:

"Sore ſicke, dear friends, long tyme I was,
And weakly laid in bed," &c.

Theſe highly painted infernal puniſhments and joys of Paradiſe are not the invention of the author of the *Kalendrier*. They are taken both from M. Paris and from Henry of Saltry's Deſcription of St. Patrick's *Purgatory*, written in 1140, and printed by Meſſingham in his *Florilegium Inſulæ Sanctorum*, &c. Paris, 1624, fol. cap. vi. &c. p. 101. See *Bibl.* Bodl. MSS. 550. [See *infra*, p. 128.] Meſſingham has connected the two accounts of M. Paris and H. de Saltry with ſome interpolations of his own. This adventure appears in various MSS. No ſubject could have better ſuited the devotion and the credulity of the dark ages.

[2] Fabyan, *ubi ſupr.* fol. 382, *ſeq.*

[3] Leet-book of the city of Coventry. MS. fol. 168. Stow ſays that at the reception of this queen in London in the year 1445, ſeveral pageants were exhibited at Paul's-gate, with verſes written by Lydgate, on the following lemmata. "Ingredimini et replete terram. Non amplius iraſcar ſuper terram. Madam Grace chancellor de dieu. Five wiſe and five fooliſh virgins. Of ſaint Margaret," &c. *Chronicle*, pag. 385, edit. Howes. I know not whether theſe poems were ſpoken, or only affixed to the pageants. Fabyan ſays that in thoſe pageants there was "reſemblance of dyvirſe olde hyſtoryes." I ſuppoſe tapeſtry. *Cron.* tom. ii. fol. 398, edit. 1533. See the ceremonies at the coronation of Henry VI. in 1430. Fab. *ibid.* fol. 378.

Edward IV., visited Coventry, and was honoured with the same species of show: he was first welcomed in an octave stanza by Edward the Confessor, and afterwards addressed by St. George, completely armed: a king's daughter holding a lamb, and supplicating his assistance to protect her from a terrible dragon, the lady's father and mother standing in a tower above, the conduit on which the champion was placed "renning wine in four places, and minstralcy of organ playing."[1] Undoubtedly the Franciscan Friars of Coventry, whose sacred interludes, presented on Corpus Christi day in that city and at other places, make so conspicuous a figure in the history of the English drama, were employed in the management of these devises; and that the Coventry men were famous for the arts of exhibition, appears from the share they took in the gallant entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle, before whom they played their old storial show. The friars themselves were [originally] the actors. But this practice being productive of some enormities, and the laity growing as wise as the clergy, at least as well qualified to act plays, there was an injunction in the *Mexican Council*, ratified at Rome in the year 1589, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Mysteries, even on Corpus Christi Day. "Neque in Comœdiis personam agant, etiam in festo Corporis Christi."[2]

At length personages of another cast were added; and this species of spectacle, about the period with which we are concerned, was enlivened by the admission of new characters, drawn either from profane history or from profane allegory, in the application of which some degree of learning and invention appeared. Profane allegory, however, had been applied in pageants somewhat earlier. In the pageants above mentioned, presented to Henry VI., the seven liberal sciences personified are introduced in a "tabernacle of curious worke," from which their queen, "dame Sapience," speaks verses. At entering the city she is met and saluted in metre by three ladies "richly cladde in golde and silkes," with coronets, who suddenly issue from a stately tower hung with the most splendid arras. These are the dames: Nature, Grace, and Fortune.[3] But this is a rare instance so early.

I have observed in a former work, and it is a topic which will again be considered in its proper place, that the frequent and familiar use of allegoric personifications in the public pageants—I mean the general use of them—greatly contributed to form the school of Spenser.[4] But moreover, from what is here said, it seems probable that the Pageants, which being shown on civil occasions, derived great part of their decorations and actors from historical fact, and consequently made profane characters the subject of public exhibition,

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[1] Fab. *ib.* fol. 221.

[2] *Sacrosanct. Concil.* fol. per Labb. tom. xv. p. 1268, edit. 1672.

[3] Fabyan, *ut supr.* fol. 382, *seq.* [Mr. Collier seems to differ from Warton here, and to consider his account of the origin of the Moralities incorrect. *Hist. of Dram. Poet.* iii. 260-1.]

[4] See *Obs. Fairy Queen*, ii. 90.

dictated ideas of a regular drama much ſooner than the Myſteries, which being confined to Scripture ſtories, or rather the legendary miracles of ſainted martyrs, and the no leſs ideal perſonifications of the Chriſtian virtues, were not calculated to make ſo quick and eaſy a tranſition to the repreſentations of real life and rational action.

In the year 1501, when the Princeſs Catharine of Spain came to London to be married to Prince Arthur, her proceſſion through the city was very magnificent. The pageants, in which the principal actors or ſpeakers were not only God the Father, St. Catharine, and St. Urſula, but King Alphonſus the aſtronomer and an anceſtor of the princeſs, a Senator, an Angel, Job, Boethius, Nobility, and Virtue, were numerous, and ſuperbly furniſhed. Theſe perſonages ſuſtained a ſort of action, at leaſt of dialogue. The lady was compared to Heſperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and Alphonſus, from his ſkill in the ſtars, was introduced to be the fortune-teller of the match.[1] Theſe machineries were contrived and directed by an eccleſiaſtic of great eminence, Biſhop Fox who, ſays Bacon, "was not only a grave counſellor for war or peace, but alſo a good ſurveyor of works and a good maſter of ceremonies, and anything elſe that was fit for the active part belonging to the ſervice of court or ſtate of a great king." It is probable that this prelate's dexterity and addreſs in the conduct of a court rareeſhow procured him more intereſt than the gravity of his counſels and the depth of his political knowledge; at leaſt his employment in this buſineſs preſents a ſtriking picture of the importance of thoſe popular talents which, even in an age of blind devotion and in the reign of a ſuperſtitious monarch, were inſtrumental in paving the way to the moſt opulent dignities of the church. "Whoſoever," adds the ſame penetrating hiſtorian, "had theſe toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical."[2] About the year 1487, Henry VII. went a progreſs into the north, and at every place of diſtinction was received with a pageant, in which he was ſaluted in a poetical oration not always religious, as at York by Ebranck, a Britiſh king and the founder of the city, as well as by the Holy Virgin and King David; at Worceſter by Henry VI. his uncle; at Hereford by St. George and King Ethelbert, at entering the cathedral there; at Briſtol, by King Bremmius, Prudence, and Juſtice. The two latter characters were perſonated by young girls.[3]

In the mean time it is to be granted, that profane characters were perſonated in our pageants before the cloſe of the fourteenth century. Stow relates that in the year 1377, for the entertainment of the young Prince Richard, ſon of Edward the Black Prince, one hundred and thirty citizens rode diſguiſed from Newgate to Kennington where the court reſided, attended by an innumerable multitude of waxen torches and various inſtruments of muſic, in the

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[1] *Chron.* MS.

[2] Bacon's *Henry the Seventh* (*Compl. Hiſt. Eng.* vol. i. p. 628).

[3] From a MS. in the Cotton library, printed in Leland's *Collectan ad calc.* vol. iii. p. 185.

evening of the Sunday preceding Candlemas-day. In the firſt rank were forty-eight, habited like eſquires, with viſors, and in the ſecond the ſame number, in the character of knights. "Then followed one richly arrayed like an Emperor, and after him, at ſome diſtance, one ſtately-tyred like a Pope, whom followed twenty-four Cardinalls, and after them eyght or tenne with blacke viſors not amiable, as if they had been Legates from ſome forrain princes." But this parade was nothing more than a dumb ſhow, unaccompanied by any kind of interlocution. This appears from what follows. For our chronicler adds that, when they entered the hall of the palace, they were met by the prince, the queen, and the lords, "whom the ſaid mummers did ſalute, *ſhewing by a pair of dice their deſire to play with the prince*," which they managed with ſo much complaiſance and ſkill, that the prince won of them a bowl, a cup, and a ring of gold, and the queen and lords, each a ring of gold. Afterwards, having been feaſted with a ſumptuous banquet, they had the honour of dancing with the young prince and the nobility; and ſo the ceremony was concluded.[1] Matthew Paris informs us that at the magnificent marriage of Henry III. with Eleanor of Provence in 1236 certain ſtrange pageants and wonderful devices were diſplayed in the city of London; and that the number of Hiſtriones on this occaſion was infinite.[2] But the word *hiſtrio*, in the Latin writers of the barbarous ages, generally comprehends the numerous tribe of mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, muſicians, minſtrels, and the like public practitioners of the recreative arts, with which thoſe ages abounded: nor do I recollect a ſingle inſtance in which it preciſely bears the reſtrained modern interpretation.

The moſt ſplendid ſpectacle of this ſort which occurs in hiſtory, at leaſt ſo early as the fourteenth century, is deſcribed by Froiſſart, who was one of the ſpectators. It was one of the ſhows at the magnificent entrance of Queen Iſabel into Paris in 1389. The ſtory is from the Cruſade againſt Saladin. I will give the paſſage: "Than after, under the mynſter of the Trinyte, in the ſtrete,

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[1] Stow's *Surv. Lond.* p. 71, edit. 1599. It will perhaps be ſaid, that this ſhow was not properly a pageant but a mummery. But theſe are frivolous diſtinctions: and, taken in a general view, this account preſerves a curious ſpecimen of early perſonation, and proves at leaſt that the practice was not then in its infancy.

[2] I will cite the paſſage more at large, and in the words of the original. "Convenerunt autem vocata ad convivium nuptiale tanta nobilium multitudo utriuſque ſexus, tanta religioſorum numeroſitas, tanta plebium populoſitas, tanta hiſtrionum *Varietas*, quod vix eos civitas Londoniarum ſinu ſuo capaci comprehenderet. Ornata eſt igitur civitas tota oloſericis, et vexillis, coronis, et palliis, cereis et lampadibus, et quibuſdam *prodigioſis ingeniis et portentis*," *&c. Hiſt.* p. 406, edit. 1589, *ſub* Henrico III. Here, by the way, the expreſſion "*Varietas* hiſtrionum" plainly implies the comprehenſive and general meaning of the word hiſtrio; and the multifarious performances of that order of men. ["Among the regulations under A.D. 1258, we meet with the following remarkable expreſſion! 'Hiſtrionibus poteſt dari cibus, quia pauperes ſunt, non quia hiſtriones; et eorum ludi non videantur, vel audiantur, vel permittantur fieri coram Abbate et Monachis.' Here the words *hiſtriones* and *ludi* would ſeem diſtinctly to point out the nature of the performance."—*Collier.*]

there was a ſtage, and therupon a caſtell. And along on the ſtage there was ordeyned the Paſſe of Kyng Salhadyn, and all their dedes in Perſonages: the criſten men on the one parte, and the Sarazins on the other parte. And there was, in Perſonages, all the lordes of name that of olde tyme hadde ben armed, and had done any feates of armes at the Paſſe of Salhadyne, and were armed with ſuche armure as they than uſed. And thanne, a lyttel above them, there was in Perſonages the Frenche kynge and the twelve Peeres of Fraunce armed, with the blaſon of their armes. And whan the Frenche quenes lytter was come before this ſtage, ſhe reſted there a ſeaſon. Thenne the Perſonages on the ſtage of Kynge Rychard departed fro his company, and wente to the Frenche kynge, and demaunded lycence to go and aſſayle the Sarazins; and the kynge gave hym [them] leave. Thanne kynge Rycharde retourned to his twelve companyons. Thanne they all ſette them in order, and incontynente wente and aſſayled Salhadyne and the Sarazins. Then in ſporte there ſeemed a great bataile, and it endured a good ſpace. This pageaunt was well regarded."[1] By the two kings, he means Philip of France and our Richard I. who were jointly engaged in this expedition. It is obſervable, that the ſuperiority is here given to the King of France.

I cannot omit the opportunity of adding a ſtriking inſtance of the extraordinary freedom of ſpeech, permitted to the minſtrels at the moſt ſolemn celebrities. About 1250, Henry III. paſſing ſome time in France, held a moſt magnificent feaſt in the great hall of the knights-templars at Paris: at which, beſide his own ſuite, were preſent the kings of France and Navarre, and all the nobility of France. The walls of the hall were hung all over with ſhields, among which was that of our Richard I. Juſt before the feaſt began, a joculator or minſtrel accoſted King Henry thus: "My lord, why did you invite ſo many Frenchmen to feaſt with you in this hall? Behold, there is the ſhield of Richard, the magnanimous king of England!—All the Frenchmen preſent will eat their dinner in fear and trembling!"[2] Whether this was a preconcerted compliment, previouſly ſuggeſted by the King of France, or not, it is equally a proof of the familiarity with which the minſtrels were allowed to addreſs the moſt eminent perſonages.

There is a paſſage in John of Saliſbury much to our purpoſe, which I am obliged to give in Latin.[3] Here Gignadii, a word unexplained

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[1] *Chron.* tom. ii. c. 56, fol. clxxii. col. i. Lord Berners's tranſl. 1523.

[2] Matt. Paris. p. 871, *ſub* Henr. III. edit. 1589.

[3] "At eam [deſidiam] noſtris prorogant hiſtriones. Admiſſa ſunt ergo Spectacula, et infinita lenocinia vanitatis.—Hinc *mimi, ſalii vel ſaliares, balatrones, æmiliani, gladiatores, paleſritæ, gignadii, præſtigiatores* malefici quoque multi, et tota joculatorum ſcena procedit. Quorum adeo error invaluit, ut a *præclaris domibus* non arceantur etiam illi, qui *obſcœnis partibus corporis, oculis* omnium eam ingerunt *turpitudinem*, quam erubeſcet videre vel cynicus. Quodque magis mirere, nec *tunc* ejiciuntur, quando tumultuantes inferius *crebro ſonitu aerem fædant, et turpiter incluſum turpius produnt.* Veruntamen quid in ſingulis poſſit aut deceat, animus

by Du Cange, ſignifies wreſtlers or the performers of athletic exerciſes: for *gignaſium* was uſed for *gymnaſium* in the barbarous Latinity. By *apologos*, we are perhaps to underſtand an allegorical ſtory or fable, ſuch as were common in the Provençal poetry, and by *narrationes*, tales of chivalry: both which were recited at feſtivals by theſe hiſtriones. *Spectacula* I need not explain: but here ſeems to be pointed out the whole ſyſtem of ancient exhibition or entertainment. I muſt add another pertinent paſſage from this writer, whom the reader will recollect to have flouriſhed about the year 1140.[1]

With regard to Apologi, mentioned below, I have farther to obſerve that the Latin metrical apologues of the dark ages are probably tranſlations from the Provençal poetry. Of this kind is Wircker's *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Burnell's Aſs* and the *Aſinus Pœnitentiarius*, in which an aſs, wolf and fox are introduced, confeſſing their ſins, &c.[2] In the Britiſh Muſeum there is an ancient thin folio volume on vellum, containing upwards of two hundred ſhort moral tales in Latin proſe, which I alſo claſs under the apologi here mentioned by John of Saliſbury. Some are legendary, others romantic, and others allegorical. Many of them I believe to be tranſlations from the Provençal poetry. Several of the *Æſopian* fables are intermixed. In this collection is Parnell's *Hermit*,[3] and a tale in Fontaine of the king's ſon who never ſaw a woman.[4] The ſtories ſeem to have been collected by an Engliſhman, at leaſt in England, for there is the tale of one Godfrey, a prieſt of Suſſex.[5] The ſtory of Parnell's *Hermit* is in *Geſta Romanorum*.[6]

As our thoughts are here incidentally turned to the rudiments of the Engliſh ſtage, I muſt not omit an anecdote with regard to the mode of playing the Myſteries at this period, which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In 1487, while Henry VII. kept his reſidence at the caſtle at Wincheſter, on occaſion of the birth of Prince Arthur, on a Sunday during the time of dinner he was entertained with a religious drama called *Chriſti Deſcenſus ad Inferos, or Chriſt's deſcent into hell*.[7] It was repreſented by the Pueri Eleemoſynarii or choir-boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory, two large monaſteries at Wincheſter. This is the only proof I have ever ſeen of choir-boys acting in the old Myſteries, nor do I recollect any other inſtance of a royal dinner, even on a feſtival, accom-

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ſapientis advertit, nec apologos refugit, aut narrationes, aut quæcunque ſpectacula, dum virtutis," &c. *Polycrat.* lib. i. cap. viii. p. 28, edit. 1595.

[1] "Non facile tamen crediderim ad hoc quemquam impelli poſſe litteratorem, ut hiſtrionem profiteatur.—Geſtus ſiquidem exprimunt, rerum utilitate deducta." *Ibid.* lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 514. Compare *Fragm. Antiquitatis*, 1815, p. 79, [where, however, I can diſcover nothing to the purpoſe.]

[2] See Matt. Flacius, *Catal. Teſt. Verit.* p. 903, edit. 1556.

[3] De Angelo et Heremita Peregrinum occiſum ſepelientibus, *Rubr.* 32, fol. 7.

[4] *Rubr.* 8, fol. 2.

[5] *Rubr.* 40, fol. 8. MSS. Harl. 463.

[6] MSS. Harl. 2270, ch. lxxxx. [Several of theſe are included in Mr. Wright's *Latin Stories, A Contribution to the Hiſtory of Fiction During the Middle Ages*, 1842.]

[7] *Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton.* MS. *ut ſupr.*

panied by this ſpecies of diverſion.[1] The ſtory of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Chriſt, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptiſt, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the *Ludus Paſchalis*, or *Eaſter Play*.[2] It occurs in the Coventry plays acted on Corpus Chriſti day,[3] and in the Whitſun-plays at Cheſter, where it is called the *Harrowing of Hell*.[4] The repreſentation is Chriſt entering hell triumphantly, delivering our firſt parents and the moſt ſacred characters of the Old and New Teſtaments from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into Paradiſe.[5] There is an ancient dramatic poem on the ſame ſubject among the Harleian MSS., containing our Saviour's dialogues in hell with Sathanas, the Janitor or porter of hell, Adam, Eve, Habraham, David, Johan *Baptiſt*, and Moyſes. It begins,

Alle herkneþ to me nou :
A ſtrif wolle y tellen ou
Of Jheſu ant of Sathan
Þo Jheſu wes to helle y-gan.[6]

The compoſers of the *Myſteries* did not think the plain and probable events of the New Teſtament ſufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be ſurpriſed. They frequently ſelected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The ſubject of the *Myſteries* juſt mentioned was borrowed from the Goſpel of Nicodemus :[7] a book which, together with the numerous

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[1] Except, that on the firſt Sunday of the magnificent marriage of James of Scotland with the Princeſs Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII. celebrated at Edinburgh with high ſplendour, "after dynnar a Moralite was played by the ſaid Maſter Inglyſhe and hys companyons in the preſence of the kyng and qwene." On one of the preceding days, "After ſoupper the kynge and qwene beyng togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglyſh and his companyons *plaid*." This was in 1503. Leland, *Coll.* iii. pp. 300, 299. *Append.* edit. 1770.

[2] The Italians pretend that they have a Ludus Paſchalis as old as the twelfth century. *Teatro Italiano*, 1723, tom. i. See *Iſtoria del Teatro*, &c. prefixed, p. ii.

[3] [*Ludus Coventriæ*, 1841, p. 329.] "Nunc dormiunt milites, et veniet anima Chriſti de inferno cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, Joh. Baptiſte, et aliis."

[4] [*Cheſter Myſteries*, ed. Wright, ii. 71. This was the Cooks' Play.]

[5] ["This legend, ſo very popular in the middle ages, was taken . . . . from the apocryphal goſpel of Nicodemus. It enters into the French Myſtery of the Reſurrection. It forms a ſeparate play in the Townley ſeries (under the title of *Extractio Animarum ab Inferno*)."—Wright.]

[6] [Copies are in Harl. MS. 2258, Digby MS. 86, and the Auchinleck MS. The laſt was printed with *Owain Miles*, &c. 1837, 8vo., but it is incomplete. The Digby and Harl. MSS. have alſo been publiſhed, the latter by Mr. Halliwell, 1840, 8vo.] There is a poem on this ſubject, MS. Bodl. 1687 :

"How Jeſu Criſt harowed helle
Of hardi geſtes ich wille telle."

[See *ſupr.* vol. i.]

[7] In Latin. A Saxon tranſlation, from a MS. at Cambridge, coeval with the Conqueſt, was printed by Thwaites, 1699. In an Engliſh tranſlation [printed in 1509] by Wynkyn de Worde, the prologue ſays, "Nichodemus, which was a worthy

apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical hiſtory, and forged at Conſtantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endleſs variety of legends concerning the life of Chriſt and his apoſtles;[1] and which, in the barbarous ages, was better eſteemed than the genuine Goſpel, on account of its improbabilities and abſurdities.

But whatever was the ſource of theſe exhibitions, they were thought to contribute ſo much to the information and inſtruction of the people on the moſt important ſubjects of religion, that one of the Popes granted a pardon of one thouſand days to every perſon who reſorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitſun week at Cheſter, beginning with the creation and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was ſeconded by the biſhop of the dioceſe, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the ſame time denouncing the ſentence of damnation on all thoſe incorrigible ſinners, who preſumed to diſturb or interrupt the due celebration of theſe pious ſports.[2] It is certain that they had their uſe, not only in teaching the great truths of Scripture to men who could not read the Bible, but in aboliſhing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had ſo long prevailed as the ſole ſpecies of

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prynce, dydde wryte thys bleſſyd ſtorye in Hebrewe. And Theodoſius, the emperour, dyde it tranſlate out of Hebrew into Latin, and byſshoppe Turpyn dyde tranſlate it out of Latin into Frenſshe." See a very old French verſion, MSS. Harl. 2253, 3, fol. 33, b. There is a tranſlation into Engliſh verſe, about the fourteenth century. MSS. Harl. 4196, 1, fol. 206. See alſo, 149, 5, fol. 254, b. And MSS. Coll. Sion. 17. The title of the original is, *Nicodemi Diſcipuli de Jeſu Chriſti paſſione et reſurrectione Evangelium.* Sometimes it is entitled *Geſta Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.* Our lord's Deſcent into hell is by far the beſt invented part of the work. Edit. apud *Orthodox Patr.* Baſil. 1569, pag. 653, *ſeq.* The old Latin title to the pageant of this ſtory in the Cheſter plays is: *De Deſcenſu ad inferna, et de his que ibidem fiebant ſecundum Evangeliam Nicodemi.* [p. 71, *ut ſupr.*] Hence the firſt line in the old interlude, called *Hyckeſcorner* [*circâ* 1510], is illuſtrated.

"Now Jeſu the gentyll that brought Adam from hell."

There is a Greek homily on St. John's Deſcent into hell, by Euſebius Alexandrinus. They had a notion that St. John was our Saviour's precurſor, not only in this world, but in Hades. See Allat. *de libr. eccles. Græcor.* p. 303, *ſeq.* Compare the Legend of Nicodemus, Chriſt's deſcent into hell, Pilate's exile, &c. MSS. Bodl. B. 5, 2021, 4, *ſeq.*

[1] In the MS. Regiſter of St. Swithin's Priory at Wincheſter, it is recorded that Leofric, biſhop of [Devonſhire and Cornwall] about 1150, gave to the convent a book called *Geſta Beatiſſimi Apoſtoli Petri cum Gloſa.* This is probably one of theſe commentitious hiſtories. By the way, the ſame Leofric was a great benefactor in books to his church at Exeter. Among others, he gave *Boetii Liber Anglicus* and *Magnus Liber Anglicus omnino metrice deſcriptus.* What was this tranſlation of Boethius, I know not, unleſs it is Alfred's. The other piece, the *great book of Engliſh* [was no doubt the celebrated *Codex Exonienſis*, edited by Thorpe in 1842. See Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* A.-S. period, 38-9.] The grant is in Saxon, and, if not genuine, muſt be of high antiquity. Dugdale's *Monaſt.* tom. i. p. 222. I have given Dugdale's Latin tranſlation. The Saxon words are, "Boecrer boc on enzlirc. —Anð 1 mycel enzlirc boc be zehþilcum þinzum on leoð þiran zeþonhz." The Saxon text ſpeaks neither of proſe nor verſe. [Dugdale has confounded leoz, populus, with leoð, carmen.—*Price.*]

[2] MSS. Harl. 2124, 2013.

popular amuſement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they ſoftened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to ſpectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than thoſe of bodily ſtrength and ſavage valour.

[This ſeems a more ſuitable place than was originally ſelected for mentioning a few of the miſcellaneous poetical compoſitions of the reign of Henry VII. They may as well be taken in the order in which they have been hitherto thrown together in a foot note. A tranſlation of the *Caſtle of Labour* was made from the French of Pierre Gringoire by Alexander Barclay, and printed by Pynſon without date, and by W. de Worde in 1506. Which of theſe was the prior is uncertain: that from the preſs of Pynſon has ſome good woodcuts. The colophon ſays in both caſes: "Thus endeth the caſtell of labour wherein is rycheſſe vertue and honour."

It is of ſome length, and an allegory in which Lady Reaſon conquers Deſpair, Poverty, and other evils, which attend a poor man lately married. The Prologue begins, "Ye mortal people that deſire to obtayne." The poem begins, "In muſyng an evenynge with me was none." It is in ſeven-lined ſtanzas. The French poem by [Pierre Gringoire was firſt printed in 1499, and entitled *Le Chateau de Labour*. It became popular, and was frequently republiſhed.] Our higheſt efforts of poetry at this period were tranſlations from the French. This piece of Gringoire] was alſo tranſlated into Engliſh rhymes by one Dane or dominus James: the ſame perhaps who made the verſion of the *Orchard of Syon:* "Prynted at the coſt of maſter Richard Sutton eſquyre," Stewarde of the monaſterie of Syon, by Wynkyn de Worde, 1529, folio, with fine Gothic cuts in wood. This Maſter Richard Sutton, ſteward of the opulent monaſtery of Sion near London, was one of the founders of Braſenoſe college in Oxford, [and perhaps father of Thomas Sutton, founder of the Charter-Houſe.]

In 1509, W. de Worde printed *The Parlyament of Deuylles;* it was republiſhed by Richard Fakes and Julian Notary, in both caſes without date. There is an early MS. of it at Lambeth, which has been printed for the Early Engliſh Text Society. De Worde's edition commences: "As Mary was great with Gabriel." The poem occupies eight quarto leaves in the old printed copies.

Of the *Hyſtorye of Jacob and his Twelve Sones*, in verſe, there have been at leaſt four early impreſſions, all without date, ſo far as can be aſcertained. The firſt was from the preſs of W. de Worde about 1504, and the lateſt from that of John Allde about 1570. The edition by Allde has been reprinted. It would not be very ſurpriſing, perhaps, to find even a later edition than that iſſued by John Allde: for the book is mentioned in the inventory of the ſtock of John Foſter, bookſeller of York, ſo late as 1616, and as a rule Foſter appears to have confined himſelf to recent publications.[1] It is a doggrel poem in ſeven-line ſtanzas, on fourteen leaves, and begins:

[1] [Davies, *Memoir of the York Preſs*, 1868.]

All yong and olde that liſt for to here
Of deeds doon in old time
By the holy Patriarks that there were
Which deſcendid of olde Adams line,
Often the ſun of grace on them did ſhine,
For to read this Story it wil doo you much good,
Of Abram's Sonne, that was ſith Noes flood.

Vnto one Rebecca this Iſaac was maried,
Of age (the Bible ſaith) he was .xl. year,
Indeed his maidenhed ſo long with him taried,
And yet in long time his wife no child did bere,
Then to our Lord God he made his prayer
For to ſend him frute this world to multiply,
And then his wife conceived, as Scriptur doth ſpecifie.

About the ſame time W. de Worde iſſued a *Lytel Treatyſe called the Dyſputacyon, or Complaynte of the Herte thorughe perced with the lokynge of the Eye*, a tranſlation of *Le Debat du Cuer et de l'Oeil*, which is printed from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Imperiale in the Appendices to Mr. Wright's edition of the Poems aſcribed to Walter Mapes, or from the Latin *Diſputatio inter cor et Oculum*, of which there is a copy among the Digby MSS. This ſeems to be a kindred compoſition to the *Debat du Corps et de l'Ame* attached to *La Grande Danſe Machabre*, 1486. The French commences:

En May la premiere ſepmaine—

Of the Engliſh verſion, the firſt ſtanza runs thus:

In the fyrſt weke of the ſeaſon of Maye,
Whan that the wodes be covered in grene,
In which the nyghtyngale lyſt for to playe
To ſhewe his voys among the thornes kene,
Them to rejoyce which loves ſervaunts bene,
Which fro all comforte thynke them faſt behynd;
My pleaſyr was, as it was after ſene,
For my diſport to chaſe the harte and hynde.

A highly curious production from Pynſon's preſs in 1520 was *The lyfe of Joſeph of Armathia*, which is not in the Golden Legend, and which is a poetical narrative of Joſeph of Arimathea's adventures in Somerſetſhire, his Travels about Glaſtonbury, and his aſcent of what is called in the poem (as it is now) *Weary-all Hill*. The ſtory is in the octave ſtanza, and is contained on ten leaves. But of this tract there are earlier copies in MS. Another biography, but of a different ſtamp, is the *Lyfe of Petronylla*, printed by Pynſon without date. It is alſo in verſe, and begins thus on the ſecond of the four leaves, of which it conſiſts:

The parfite lyfe to put in remembraunce
Of a virgyn mooſt gracious and entere
Which in all vertu had ſoveryn ſuffyſaunce,
Called Petronilla petyrs doughter dere.
Benygne of porte, humble of face and chere,
All other maydyns excelled in faireneſſe,
And as her legende playnly doth us lere,
Though ſhe were fayre more commended for mekeneſs.

The *A B. C. of Ariſtotle*[1] conſiſts of proverbial verſes in the alliterative manner, viz.

> Woſo wil be wiſe and worſhip deſireth,
> Lett him lerne one letter, and loke on another, &c.

There are alſo ſome ſatirical ballads written by Frere Michael Kildare, chiefly on the Religious orders, Saints, the White Friars of Drogheda, the vanity of riches, &c. &c. A divine poem on death, &c.[2] He has left a Latin poem in rhyme on the abbot and prior of Glouceſter,[3] and burleſque pieces on ſome of the divine offices.[4] Hither we may alſo refer a few pieces written by one Whyting, not mentioned in Tanner.[5] Undoubtedly many other poems of this period both printed and MSS. have eſcaped my enquiries. Among Rawlinſon's MSS. there is a poem of conſiderable length on the antiquity of the Stanley family, beginning thus,

> I entende with true reporte to praiſe
> The valiaunte actes of the ſtoute Standelais,
> From whence they came, &c.

It comes down no lower than Thomas Earl of Derby, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. This induced me to think at firſt, that the piece was written about that time. But the writer mentions Henry VIII. and the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries. [To theſe compoſitions may be added *The moſt pleaſant Song of Lady Beſſy*, an important hiſtorical poem upon the proceedings of Elizabeth of York, afterwards Queen of England, from Chriſtmas, 1484, to the Battle of Boſworth-field. Two MSS. of it are known, one Harl. Coll. 367, and the other in private hands.[6] It cannot be ſaid that either of the copies is of any particular antiquity or philological value; but in a literary point of view the poem is intereſting and valuable. The ſuppoſed author is Humphrey Brereton, the Lady's ſquire, and a dependent of the Stanleys.

We muſt not overlook another piece ſomewhat of the ſame nature, alleged to have been written by Robert Boſtock, entitled *The Earles of Cheſter*, of which there is a copy among Cole's collections, and a ſecond in the recently edited Percy MS. It is a mere biographical chronicle in ſtanzas, and has no pretenſions to poetical merit.]

I will only add part of a Will in verſe, dated 1477:[7]

> Fleſhly luſtes and feſtes,
> And furures of divers beſtes,
> (A fend was hem fonde;)
> Hole clothe caſt on ſhredys,
> And wymen with thare hye hedys,
> Have almoſt loſt thys londe!

To the reign of Henry VI. we may alſo refer a poem written by

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[1] MSS. Harl. 1304, 4, again, *ibid.* 541, 19, fol. 213. [Compare *ibid.* 913, 10, fol. 15, b. 11, fol. 15 b.]
[2] MSS. Harl. 913; 3, fol. 7; 4, fol. 9; 5, fol. 10; 13, fol. 16.
[3] *Ibid.* 5, fol. 10.
[4] *Ibid.* 6, fol. 12; 7, fol. 13 b.
[5] MSS Harl. 541, 14, fol. 207, *ſeq.*
[6] [Both are printed by Mr. Halliwell in his *Palatine Anthology*, 1850.]
[7] MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. fol. 176. [M. 13. Th.].

one Richard Sellyng, whoſe name is not in any of our biographies.[1] It is entitled and begins thus, " Evidens to be ware and gode covnſayle made now late by that honovrable ſquier Richard Sellyng:

Loo this is but a ſymple tragedie,
Ne thing lyche un to hem of Lumbardye,
Which that Storax wrote unto Pompeie,
Sellyng maketh this in his manere,
And to John Shirley now ſent it is
For to amende where it is amiſſe.

He calls himſelf an old man. Of this honourable ſquire I can give no further account. John Shirley, here mentioned, lived about the year 1440. He was a gentleman of good family, and a great traveller. He collected, and tranſcribed in ſeveral volumes which John Stow had ſeen, many pieces of Chaucer, Lydgate, and other Engliſh poets. [Among the Aſhmole MSS. now in the Bodleian library], occurs: *A boke cleped the Abſtracte Brevyare compyled of divers balades, roundels, virilays, tragedyes, envoys, complaints, moralities, ſtoryes, practyſed, and eke devyſed and ymagined, as it ſheweth here followyng, collected by John Shirley.*[2] In Thoreſby's library was a MS. once belonging to the college of Selby, *A moſt pyteous cronycle of thorribil dethe of James Stewarde, late kynge of Scotys, nought long agone priſoner yn Englande yn the tymes of the kynges Henry the Fifte and Henry the Sixte, tranſlated out of Latine into oure mothers Engliſhe tong bi your ſimple ſubject John Shirley.*[3] Alſo, *The boke clepyd* Les bones meures *tranſlated out of French by your humble ſerviture John Shirley of London*, MCCCCXL, *compriſed in* V. *partes. The firſte partie ſpekith of remedie that is agaynſt the ſevyn deadly ſins.* 2. *The eſtate of holy church.* 3. *Of prynces and lordes temporall.* 4. *Of comone people.* 5. *Of deth and univerſal dome.* Alſo, his Tranſlation of the Sanctum Sanctorum, &c.[4] A preſerver of Chaucer's and Lydgate's works deſerved theſe notices. Ames, the induſtrious author of the *Hiſtory of Printing*, had in his poſſeſſion a folio volume of Engliſh Ballads in manuſcript, compoſed or collected by one John Lucas about the year 1450.

SECTION XXVII.

THE only writer deſerving the name of a poet in the reign of Henry VII. is Stephen Hawes. He was patroniſed by that monarch, who poſſeſſed ſome tincture of literature, and is ſaid by Bacon to have confuted a Lollard in a public diſputation at Canterbury.[5]

Hawes flouriſhed about the cloſe of the fifteenth century, and was

[1] MSS. Harl. f. 38, a. [2] MSS. 89, ii. [But ſee Ritſon (*Bibl. Poet.* 101).]
[3] [This has been printed.—F.]
[4] *Ducat. Leod.* p. 530. [Add. MS. Br. Mus. 5467.]
[5] *Life of Henry VII.* p. 628, edit. *ut ſupr.* One Hodgkins, a fellow of King's College in Cambridge, and vicar of Ringwood in Hants, was eminently ſkilled in the mathematics; and on that account Henry VII. frequently condeſcended to viſit him at his houſe at Ringwood. Hatcher. MS. *Catal. Præpos. et Soc. Coll. Regal. Cant.*

a native of Suffolk.[1] After an academical education at Oxford, he travelled much in France, and became a complete maſter of the French and Italian poetry. His polite accompliſhments quickly procured him an eſtabliſhment in the houſehold of the king who, ſtruck with the livelineſs of his converſation, and becauſe he could repeat by memory moſt of the old Engliſh poets, eſpecially Lydgate, made him groom of the privy chamber.[2] His facility in the French tongue was a qualification which might ſtrongly recommend him to the favour of Henry VII. who was fond of ſtudying the beſt French books then in vogue.[3]

Hawes has left many poems, which are now but imperfectly known, and ſcarcely remembered. Theſe are, the *Converſion of Swearers*,[3] in octave ſtanzas, with Latin lemmata, printed in 1509 [and afterwards]. *A Joyful Meditation to all England of the Coronation of our moſt natural ſovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth* [1509]. Theſe coronation-carols were cuſtomary. There is one by Lydgate.[4] *The* [*Comfort*] *of Lovers. The Example of Virtue. The Delight of the Soul. Of the Prince's Marriage. The Alphabet of Birds.* [Of the two laſt pieces we know nothing. Perhaps the *Alphabet of Birds* may be the *Armonye of Byrdes*, a well known poem, but not by Hawes, and by poſſibility the piece *Of the Prynces Marriage* may ſimply be a miſtake by Wood for the *Joyfull Medytacyon*. Of the *Example of Virtue* W. de Worde iſſued two editions, one without date, but about 1512, and the other in 1530. The former poſſeſſes the following explanatory colophon: "This boke called the example of vertue was made and compyled by Stephyn Hawys one of the gromes of the mooſt honorable chamber of oure ſouerayne lorde kynge Henry the .vii. the .xix. yere of his mooſt noble reygne, and by hym preſented to our ſayd ſouerayne lorde chapytred and marked after this table here before ſette." The lateſt edition of the *Converſyon of Swerers* was printed by William Copland in 1551. *The Comfort of Lovers* is deſcribed as a poem on eighteen leaves from the preſs of Wynkyn de Worde, but we have never met with a copy.]

Hawes's capital performance is a poem entitled *The Paſtime of Pleaſure; or the Hiſtory of Graunde Amour and La Bell Pucel: conteining the knowledge of the ſeven Sciences, and the courſe of mans life in this worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, grome of kyng Henry the Seventh his chamber.*[5] It is dedicated to the kyng, and was finiſhed at the beginning of the year 1506.

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[1] Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 5.

[2] Bale ſays, that he was called by the king, "ab interiori camera ad privatum cubiculum." Cent. viii.

[3] Bacon, *ut ſupr.* p. 637. [Several illuſtrations of Henry's love of books might be produced from records of the period. See *Excerpta Hiſtorica*, 1833, where ſelections are given from his *Privy Purſe Expenſes*. But he was not peculiar in this reſpect. Mr. Rye, of the Britiſh Muſeum, in a MS. note to his copy of Warton, notices an entry of a payment of £1. to Hampton of Worceſter for making ballads.]

[4] *A Ballad preſented to Henry the Sixth the day of his coronation.* Princ. "Mooſt noble prince of cryſten princes all." MSS. Aſhmol. 59, ii.

[5] By Wynkyn de Worde, in 1517, with woodcuts. [It was reprinted in 1554 and 1555, and has been republiſhed by the Percy Society, 1845.] See a poem called

The *Paſtime of Pleaſure* is almoſt the only effort of imagination and invention which had yet appeared in our poetry ſince Chaucer. This poem contains no common touches of romantic and allegoric fiction. The perſonifications are often happily ſuſtained, and indicate the writer's familiarity with the Provençal ſchool. The model of his verſification and phraſeology is that improved harmony of numbers, and facility of diction, with which his predeceſſor Lydgate adorned our octave ſtanza. But Hawes has added new graces to Lydgate's manner. Antony Wood, with the zeal of a true antiquary, laments that "ſuch is the fate of poetry, that this book, which in the times of Henry VII. and VIII. was taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's ſtall!" The truth is, ſuch is the good fortune of poetry, and ſuch the improvement of taſte, that much better books have become faſhionable. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that this poem has been unjuſtly neglected: and on that account an apology will be leſs neceſſary for giving the reader a circumſtantial analyſis of its ſubſtance and deſign.

Graunde Amoure, the hero of the poem, who ſpeaks in his own perſon, is repreſented walking in a delicious meadow. There is ſomething dramatic in this circumſtance. Raimond Vidal de Beſaudin, a troubadour of Provence, who flouriſhed about the year 1200, has given the following dramatic form to one of his *contes* or tales. One day, ſays the troubadour, Alphonſus, King of Caſtille, whoſe court was famous for good cheer, magnificence, loyalty, valour, the practice of arms and the management of horſes, held a ſolemn aſſembly of minſtrels and knights. When the hall was quite full, came his Queen Eleanor, covered with a veil, and diſguiſed in a cloſe robe bordered with ſilver, adorned with the blazon of a golden lion; who making obeyſance, ſeated herſelf at ſome diſtance from the king. At this inſtant, a minſtrel advancing to the king addreſſed him thus: "O king, emperor of valour, I come to ſupplicate you to give me audience." The king, under pain of diſgrace, ordered that no perſon ſhould interrupt the minſtrel in what he ſhould ſay. The minſtrel had travelled from his own country to recite an adventure which had happened to a baron of Arragon, not unknown to King Alphonſus; and he now proceeds to tell no unaffecting ſtory concerning a jealous huſband. At the cloſe, the minſtrel humbly requeſts the king and queen to baniſh all jealous huſbands from their dominions. The king replied, "Minſtrel, your tale is pleaſant and gentle, and you ſhall be rewarded. But to ſhow you ſtill further how much you have entertained me, I command that henceforth your tale ſhall be called Le Jaloux Chatie." Our trou-

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a *Dialogue between a Lover and a Jay*, by Thomas Feylde [twice] printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 4to. Princ. Prol. "Thoughe laureate poetes in old antiquite." [Mr. Heber has enabled me to produce an alluſion by Feylde to Hawes:

"Yonge Steven Hawes, whoſe ſoule God pardon
Treated of love ſo clerkely and well,
To rede his workes is myne affeccyon,
Which he compyled of La Bell Puſell."—*Park.*]

badour's tale is greatly enlivened by theſe accompaniments, and by being thrown into the mouth of a minſtrel.

In the meadow, the hero diſcovers a path which conducts him to a glorious image, both whoſe hands are ſtretched out and pointing to two highways; one of which is the path of Contemplation, the other of Active Life, leading to the Tower of Beauty. He chooſes the laſt-mentioned path, yet is often tempted to turn aſide into a variety of bye-paths, which ſeemed more pleaſant; but proceeding directly forward, he ſees afar off another image, on whoſe breaſt is written, "This is the road to the Tower of Doctrine, he that would arrive there muſt avoid ſloth," &c. The evening being far advanced, he ſits down at the feet of the image, and falls into a profound ſleep; when, towards the morning, he is ſuddenly awakened by the loud blaſt of a horn. He looks forward through a valley, and perceives a beautiful lady on a palfrey, ſwift as the wind, riding towards him, encircled with tongues of fire.[1] Her name was Fame, and with her ran two milk-white greyhounds, on whoſe golden collars were inſcribed in diamond letters Grace and Governaunce.[2]

Greyhounds were anciently almoſt as great favourites as hawks. Our forefathers reduced hunting to a ſcience; and have left large treatiſes on this ſpecies of diverſion, which was ſo connected with their ſtate of life and manners. The moſt curious one I know was among the manuſcripts of Mr. Farmer, of Tuſmore in Oxfordſhire. It was entitled, *Le Art de Venerie, le quel maiſtre Guillaume Twici venour le roy d'Angleterre fiſt en ſon temps per aprandre autres.* This maſter William Twici was grand huntſman to Edward II. In the Cotton library this book occurs in Engliſh under the names of William Twety and John Giffard, moſt probably a tranſlation from the French copy, with the title of *a book of Venerie dialogue wiſe.*[3] The leſs ancient tract on this ſubject, called the *Maiſtre of the Game*, written for the inſtruction of Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V., is much more common.[4] I believe the *maiſtre veneur* has been long aboliſhed in England, but the royal falconer ſtill remains. The latter was an officer of high dignity in the Grecian court of Conſtantinople, at an early period, under the ſtyle of πρωτοιεραξαριος.[5] Phrenzes ſays, that the Emperor Andronicus Palæologus the younger kept more than one thouſand four hundred hawks, with almoſt as many men to take care of them.[6]

About the year 750, Winifrid or Boniface, a native of England and archbiſhop of Mons, acquaints Ethelbald, a king of Kent, that he has ſent him one hawk, two falcons, and two ſhields. Hedilbert, a king of the Mercians, requeſts the ſame archbiſhop

[1] In Shakeſpeare, Rumour is painted full of tongues. This was from the Pageants.

[2] See *ſupr.*

[3] Princ. "Twety now will we beginnen." MSS. Cotton. Veſpas. B. xii.

[4] MSS. Digb. 182. Bibl. Bodl.

[5] Pachym. lib. i. c. 8, x. 15, Codin. cap. ii.

[6] Lib. i. c. 10.

Winifrid to ſend him two falcons which have been trained to kill cranes.[1] Falconry, or a right to ſport with falcons, is mentioned ſo early as the year 986.[2] A charter of Kenuff, King of the Mercians, granted to the abbey of Abingdon, and dated 821, prohibits all perſons carrying hawks or falcons to treſpaſs on the lands of the monks.[3] Julius Fermicus, who wrote about the year 355, is the firſt Latin author who mentions hawking, or has even uſed the word falco.[4] Hawking is often mentioned in the capitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries. The grand fauconnier of France was an officer of great eminence. His ſalary was 4000 florins; he was attended by a retinue of fifty gentlemen and fifty aſſiſtant falconers, and allowed to keep three hundred hawks. He licenſed every vendor of falcons in France, and received a tribute for every bird that was ſold in that kingdom, even within the verge of the court. The King of France never rode out on any occaſion without this officer.

An ingenious French writer inſinuates, that the paſſion for hunting, which at this day ſubſiſts as a favourite and faſhionable ſpecies of diverſion in the moſt civiliſed countries of Europe, is a ſtrong indication of our gothic origin, and is one of the ſavage habits, yet unreformed, of our northern anceſtors. Perhaps there is too much refinement in this remark. The pleaſures of the chace ſeem to have been implanted by nature; and under due regulation, if purſued as a matter of mere relaxation and not of employment, are by no means incompatible with the modes of poliſhed life.

[To return: the palfrey of Fame] is Pegaſus; and the burning tongues denote her office of conſigning the names of illuſtrious perſonages to poſterity; among which ſhe mentions a lady of matchleſs accompliſhments, named La Bell Pucell, who lives within a tower ſeated in a delightful iſland; but which no perſon can enter without ſurmounting many dangers. She then informs our hero that, before he engages in this enterpriſe, he muſt go to the Tower of Doctrine, in which he will ſee the ſeven ſciences; and that there, in the turret or chamber of muſic, he will have the firſt ſight of La Bell Pucell.

[Brunetto Latini, in his *Teſoro*, gives the following account of his own ſyſtem of erudition, which may not be inapplicable here. He means to ſhow himſelf a profound and univerſal ſcholar; and profeſſes to underſtand the ſeven liberal arts, grammar, the Latin language, logic, the Decretals of Gratian, muſic according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, arithmetic, geography, aſtronomy, the eccleſiaſtic computation, medicine, pharmacy, ſurgery, necromancy, geomancy, magic, divination, and mythology, better than Ovid and Thales le Menteur: the hiſtories of Thebes, Troy, Rome, Romulus, Cæſar, Pompey, Auguſtus, Nero, Veſpaſian, Titus who took Jeruſalem, the

[1] See *Epiſtol.* Winifrid [Bonifac.] Mogunt. 1605. 1629. And in Bibl. Patr. tom. vi. and tom. xiii. p. 70.

[2] Chart. Ottonis iii. Imperator. *ann.* 986. *apud* Ughell. *De Epiſcop. Januens.*

[3] Dugd. *Monaſt.* i. p. 100.

[4] Mathes. lib. v. c. 7, vii. c. 4.

Twelve Cæſars down to Conſtantine: the hiſtory of Greece; and that of Alexander, who dying diſtributed his acquiſitions among his twelve peers; the hiſtory of France, containing the tranſactions of Clovis, converted by St. Remi; Charles Martel, who eſtabliſhed tenths; King Pepin, Charlemagne and Roland, and the good King Louis. To theſe he adds the hiſtory of England, which comprehends the arrival of Brutus in England, and his conqueſt of the giant Corineus, the prophecies of Merlin, the redoubted death of Arthur, the adventures of Gawaine, and the amours of Triſtram and Bel Iſould, Amidſt this profuſion of fabulous hiſtory, which our author ſeems to think real, the hiſtory of the Bible is introduced; this he traces from the patriarchs down to the day of judgment. At the cloſe of the whole, he gives us ſome more of his faſhionable accompliſhments, and ſays that he is ſkilled in the plain chant, in ſinging to the lute, in making canzonetts, paſtorals, amorous and pleaſant poeſies, and in dancing: that he is beloved by eccleſiaſtics, knights, ladies, citizens, minſtrels, ſquires, &c.[1]

Fame departs, but leaves with him her two greyhounds. Graunde Amoure now arrives at the tower, or rather caſtle, of Doctrine framed of fine copper, and ſituated on a craggy rock: it ſhone ſo brightly that he could diſtinctly diſcern the form of the building; till at length, the ſky being covered with clouds, he more viſibly perceives its walls decorated with figures of beaſts in gold, and its lofty turrets crowned with golden images. He ſays that the little turrets had, for weathercocks or fans, images of gold which, moving with the wind, played a tune. So, [in the poem called *Chaucer's Dream*:]

> For every yate of fine golde
> A thouſand fanes, aie turning,
> Entuned had, and briddes ſinging,
> Divers, and on each fane a paire,
> With open mouth again *here*;
> And of a ſute were all the toures,
> * * * *
> With many a ſmall turret hie.[2]

Again, in the Caſtle of Pleaſant Regard, the fans on the high towers are mentioned as a circumſtance of pleaſure and beauty:

> The towris hie full pleaſant ſhall ye finde,
> With phanis freſhe, turning with everie winde.

And our author Hawes, again,[3]

> Aloft the towres the golden fanes goode
> Dyde with the wynde make full ſweete armony
> Them for to heare it was great melody.

Hawes here paints from the life. An exceſſive agglomeration of turrets, with their fans, is one of the characteriſtic marks of the florid mode of architecture, which was now almoſt at its height, as

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[1] [See *ſupra*, i. 147, and *infr.* iv. 179.]

[2] [Morris's *Chaucer*, vol. v. p. 88, v. 76.]

[3] Ch. xxxviii. *The Aſſembly of Ladies*, v. 160 [printed improperly by Urry in 1721 among Chaucer's works.]

may be ſeen in the old views of the palaces of Noneſuch and Richmond.

Graunde Amoure is admitted to the Tower by Countenance the portreſs, who leads him into a court, where he drinks water of a moſt tranſcendent fragrance from a magnificent fountain, whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates.

The cruſades made the eaſtern rivers more famous among the Europeans than any of their own. Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour of the thirteenth century, declares he had rather pleaſe his miſtreſs than poſſeſs all the dominions which are waſhed by Hebrus, Meander and Tigris.[1] The compliment would have been equally exaggerated, if he had alluded to ſome of the rivers of his own country.

He next enters the hall framed of jaſper, its windows cryſtal, and its roof overſpread with a golden vine, whoſe grapes are repreſented by rubies;[2] the floor is paved with beryl, and the walls hung with rich tapeſtry, on which our hero's future expedition to the Tower of La Bell Pucell was gloriouſly wrought. In the eleventh book of Boccaccio's *Theſeid*, after Arcite is dead, Palamon builds a ſuperb temple in honour of him, in which his whole hiſtory is painted. The deſcription of this painting is a recapitulatory abridgment of the preceding part of the poem. Hawes's tapeſtry is leſs judiciouſly placed in the beginning of the piece, becauſe it precludes expectation by foreſtalling all the future incidents.

The marſhal of the caſtle of La Bell Pucell is Reaſon, the ſewer Obſervance, the cook Temperance, the high-ſteward Liberality, &c. He then explains to Doctrine his name and intended adventure; and ſhe entertains him at a ſolemn feaſt. He viſits her ſeven daughters, who reſide in the caſtle. Firſt he is conducted to Grammar, who delivers a learned harangue on the utility of her ſcience: next to Logic, who diſmiſſes him with a grave exhortation: then to Rhetoric who, crowned with laurel and ſeated in a ſtately chamber ſtrewed with flowers and adorned with the clear mirrors of ſpeculation, explains her five parts in a laboured oration. Graunde Amoure reſolves to purſue their leſſons with vigour, and animates himſelf, in this difficult taſk, with the examples of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, who are panegyriſed with great propriety.

He recites ſome of the pieces of the two latter. Chaucer, he ſays, wrote the *Book of Fame* "on hys own invencion." *The Tragedies of the xix ladies*, he wrote "a tranſlacyon." *The Canterbury Tales*, he calls "upon hys ymaginacyon, ſome of which are vertuous, others glad and merry." *The pytous dolour of Troylus and Creſſida*, "and many other bokes."

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[1] *Hiſt. Troub.* ii. p. 485.

[2] From Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*. "In the hall, is a vine made of *gold*, that goeth all aboute the hall: and it hath many bunches of grapes, ſome are white, &c. All the *red* are of *rubies*," &c. ch. lxvii. Paulus Silentiarius, in his deſcription of the church of S. Sophia at Conſtantinople, mentions ſuch an ornament, ii. 235:

Κλημασι χρυτοκομοισι τεριδρομος αμπελος ἑρπει, &c.
Palmitibus auricomis circumcurrens vitis ſerpit.

Among Lydgate's works, he recites the *Life of our Lady. Saint Edmund's Life. The Fall of Princes. The three Reaſons. The Chorle and the Bird. The Troy Book. Virtue and Vice.*[1] *The Temple of Glaſs. The* [*Interpretacion of the Names*] *of Gods and Goddeſſes.*

The poem of the *Chorle and the Bird* our author calls a "pamflete." Lydgate himſelf ſays that he tranſlated this tale from a "pamflete in Frenſche," ſt. 5. The fable on which it is founded is told by Petrus Alphonſus, a writer of the twelfth century, in his tract *De Clericali Diſciplina*, [printed in 1825 and 1827.[2]]

Our author, in his recital of Chaucer's pieces, calls the *Legend of good Women* "tragedies." Anciently a ſerious narrative in verſe was called a tragedy; and it is obſervable, that he mentions "xix. ladyes" belonging to this legend. Only *nine* appear at preſent. Nineteen was the number intended, as we may collect from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*,[3] where eight more ladies than are in the preſent legend are mentioned. This piece is called the *legendis of ix good women.*[4] Chaucer himſelf ſays, "I ſawe cominge of ladyes nineteen in royall habit."[5]

Our hero is afterwards admitted to Arithmetic, who wears a golden "wede,"[6] and (laſt of all) is led to the Tower of Muſic, which was compoſed of cryſtal, in eager expectation of obtaining a view of La Bell Pucell, according to Fame's prediction. In the [*Teſoro* of Latini] cited at large above, Muſic, according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, is one of the ſeven liberal ſciences. At Oxford, the graduates in muſic, which ſtill remains there as an academical ſcience, are at this day required to ſhew their proficiency in Boethius *De Muſica.* In a pageant, at the coronation of Edward VI., Muſic perſonified appears among the ſeven ſciences.[7] Muſic was playing on an organ before a ſolemn aſſembly, in the midſt of which at length he diſcovers La Bell Pucell, is inſtantly captivated with her beauty, and almoſt as ſoon tells her his name, and diſcloſes his paſſion. In the deſcription of her perſon, which is very elegant, and conſiſts of three ſtanzas, there is this circumſtance, "She gartered wel her hoſe."[8] She is more beautiful than Helen, Proſerpine, Creſſida, Queen Hyppolita, Medea, Dido, Polyxena, Alcmena, Menalippa or even fair

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[1] MSS. Harl. 2251, 63, fol. 95. [2] [Compare p. 132, *ſupr.* note 5.]

[3] Prol. and *ibid.* l. i. c. 6. Compare *Man of L. T.* Prol. v. 60.

[4] MSS. Fairf. xvi.

[5] ver. 383. Compare *Pars. T.* Urr. p. 214, col. 1. [An additional argument, for believing that the number intended was nineteen, may be drawn from the *Court of Love*, ver. 108, where, ſpeaking of Alceſte, Chaucer ſays:

"To whom obeyed the ladies gode nineteen."—*Tyrwhitt.*

See alſo the note on ver. 4481 of the *Canterbury Tales.*—Price.]

[6] The walls of her chamber are painted in gold with the three fundamental rules of arithmetic.

[7] Leland, *Coll. Append.* iii. 317, edit. 1770.

[8] ch. xxx. Chaucer has this circumſtance in deſcribing the Wife of Bath, *Prol.* ver. 458:

"Hire hoſen weren of fine ſcarlet rede
Full *ſtraite yteyed.*"

Roſamund. The ſolemnity being finiſhed, Muſic and La Bell Pucell go forth into a ſtately temple, whither they are followed by our hero. Here Muſic ſeats herſelf amidſt a concert of all kinds of inſtruments. She explains the principles of harmony. A dance is played,[1] and Graunde Amoure dances with La Bell Pucell. That is, tabours, trumpets, pipes, ſackbuts, organs, recorders, harps, lutes, "croudds, tymphans," [? ſymphans] dulcimers, "claricimbales, rebeckes, clarychordes."[2] At the marriage of James of Scotland with the Princeſs Margaret, in the year 1503, "the king began before hyr to play of the clarychordes and after of the lute. And uppon the ſaid clarychorde ſir Edward Stanley played a ballade and ſange therewith." Again, the king and queen being together, "after ſhe played upon the clarychorde and after of the lute, he beinge uppon his knee allwaies bareheaded."[3] In Lydgate's poem, entitled *Reaſon and Senſuallite*, various inſtruments and ſorts of muſic are recited:[4]—

Of al maner mynſtralcye
That any man kan ſpecifye:
For there were rotys of Almayne,
And eke of Arragon and Spayne:
Songes, ſtampes, and eke daunces,
Divers plente of pleſaunces;
And many unkouth notys newe
Of ſwiche folke as lovid trewe;
And inſtrumentys that dyd excelle,
Many moo than I kan telle:
Harpys, fythales, and eke rotys,
Well according with her notys,
Lutys, ribibles, and geternes,
More for eſtatys than tavernes;
Orguys, cytolis, monacordys.
There were trumpes, and trumpettes,
Lowde ſhallys and doucettes.

Here "geterne" is a guitar which, with "cytolis," has its origin in *cithara*. "Fythales" is fiddles. "Shallys," I believe, ſhould be ſhalmies, or ſhawms. "Orguys" is organs. By "eſtatys" he means [royal or noble] aſſemblies.

Graunde Amoure retires, deeply in love. He is met by Counſel, who conſoles and conducts him to his repoſe in a ſtately chamber of the caſtle. In the morning, Counſel and our hero both together viſit La Bell Pucell. At the gate of the garden of the caſtle they are informed by the portreſs Courteſy, that the lady was ſitting alone in an arbour, weaving a garland of various flowers. The garden is

[1] Muſic commands her minſtrels to play the dance, which was called "Mamours the ſwete." So at the royal marriage juſt mentioned, "The mynſtrelles begonne to play a baſſe dance, &c. After this done, they plaid a rownde, the which was daunced by the lorde Grey ledyinge the ſaid queene.—After the dinner incontynent the mynſtrelles of the chammer [chamber] began to play and then daunced the quene," &c. Leland, *Append. ubi ſupr.* p. 284, *ſeq.*

[2] Cap. xvi. [3] Leland, *Coll. Append.* iii. pp. 284, 285, edit. 1770.

[4] MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodl. [Pr. "To all folkys virtuous."] "Here reherſyth the auctor the mynſtralcys that were in the gardyn." [See Ritſon's *Bibl. Poet.* p. 69, note †.]

deſcribed as very delicious, and they find the lady in the arbour near a ſtately fountain, "among the flowers of aromatic fume." After a long dialogue, in which for ſome time ſhe ſeems to reject his ſuit, at laſt ſhe reſigns her heart; but withal acquaints her lover, that he has many monſters to encounter and many dangers to conquer, before he can obtain her. He replies, that he is well acquainted with theſe difficulties, and declares that, after having received inſtructions from Aſtronomy, he will go to the Tower of Chivalry, in order to be more completely qualified to ſucceed in this hazardous enterpriſe. They take leave with tears, and the lady is received into a ſhip, which is to carry her into the iſland, where her tower ſtood. Counſel conſoles Amoure,[1] and leaves him to attend other deſponding lovers. Our hero bids adieu in pathetic terms to the Tower of Muſic, where he firſt ſaw Pucell. Next he proceeds to the Tower of Geometry, which is wonderfully built and adorned. From thence he ſeeks Aſtronomy, who reſides in a gorgeous pavilion pitched in a fragrant and flowery meadow: ſhe delivers a prolix lecture on the ſeveral operations of the mind, and parts of the body.[2] He then, accompanied with his greyhounds, enters an extenſive plain overſpread with flowers; and looking forward, ſees a flaming ſtar over a tower. Going forward, he perceives that this tower ſtands on a rough precipice of ſteel, decorated with beaſts of various figures. As he advances towards it, he comes to a mighty fortreſs, at the gate of which were hanging a ſhield and helmet, with a marvellous horn. He blows the horn with a blaſt that ſhook the tower, when a knight appears: who, aſking his buſineſs, is anſwered that his name is Graunde Amoure, and that he was juſt arrived from the tower of Doctrine. He is welcomed by the knight, and admitted. This is the caſtle of Chivalry. The next morning he is conducted by the porter Stedfaſtneſs into the baſe court, where ſtood a tower of prodigious height, made of jaſper: on its ſummit were four images of armed knights on horſes of ſteel which, on moving a ſecret ſpring, could repreſent a turney. Near this tower was an ancient temple of Mars: within it was his ſtatue or picture of gold, with the figure of Fortune on her wheel: and the walls were painted with the ſiege of Troy. This

[1] Counſel mentions the examples of Troilus and Creſſida, and of Ponthus and Sidonia. Of the latter faithful pair, there is an old French romance [of which the earlieſt edition ſeems to want the title-page in the only copy traceable (ſee Brunet, laſt edit. iv. 810); but it was frequently republiſhed under the title of] *Le Roman du noble roy Ponthus filz du roy de galice et la belle ſidoine fille du roy de bretagne.* It is in the royal library at Paris, MS. fol. (ſee Lengl. *Bibl. Rom.* ii. 250), and among the king's MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum there is *Le Livre du roy Ponthus.* 15 E. vi. 6. I think there are ſome elegant miniatures in this MS. Our author calls him "the famous knyght yclypped Ponthus, whych loved Sydonye," cap. xvi. *King Ponthus* was firſt printed by Wynkyn de Worde, *The Noble Hyſtory of Ponthus and Galyce, and of lytell Brytayne.* With woodcuts, 1511, 4to. [It is another reading of the Legend or Geſt of *King Horn*, as to which ſee *ſupr.* i. ſect. i.]

[2] In a woodcut Ptolemy the aſtronomer is here introduced, with a quadrant; and Plato, the "conynge and famous clerke," is cited.

was a common ſubject of tapeſtry, as I have before obſerved: but as it was the moſt favourite martial ſubject of the dark ages, is here introduced with peculiar propriety. The general popularity of the ſtory made it a ſubject for painted glaſs, as in [the poem entitled] *Chaucer's Dream*:[1]

> and with glas
> Were al the windowes wel yglaſed
> Ful clere, and nat an hole ycraſed.
> That to beholde it was grete joy;
> For wholly all the ſtory of Troy
> Was in the glaiſinge ywrought thus,
> Of Hector, and king Priamus,
> Achilles, &c.

In our author's deſcription of the palace of Pucell, "there was enameled with figures curious *the ſyege of Troy*."[2]

Our hero now ſupplicates Mars, that he may be enabled to ſubdue the monſters which obſtruct his paſſage to the Tower of Pucell. Mars promiſes him aſſiſtance; but adviſes him firſt to invoke Venus in her temple. Fortune reproves Mars for preſuming to promiſe aſſiſtance, and declares that all human glory is in the power of herſelf alone. Amoure is then led by Minerva through the ſumptuous hall of the caſtle, which is painted with the *Siege of Thebes*, and where many knights are playing at cheſs, to king Melyzus,[3] the inventor of tilts and tournaments, who dubs him a knight. He leaves the caſtle of Chivalry, and on the road meets a perſon, habited like a fool, named Godfrey Gobilive, who enters into a long diſcourſe on the falſehood of women:

> His father is *Davy Drunken nole*,
> Who never dranke but in a fayre *blacke boule*.

Here he ſeems to allude to Lydgate's poem, called *Of Jack Wat that could pull the lining out of a black boll*.[4] One *Jack Hare* is the ſame ſort of ludicrous character, who is thus deſcribed in Lydgate's *Tale of froward Maymonde*.[5]

> A froward knave pleynly to deſcryve,
> And a ſloggard ſhortely to declare,
> A precious knave that caſtith hym never to thryve.
> His mouth weel weet, his ſlevis rizt thredbare;
> A turnebroche [turn-ſpit], a boy for hogge of ware,
> With louring face noddyng and ſlumberyng,
> Of new cryſtened, and called Jakke Hare,
> Whiche of a *boll* can *plukke out the lynyng*.

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[1] V. 322.

[2] Cap. xxxviii. ſign. A iii, edit. 1555. The arras was the "ſyege of Thebes." *Ibid.* In the Temple of Mars was alſo "the ſege of Thebes depaynted fayre and clere" on the walls, cap. xxvii. ſign. Q iii. [See *ſupr.*]

[3] A fabulous king of Thrace who, I think, is mentioned in Caxton's *Recuyell of the Hyſtoryes of Troy*, printed [between 1472 and 1474.] Our author appeals to this romance, which he calls the *Recule of Troye*, as an authentic voucher for the truth of the labours of Hercules, ch. i. By the way, Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* is quoted in this romance of Troy, B. ii. ch. xix.

[4] MS. Aſhmol. Bodl. 59. ii; MSS. Harl. 2251. 12, fol. 14.

[5] MSS. Laud. D. 31. Bodl.

Theſe two pieces of Lydgate [are] the ſame.[1]

He relates how Ariſtotle, *for all his clergy*, was ſo infatuated with love, that he ſuffered the lady, who only laughed at his paſſion, to bridle and ride him about his chamber.[2] Then follows a long and ridiculous ſtory about Virgil the poet [transformed into a necromancer, as appears in the romance of *Virgilius*,] in the dark ages, who is deceived by the tricks of a lady at the court of Rome; on whom, however, her paramour takes ample revenge by means of his ſkill in muſic, ch. xxix. [Similar honours have been conferred upon Horace in the neighbourhood of Paleſtrina, where he is ſtill revered by the people as a powerful and benevolent wizard.] This fiction is alſo alluded to by Gower, and added to that of Ariſtotle's, among his examples of the power of love over the wiſeſt men:[3]

> And eke Virgile of aqueintaunce
> I ſigh [ſaw] where he the maiden praid
> Which was the doughter, as men ſaid,
> Of themperour whilom of Rome.[4]

Graunde Amoure and his companion go together into the temple of Venus, who was now holding a ſolemn aſſembly or court for the redreſs of lovers. Here he meets with Sapience, who draws up a ſupplication for him, which he preſents to Venus. Venus, after having exhorted him to be conſtant, writes a letter to Pucell, which ſhe ſends by Cupid. After offering a turtle, he departs with Godfrey Gobilive, who is overtaken by a lady on a palfrey, with a knotted whip in her hand, which ſhe frequently exerciſes on Godfrey.[5] Amoure aſks her name which, ſhe anſwers, is Correction; that ſhe lived in the Tower of Chaſtity, and that he who aſſumed the name of Godfrey Gobilive was Falſe Report, who had juſt eſcaped from her priſon, and diſguiſed himſelf in a fool's coat. She invites Amoure to her Tower, where they are admitted by Dame Meaſure; and led into a hall with a golden roof, in the midſt of which was a carbuncle of a prodigious ſize, which illuminated the room.[6] They are next

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[1] [See Ritſon's *Bibl. Poet.* p. 72.]

[2] This ſtory is in Gower, *Conf. Amant.* lib. viii. [edit. 1857, iii. 366.] See *ſupr.* vol ii.

> "I ſigh there Ariſtotle alſo
> Whom that the quene of Grece alſo
> Hath bridled," &c.

[3] *Ubi ſupr.*

[4] *Virgil's Life* is mentioned by Laneham among other romantic pieces, *Killingw. Caſtle*, p. 34, edit. 1575.

[5] In another place he is called *Folly*, and ſaid to ride on a mare. When chivalry was at its height in France, it was a diſgrace to any perſon, not below the degree of a gentleman, *to ride a mare*.

[6] From Chaucer, *Rom. Roſe*, v. 1119. [edit. Morris.] Richeſſe is crowned with the coſtlieſt gems:

> "But alle byfore ful ſottilly
> A fyn charboncle ſette ſaugh I.
> The ſtoon ſo clere was and ſo bright,
> That, alſo ſoone as it was nyght,
> Men myghte ſeen to go for nede

introduced to a fair chamber; where they are welcomed by many famous women of antiquity, Helen, *quene* Proſerpine, the *lady Meduſe*, Penthesilea, &c. The next morning, Correction ſhews our hero a marvellous dungeon, of which Shamefaſtneſs is the keeper; and here Falſe Report is ſeverely puniſhed. He now continues his expedition, and near a fountain obſerves a ſhield and a horn hanging. On the ſhield was a lion rampant of gold in a ſilver field, with an inſcription importing that this was the way to La Bell Pucell's habitation, and that whoever blows the horn will be aſſaulted by a moſt formidable giant. He ſounds the horn: when inſtantly the giant appeared, twelve feet high, armed in braſs, with three heads on each of which was a ſtreamer, with the inſcriptions *Falſehood*, *Imagination*, *Perjury*. After an obſtinate combat, he cuts off the giant's three heads with his ſword *Claraprudence*. He next meets three fair ladies, Vanity, Good-operation, Fidelity. They conduct him to their caſtle with muſic; where, being admitted by the portreſs Obſervance, he is healed of his wounds by them. He proceeds and meets Perſeverance, who acquaints him that Pucell continued ſtill to love: that, after ſhe had read Venus's letter, Strangeneſs and Diſdain came to her, to diſſuade her from loving him; but that ſoon after Peace and Mercy[1] arrived, who ſoon undid all that Diſdain and Strangeneſs had ſaid, adviſing her to ſend Perſeverance to him with a ſhield. This ſhield Perſeverance now preſents, and invites him to repoſe that night with her couſin Comfort, who lived in a moated manor-place under the ſide of a neighbouring wood. There is a deſcription of a magnificent *manor-place*, curious for its antiquity, in an old poem, written [in the fourteenth century], entitled a *Diſputation bytwene a Cryſten man and a Jewe*, perhaps tranſlated from the French:[2]

Forth heo[3] wenten on the Feld
To an hul[4] thei bi held,
The eorthe clevet[5] as a ſcheld,[6]
On the grownde grene:

A myle or two, in lengthe and brede.
Sich lyght *tho* ſprange oute of the ſtone."

But this is not uncommon in romance, and is an Arabian idea. See *ſupr.* vol. ii. In the *Hiſtory of the Seven Champions*, a book compiled in the reign of [Elizabeth] by Richard Johnſon, and containing ſome of the moſt capital fictions of the old Arabian romance, in the adventure of the *Enchanted Fountain*, the knights entering a dark hall, "tooke off their gauntletts from their left hands whereon they wore *marvellous great and fine diamonds*, that gave ſo *much light*, that they might *plainly ſee* all things that were in the hall, the which was very great and wide, and upon the walls were painted the figures of many furious fiends," &c. *Sec. P.* ch. ix. And in Mandeville's *Travels*, "The emperour hath in his chamber a pillar of gold, in which is a ruby and carbuncle a foot long, which lighteth all his chamber by night," &c. ch. lxxii.

[1] Mercy is no uncommon divinity in the love-ſyſtem of the troubadours. See Millot's *Hiſt. Litt. des Troubad.* tom. i. p. 181, Par. 1774.

[2] MS. Vernon, fol. 301, *ut ſupr.* [See Carpentier's *Suppl.* du Cange, *Lat. Gloſs. V. Radimere.*]

[3] they. [4] hill. [5] cleaved. [6] ſhield.

Some fonde thei on ſtiȝ,[1]
Thei went theron radly ;[2]
The criſten mon hedde farly[3]
What hit miȝte mene.

Aftir that ſtiȝ lay a ſtrete,
Clere i-pavet with gete,[4]
Thei fond a Maner that was mete
With murthes ful ſchene :
Wel corven and wroȝt
With halles heiȝe uppon loft,[5]
To a place weore thei bouȝt
As paradys the clene.[6]

Ther was foulen [7] ſong,
Much murthes among,
Hoſe lenge wolde longe
Ful luitell hym thouȝt :
On vche a ſyde of the halle,
Pourpell, pelure, and palle ;[8]
Wyndowes in the walle
Was wonderli i-wrouȝt :[9]

There was doſers[10] on the dees,[11]
Hoſe the cheefe wolde ches[12]
That never richere was,
In no ſale[13] ſouȝt :
Both the mot and the mold
Schone al on red golde :
The criſtene mon hadde ferli of that folde,[14]
That hider was brouȝt.

There was erbes[15] growen grene,
Spices ſpringynge bi twene,
Such hadde I not ſene,
For ſothe as I ſay :
The thruſtell[16] ſonge full ſhrille,
He newed notes at his wille ;
Faire fflowers to fille,
Fine in that Fay :

And al the rounde table good,
Hou Arthur in eorthe ȝod,[17]
Sum ſate and ſum ſtod,
O the grounde grey :

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[1] road, way, cavern aſcent.
[2] readily, eaſily.
[3] [had wonder. *Ritſon.*]
[4] paved with [jet. *Ritſon.*]
[5] with halls built high.
[6] bright, or pleaſant, as Paradiſe.
[7] fowls, birds.
[8] [The hall was hung with purple, &c.—*Price.*]
[9] wonderfully wrought.
[10] *doſſer* is a baſket carried on the back. Lat. *dorſarium.* Chaucer's *H. F.* iii. 850. "Or elſe hutchis or *doſſers.*" We muſt here underſtand proviſions.
[11] *dees* is here the *table.*
[12] whoever would chuſe the beſt.
[13] hall. Lat. *ſala.*
[14] [ground.]
[15] An Herbary, for furniſhing domeſtic medicines, always made a part of our ancient gardens. In Hawes's poem, now before us, in the delicious gardens of the caſtle of Muſic, "Amiddes the garden there was an *herber* fayre and quadrante," ch. xviii. [But whatever *Herbary* may be underſtood to mean, *Herber*, in our old poetry, undoubtedly ſignifies arbour, or rather a houſe or *bower*, fitted up in the garden. Roſamond's Bower was an arbour in this ſenſe.]
[16] thruſh.
[17] *yod*, went ; walked *on earth.*

Hit was a wonder ſi3t
As thei were quik men[1] di3t
To ſe hou they play.[2]

Together with ſome of his expreſſions, I do not always underſtand Hawes's context and tranſitions, which have great abruptneſs. In what he ſays of King Arthur, I ſuppoſe he means that King Arthur's round table, and his knights turneying, were painted on the walls of the hall.[3]

[At the houſe of Comfort, Grande Amoure] is uſhered into a "chamber precious," perfumed with the richeſt odours. Next morning, guided by Perſeverance and Comfort, he goes forward and ſees a caſtle, nobly fortified and walled with jet. Before it was a giant with ſeven heads, and upon the trees about him were hanging many ſhields of knights, whom he had conquered. On his ſeven heads were ſeven helmets crowned with ſeven ſtreamers, on which were inſcribed Diſſimulation, Delay, Diſcomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, Doubleneſs. After a bloody battle, he kills the giant, and is ſaluted by the five ladies, Steadfaſtneſs, Amorous Purveyance, Joy after Sorrow, Pleaſance, Good Report, Amity, Continuance, all riding from the caſtle on white palfreys. Theſe ladies inform Amoure, that they had been exiled from La Bell Pucell by Diſdain, and beſieged in this caſtle, for one whole year, by the giant whom he had juſt ſlain. They attend him on his journey, and travel through a dreary wilderneſs, full of wild beaſts: at length they diſcern, at a vaſt diſtance, a glorious region, where ſtood a ſtately palace beyond a tempeſtuous ocean. "That (ſays Perſeverance) is the palace of Pucelle." They then diſcover in the iſland before them an horrible fiend, roaring like thunder, and breathing flame, which my author ſtrongly paints:

The fyre was greet, it made the yland lyght.

Perſeverance tells our hero that this monſter was framed by the two witches Strangeneſs and Diſdain, to puniſh La Bell Pucell for having baniſhed them from her preſence. His body was compoſed of the ſeven metals, and within it a demon was incloſed. They now enter a neighbouring temple of Pallas, who ſhews Amoure in a trance the ſecret formation of this monſter, and gives him a box of wonderful ointment. They walk on the ſea-ſhore, and eſpy two ladies rowing towards them; who land, and having told Amoure that they are ſent by Patience to enquire his name, receive him and his company into the ſhip Perfectneſs. They arrive in the iſland; and Amoure diſcovers near a rock the monſter, whom he now examines more diſtinctly. The face of the monſter reſembled a virgin's, and was of gold; his neck of ſilver; his breaſt of ſteel; his fore-legs, armed with ſtrong talons, of laten; his back of copper; his tail of

[1] as if they were living men. [2] to ſee their ſports, tournaments, &c.

[3] [Arthur and his knights appear rather to be the inhabitants of this marvellous ſpot. Some were engaged in ſports, whilſt others either "ſat or ſtood upon the gray ground" obſerving them.—*Price.*]

lead, &c. Amoure, in imitation of Jaſon, anoints his ſword and armour with the unguent of Pallas which, at the firſt onſet, preſerves him from the voluminous torrent of fire and ſmoke iſſuing from the monſter's mouth. At length he is killed, and from his body flew out a foule ethiope or black ſpirit, accompanied by ſuch a ſmoke that all the iſland was darkened, and loud thunder-claps enſued. When this ſpirit had entirely vaniſhed, the air grew ſerene; and our hero now plainly beheld the magnificent caſtle of La Pucell, walled with ſilver, and "many a ſtory upon the wall enameled royally." I know not from what romantic hiſtory of the Cruſades Richard Johnſon took the deſcription of the ſtately houſe of the courteous Jew at Damaſcus, built for entertaining Chriſtian pilgrims, in which "the walls were painted with as many ſtories as there were years ſince the creation of the world."[1] The word *enamelled* is probably uſed in the ſame ſenſe as in Stow.[2] "The great bell-tower [of the priory of S. John in Clerkenwell], a moſt curious piece of workmanſhippe, graven, guilt, and inameled, to the great beautifying of the citie, and paſſinge all other that I have ſeene," &c. So again our author Hawes:[3]

> where the tower doth ſtande
> Made all of golde, enameled aboute
> Wyth noble ſtoryes.

Our hero rejoins his company; and entering the gates of the caſtle, is ſolemnly received by Peace, Mercy, Juſtice, Reaſon, Grace, and Memory. He is then led by the portreſs Countenance into the baſe court where, into a conduit of gold, dragons ſpouted water of the richeſt odour. The gravel of the court is like gold, and the hall and chambers are moſt ſuperbly decorated. Amoure and La Pucell ſit down and converſe together. Venus intervenes, attended by Cupid clothed in a blue mantle embroidered with golden hearts pierced with arrows, which he throws about the lovers, declaring that they ſhould ſoon be joined in marriage. A ſudden tranſition is here made from the pagan to the Chriſtian theology. The next morning they are married, according to the catholic ritual, by *Lex Eccleſiæ*; and in the wooden print prefixed to this chapter, the lovers are repreſented as joining hands at the weſtern portal of a great church, a part of the ceremonial of ancient marriages.[4] A ſolemn feaſt is then held in honour of the nuptials, which are deſcribed thus:[5]

> Why ſhould I tary by long continuance
> Of the feaſt, &c.

In the ſame manner Chaucer paſſes over the particularities of Cambuſcan's feaſt.[6] Matthew Paris, in deſcribing the magnificent mar-

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[1] Sec. P. ch. iv. [2] *Survey*, p. 359, edit. 1599.
[3] Cap. ii.
[4] For this cuſtom, ſee the romance of *Appolyne* [*of Thyre*,] ch. xxxiii.
[5] Cap. xxix.
[6] *Squ. T.* v. 83. And of Theſeus's feaſt, *Kn. T.* v. 2199. See alſo *Man of L. T.* v. 704, and Spenſer's *Fairy Qu.* v. iii. 3.

riage and coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236, uſes exactly the ſame formulary, and on a ſimilar ſubject.[1] Compare another feaſt deſcribed in the ſame chronicle, much after the ſame manner; and which, the writer adds, was more ſplendid than any feaſt celebrated in the time of Ahaſuerus, King Arthur, or Charlemagne.[2]

Here the poem ſhould have ended. But the poet has thought it neceſſary to extend his allegory to the death and burial of his hero. Graund Amoure, having lived in conſummate happineſs with his amiable bride for many years, ſaw one morning an old man enter his chamber, carrying a ſtaff, with which he ſtrikes Amoure's breaſt, ſaying, "Obey," &c. His name is Old Age. Not long after came Policy or Cunning and Avarice. Amoure now begins to abandon his triumphal ſhows and ſplendid carouſals, and to be intent on amaſſing riches. At laſt arrived Death, who peremptorily announces, that he muſt prepare to quit his wealth and the world. After this fatal admonition, came Contrition and Conſcience, and he dies. His body is interred by Mercy and Charity; and while his epitaph is written by Remembrance, Fame appears; promiſing that ſhe will enroll his name with thoſe of Hector, Joſhua, Judas Maccabeus, King David, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæſar, Arthur, Charlemagne,[3] and Godfrey of Boulogne.[4] The chief reaſon for ranking King David among the knights of romance was, as I have already hinted, becauſe he killed the giant Goliah; an achievement here mentioned by Hawes. Of Arthur and his knights he ſays, that their exploits are recorded "in royall bokes and jeſtes hyſtoryall."[5] Sir Thomas [Malory] had now juſt publiſhed his *Morte Arthur*, a narrative digeſted from various French romances on Arthur's ſtory. [Some] printed copy of this favourite volume, which firſt appeared in 1485 from Caxton's preſs, muſt have been known to our poet

[1] "Quid in eccleſia ſeriem enarrem deo, ut decuit, reverenter miniſtrantium? Quid in menſa dapium et diverſorum libaminum deſcribam fertilitatem redundantem? Venationis [veniſon] abundantiam? Piſcium varietatem? Joculatorum voluptatem? Miniſtrantium venuſtatem," &c. *Hiſt. Angl.* ſub Hen. iii. p. 406, edit. 1589.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 871.

[3] With his "douſeperes" or twelve peers, among which he mentions Rowland and Oliver.

[4] Theſe are the Nine Worthies: to whom Shakeſpeare alludes in *Love's Lab. Loſt.* "Here is like to be a good preſence of Worthies. He preſents Hector of Troy: The ſwain, Pompey the Great: The pariſh-curate, Alexander: Armado's page, Hercules: The pedant, Judas Maccabeus," &c. Act v. Sc. [ii, Dyce's edit. 1868, ii. 226]. Elias Cairels, a troubadour of Perigord, about the year 1240, wiſhes for the wiſdom of Solomon, the courteſy of Roland, the puiſſance of Alexander, the ſtrength of Samſon, the friendly attachment of Sir Triſtram, the "chevalerie" of Sir Gawaine, and the learning of Merlin. Though not immediately connected with the preſent purpoſe, I cannot reſiſt the temptation of tranſcribing the remainder of our troubadour's idea of complete happineſs in this world. His ambition can be gratified by nothing leſs than by poſſeſſing "Une ſi parfaite loyauté, que nul chevalier et nul jougleur n'aient rien à reprendre en lui; une maitreſſe jeune, jolie, et decente; mille cavaliers bien en ordre pour le ſuivre par tout," &c. Millot, *Hiſt. Litt. des Troubad.* tom. i. p. 388. [See *ſupr.* vol. ii.]

[5] Cap. xliii.

Hawes. By the way, in panegyriſing Chaucer, Hawes mentions it as a circumſtance of diſtinction, that his works were printed:[1]

Whoſe name
In printed bokes doth remayne in fame.

This was natural at the beginning of the typographic art. Many of Chaucer's poems had been now [1506] recently printed by Caxton. With regard to [Malory's] book, much, if not moſt of it, I believe, is taken from the great French romance of *Lancelot*, tranſlated from Latin into French at the command of [Henry II.][2] It appears, however, that Henry III. alſo paid great attention to theſe compoſitions from the following curious anecdote, which throws new light on the monarch's character:—Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour, highly celebrated by Dante and Petrarch, about 1240 made a voyage into England, where (in the court of Henry III.) he met a minſtrel, who challenged him at difficult rhymes. The challenge was accepted, a conſiderable wager was laid, and the rival bards were ſhut up in ſeparate chambers of the palace. The king, who appears to have much intereſted himſelf in the diſpute, allowed them ten days for compoſing, and five more for learning to ſing, their reſpective pieces: after which each was to exhibit his performance in the preſence of his majeſty. The third day, the Engliſh minſtrel announced that he was ready. The troubadour declared he had not written a line; but that he had tried, and could not as yet put two words together. The following evening he overheard the minſtrel practiſing his chanſon to himſelf. The next day he had the good fortune to hear the ſame again, and learned the air and words. At the day appointed they both appeared before the king. Arnaud deſired to ſing firſt. The minſtrel, in a fit of the greateſt ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment, ſuddenly cried out "C'eſt ma chanſon, This is my ſong." The king ſaid it was impoſſible. The minſtrel ſtill inſiſted upon it; and Arnaud, being cloſely preſſed, ingenuouſly told the whole affair. The king was much entertained with this adventure; and, ordering the wager to be withdrawn, loaded them with rich preſents. But he afterwards obliged Arnaud to give a chanſon of his own compoſition.[3] In the meantime Henry II. equally encouraged theſe pieces; for Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, tranſlated from Latin into French the popular romance of *Saint Graal*, at the inſtance of Henry II. to whom he was chaplain, about 1190.[4] Benoit [de Sainte Maur (or More) already mentioned] was alſo patroniſed by this monarch, at whoſe command he compiled his metrical Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, in which are cited Iſidor Hiſpalenſis, Pliny, and Saint Auſtin.[5]

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[1] Cap. xiiii.

[2] [The Engliſh verſion in Benet College library is the *Hiſtory of the Holy Graal* (or the romance of *Joſeph of Arimathea*), edited by me for the Roxburghe Club, followed by part of the *Romance of Merlin*.—F.]

[3] Millot, *ut ſupr.* tom. ii. p. 491.

[4] See MSS. Reg. 20 D. iii. a [MS. written in the thirteenth century].

[5] MSS. Harl. 1717, 1, on vellum. See fol. 85, 163, 192, 236. This old French

Afterwards (to return from this digreſſion) Time and Eternity, clothed in white veſtments and crowned with a triple diadem of gold, enter the temple, and pronounce an exhortation. Laſt follows an epilogue, in which the poet apologiſes for his hardineſs in attempting to feign and deviſe this fable.

The reader readily perceives, that this poetical apologue is intended to ſhadow the education of a complete gentleman; or rather, to point out thoſe accompliſhments which conſtitute the character of true gallantry, and moſt juſtly deſerve the reward of beauty. It is not pretended, that the perſonifications diſplay that force of colouring and diſtinctneſs of delineation, which animate the ideal portraits of Jean de Meun. But we muſt acknowledge, that Hawes has ſhown no inconſiderable ſhare of imagination, if not in inventing romantic action, at leaſt in applying and enriching the general incidents of the Gothic fable. In the creation of allegoric imagery he has exceeded Lydgate. That he is greatly ſuperior to many of his immediate predeceſſors and cotemporaries in harmonious verſification and clear expreſſion, will appear from the following ſtanza:

Beſydes this gyaunt, upon every tree
I did ſee hang many a goodly ſhelde
Of noble knyghtes, that were of hye degre,
Whiche he had ſlayne and murdred in the fielde:
From farre this gyaunt I ryght well behelde;
And towarde hym as I rode my waye,
On his firſt head I ſawe a banner gay.[1]

To this poem a dedication of eight octave ſtanzas is prefixed, addreſſed to King Henry VII.: in which our author profeſſes to follow the manner of his "maiſter" Lydgate:

To folowe the trace and all the perfitneſs
Of my maiſter Lydgate with due exerciſe,
Suche fayned tales I do fynde[2] and devyſe:
For under a coloure a truthe may aryſe,
As was the guyſe, in olde antiquitie,
Of the poetes olde a tale to ſurmyſe,
To cloke the truthe.

In the courſe of the poem he complains that, ſince Lydgate, "the moſt dulcet ſprynge of famous rhetoryke," that ſpecies of poetry, which deals in fiction and allegoric fable, had been entirely loſt and neglected. He allows, that ſome of Lydgate's ſucceſſors had been ſkilful verſifiers in the ballad royal or octave ſtanza, which Lydgate carried to ſuch perfection: but adds this remarkable reſtriction:

They fayne no fables pleaſaunt and covert:—
Makynge balades of fervent amyte,
As geſtes and tryfles.[3]

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poem is full of fabulous and romantic matter, and ſeems to be partly tranſlated from a Latin Chronicle, [edited by M. Franciſque Michel, Paris, 1836-44, 3 vols. 4to.] *De Moribus et Actis primorum Normanniæ Ducum*, written about 1000, by Dudo, dean of St. Quintin's, and firſt printed among Du Cheſne's *Scriptor. Norman.* p. 49, edit. 1619. Maiſter Benoit ends with our Henry I., Dudo with the year 996.

[1] Ch. xxxv. [repr. of ed. 1555, 1845, p. 179]. [2] invent.

[3] Ch. xiv. So Barclay, in the *Ship of Fooles*, finiſhed in 1508, fol. 18, a. edit.

Theſe lines, in a ſmall compaſs, diſplay the general ſtate of poetry which now prevailed.

[We venture to lay before the reader, before leaving Hawes, ſpecimens of his two other performances already mentioned, *The Converſyon of Swerers* and *A Joyfull Medytacyon.* The following is a ſtanza from the Prologue of the *Converſyon of Swerers:*

I lytell or nought expert in poetrye,
Remembrynge my youth ſo lyght and frayle
Purpoſe to compyle here full breuyatly
A lytell treatyſe wofull to bewayle
The cruell ſwerers whiche do god aſſayle
On every ſyde his ſwete body to tere
With terryble othes as often as they ſwere.

This is neither better nor worſe than the reſt, which is a production altogether deſtitute of pathos, imagery, or invention of any kind. The *Joyfull Medytacyon* is a very ſuperior piece, and contains ſome pretty and even elegant paſſages. Take a ſtanza from the Prologue, addreſſed to Henry VIII.:

Amyddes the medowe of flora the quene
Of the goddes elycon, is the ſprynge or well
And by it groweth a fayre laurell grene
Of whiche the poetes do ofte write and tell;
Beſyde this olyue I dyde neuer dwell
To taſt the water whiche is aromatyke
For to cauſe me wryte with luſty rethoryke.]

Coeval with Hawes was William Walter, a retainer to Sir Henry Marney, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter: an unknown and obſcure writer whom I ſhould not have named, but that he verſified, in the octave ſtanza, Boccaccio's ſtory, ſo beautifully paraphraſed by Dryden, of *Sigiſmonda and Guiſcardo.* This poem was printed by Wynkyn de Worde [1532].[1] It is in two books. He alſo wrote a dialogue in verſe, called the *Spectacle of Lovers:* [*a lytell contravers dyalogue bytwene love and councell,* printed by W. de Worde, without date. To this poem there is a prologue by Robert Copland.[2] Walter is likewiſe the author of *The Hiſtory of Titus and Geſippus, tranſlated out of latyn into englyſshe by Wyllyam Walter,* &c.]

About the year [1500], Henry Medwall, chaplain to Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, compoſed an interlude called *Nature.* It is not improbable, that it was played before the archbiſhop. It was

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1570. He is ſpeaking of the profane and improper converſation of prieſts in the choir:

"And all of fables and jeſtes of Robin Hood,
Or other trifles."

[1] [A later tranſlation appeared in 1597, under the title of *The tragedy of Guiſtard and Siſmond,* among] *Certaine worthye Manuſcript Poems of great Antiquitie, Reſerued long in the ſtudie of a Northfolke Gentleman, & now firſt publiſhed by J. S.* [The *Stately Tragedy* is a totally different tranſlation from that of Walter. In MS. Add. 12,124, Brit. Mus. is a much earlier tranſlation in verſe of the ſtory of Guiſcard and Sigiſmond, by Gilbert Baneſtre, a poet of the fourteenth century.—*Madden.*]

[2] Begins the Prologue, "Foraſmuche as ydelneſs is rote of all vices."

the buſineſs of chaplains in great houſes to compoſe interludes for the family. This piece was printed by [John Raſtell, about 1510], and entitled, *Nature, a goodly interlude of Nature, cõpylyd by mayſter Henry Medwall, chapleyn to the ryght reuerent father in god Johan Morton ſomtyme Cardynall and archebyſhop of Canterbury.*[1] [The date of the original compoſition of the interlude of *Nature* is very uncertain; but it appears that it was performed (probably as a revival) at Chriſtmas, 1514-15, before the king at Richmond, by "Inglyſhe and oothers of the Kynges pleyers," but that it proved tedious owing to its length, and that "the kyng departyd befor the end to hys chambre."][2]

In the year 1497, Laurence Wade, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury,[3] tranſlated into Engliſh rhymes *The Life of Thomas a Beckett*, written about the year 1180 in Latin[4] by Herbert Boſham. The MS., which will not bear a citation, is preſerved in Benet college in Cambridge.[5] The original had been tranſlated into French verſe by Peter Langtoft.[6] Boſham was Becket's ſecretary, and was preſent at his martyrdom.

SECTION XXVIII.

I PLACE Alexander Barclay within the year 1500, as his *Ship of Fools* appears to have been projected about that period. He was educated, [it has been ſaid,] at Oriel College in Oxford, accompliſhed his academical ſtudies by travelling, and was appointed one of the prieſts or prebendaries of the college of Saint Mary Ottery in Devonſhire. He ſeems to have ſpent ſome time at Cambridge,[7]

> And once in Cambridge I heard a ſcoller ſay,
> (One of the ſame which go in copes gay).[8]

The chief patron of his ſtudies appears to have been Thomas Corniſh, provoſt of Oriel College, and Suffragan Biſhop of Tyne in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells, to whom he dedicates, in a handſome Latin epiſtle, his *Ship of Fools*. But in the poem he mentions

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[1] [The ſame to whom Sir Thomas More was a page in his youth. Perhaps ſome of the dramatic or *quaſi*-dramatic compoſitions, which we are at preſent obliged to regard as anonymous, and which were chiefly printed by John Raſtell, More's relative by marriage, were written by the future Chancellor.]

[2] [Collier's *Hiſt. of Dram. Poet.* i. 65.]

[3] Profeſſed in the year 1467. *Catal. Mon. Cant.* inter MSS. C. C. C. C. (N. 7).

[4] *Vita et Res Geſtæ Thomæ Epiſcopi Cantuarienſis*, publiſhed in the *Quadrilogus*, 1495.

[5] MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CCCXCVII. 1. Beginn. Prol. "O ye vertuous ſoverayns ſpirituall and temporall."

[6] Pits. p. 890, *Append.*

[7] [There ſeems to be no ſufficient evidence that Barclay was educated at Oriel College.]

[8] *Eglog.* i. ſignat. A 4, *verſo.*

My Maiſter Kyrkham, calling himſelf "his true ſervitour, his chaplayne, and bede man."[1] Some biographers ſuppoſe Barclay to have been a native of Scotland. It is certain that he has a long and laboured encomium on James IV., king of Scotland, whom he compliments for his bravery, prudence, and other eminent virtues. One of the ſtanzas of this panegyric is an acroſtic on Jacobus.[2] Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monaſtery;[3] and at length took the habit of the Franciſcans at Canterbury.[4] He temporiſed with the changes of religion; for he poſſeſſed ſome church-preferments in the reign of Edward VI. He was inſtituted to Much Badew in Eſſex, in 1546. And to Wokey in Somerſetſhire, the ſame year.[5] He had alſo the church of All Saints in Lombard Street, London, on the preſentation of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which was vacant by his death, Aug. 24, 1552.[6]

He frequently mentions Croydon in his *Egloges*. He was buried in Croydon church:[7]

> And as in Croidon I heard the Collier preache.

Again:[8]

> While I in youth in Croidon towne did dwell.

Again:[9]

> He hath no felowe betwene this and Croydon
> Save the proude plowman (Gnoto) of Chorlington.

He mentions the collier again:[10]

> Such maner riches (the Collyer tell thee can).

Alſo [alluding to Biſhop Alcock]:[11]

> As the riche ſhepheard which woned in Mortlake.

He died, very old, at Croydon in 1552. [It ſeems pretty certain that he was of Scotiſh extraction; for Bullein the phyſician, who was his contemporary, expreſſly tells us, that he was born "beyond the cold river of Tweed."]

Barclay's principal work is the *Ship of Fools*, above mentioned. About the year [1494][12] Sebaſtian Brandt, a learned civilian of Baſle and an eminent philologiſt, had publiſhed a ſatire in German with this title.[13] The deſign was to ridicule the reigning vices and follies

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[1] Fol. 152, b, edit. 1570. [2] Fol. 206, a.

[3] In the title to his tranſlation from Mancinus, called the *Mirrour of Good Manners*.

[4] MS. Bale, Sloan. f. 68.

[5] Newcourt, Rep. i. 254, and *Regiſtr. Wellens.* [6] Newc. *Ibid.*

[7] [*Eglog.* i. ſign. A 4, *verſo.*] [8] [Sign. A ij, *verſo.*]

[9] [Sign. A 4, *verſo.*] [10] [*Ibid.*] [11] [Sign. A iij, *recto.*]

[12] [The German bibliographers ſpeak of an edition printed at Baſle, without date, as the earlieſt known to them, though others maintain the Straſburg edition of 1494 to be the firſt of the German original. See Brunet, laſt edit. in v.—*Price.*]

[13] I preſume this is the ſame Sebaſtian Brandt, to whom Thomas Acuparius, poet laureate, dedicates a volume of Poggius, *Argentorat.* 1513, fol. He is here ſtyled, "Juris utriuſque doctor, et S. P. Q. Argentinenſis cancellarius." The dedication is dated 1511. See Hendreich. *Plantect.* p. 703.—[Brandt was a doctor of laws, an imperial counſellor, and Syndic to the Senate of Straſburgh.—*Price.*]

of every rank and profeſſion, under the allegory of a ſhip freighted with fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is deſtitute of plot, and the voyage of adventures, a compoſition of ſuch a nature became extremely popular. It was tranſlated into French[1] [verſe by Pierre Riviere, whoſe work appeared at Paris in 1497, and thence into French proſe by Jean Drouyn, the latter printed in 1498; but in the preceding year (1497) had been publiſhed a tranſlation] into tolerable Latin verſe by James Locher,[2] a German, and a ſcholar of the inventor Brandt.[3] From the original and the two tranſlations Barclay formed a large Engliſh poem in the ballad or octave ſtanza, with conſiderable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed in 1509 by Pinſon, whoſe name occurs in the poem:

> How be it the charge Pynſon has on me laide
> With many fooles our Nauy not to charge.[4]

It was finiſhed in 1508 in the college of Saint Mary Ottery, as appears by the title: *The Shyp of Folys of the Worlde. This preſent boke named the ſhyp of folys of the worlde was tranſlated in the college of ſaynt mary Otery, in the counte of Deuonſhyre oute of Laten, Frenche, and Doche into Engliſhe tonge, by Alexander Barclay preſte and at that tyme chaplen in the ſayde college, tranſlated the yere of our Lord-God,* M.CCCCC.VIII.[5] Our author's ſtanza is verboſe, proſaic and tedious: and for many pages together his poetry is little better than a trite homily in verſe. The title promiſes much character and pleaſantry: but we ſhall be diſappointed, if we expect to find the foibles of the crew of our ſhip touched by the hand of the author of the *Canterbury Tales*, or expoſed in the rough yet ſtrong ſatire of Langland. He ſometimes has a ſtroke of humour: as in the following ſtanza, where he wiſhes to take on board the eight ſecondaries or minor canons of his college. *Alexander Barclay ad fatuos, vt dent locum octo*

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[1] By Joce Bade. Paris, 1497. In verſe. From which the French proſe tranſlation was made the next year.

[2] In the colophon, it is ſaid to have been *jampridem traducta* from the German original by Locher; and that this Latin tranſlation was reviſed by the inventor Brandt, with the addition of many new Fools. A ſecond edition of Locher's Latin was printed at Paris in 1498, 4to. In the royal library at Paris there is a curious copy of Barclay's Engliſh *Ship of Folys* by Pinſon on vellum, a rarity not, I believe, to be found in England.

[3] See *The Prologue.*

[4] Fol. 38, *verſo.* In another place he complains that ſome of his *wordes* are *amis*, on account of the "printers not perfect in ſcience." And adds, that

> "The Printers in'their buſynes
> Do all their workes ſpeedely and in haſte—"

fol. 258, b, [edit. 1570].

[5] In folio. A ſecond edition, from which I cite, was printed with his other works in the year 1570, alſo in folio, with curious wooden cuts, taken from Pynſon's impreſſion, viz. *The Ship of Fooles, wherin is ſhewed the folly of all States*, with diuers other workes adioyned vnto the ſame, &c. This has both Latin and Engliſh. [In all the former editions, the extracts from Barclay are (as uſual) inaccurate, and the references often erroneous.]

ſecundariis beatæ Mariæ de Oterei, qui quidem prima huius ratis tranſtra merentur.[1]

Softe,[1] fooles, ſofte, a little ſlacke your pace,
Till I haue ſpace you to' order by degree,
I haue eyght neyghbours, that firſt ſhall haue a place
Within this my ſhip, for they moſt worthy be;
They may their learning receyue coſtles and free,
Their walles abutting and ioyning to the ſcholes;[2]
Nothing they can,[3] yet nought will they learne nor ſee,
Therfore ſhall they guide this our ſhip of fooles.

The ignorance of the Engliſh clergy is one of the chief objects of his animadverſion. He ſays:[4]

For if one can flatter, and beare a Hauke on his fiſt,
He ſhalbe made Parſon of Honington or of Cliſt.

Theſe were rich benefices in the neighbourhood of Saint Mary Ottery. He diſclaims the profane and petty tales of the times:

I write no jeſte ne tale of Robin Hood,[5]
Nor ſowe no ſparkles, ne ſede of vicioufnes;
Wiſe men love vertue, wilde people wantonnes,
It longeth not my ſcience nor cuning,
For Philip the ſparrow the dirige to ſing.

The laſt line is a ridicule on his cotemporary Skelton, who wrote *The Booke of Philip Sparrow*, or a Dirge

For the ſowle of Philip Sparowe
That was late ſlayne at Carow, &c.[6]

[Or rather perhaps it may be an alluſion to the latent meaning of the phraſe, for probably Skelton in his poem, and certainly Gaſcoigne in his *Praiſe of Phillip Sparrowe*, intended *an erotic allegory*.][7] In another place, he thus cenſures the faſhionable reading of his age, much in the tone of his predeceſſor Hawes:

Nor godly ſcripture is not worth an hawe:
But tales are loued, ground of ribaudry,
And many are ſo blinded with their foly,
That no ſcripture thinke they ſo true nor good
As is a fooliſhe ieſt of Robin Hood.[8]

As a ſpecimen of his general manner, I inſert his character of the Student or Bookworm: whom he ſuppoſes to be the Firſt Fool in the veſſel:[9]

That in this Ship the chief place I gouerne,
By this wide Sea with fools wandering,

Primus in excelſa teneo quod naue rudentes,
Stultiuagoſq; ſequor comites per flumina vaſta:

[1] fol. 68.
[2] To the collegiate church of Saint Mary Ottery a ſchool was annexed by the munificent founder, Grandiſon, biſhop of Exeter. This college was founded in the year 1337.
[3] know.
[4] Fol. 2.
[5] Fol. 23.
[6] [Skelton's works, edit. Dyce, i. 51.]
[7] [Gaſcoigne's works, by Hazlitt, i. 488-9. See a paſſage, moreover, in Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, (Works, by Dyce, i. 276.)]
[8] Fol. 23.
[9] I add the Latin from which he tranſlates, that the reader may judge how much is our poet's own, fol. 1. a.

The cauſe is plaine and eaſy to diſcerne,
Still am I buſy bookes aſſembling,
For to haue plentie it is a pleaſaunt thing
In my conceyt, and to haue them ay in hande:
But what they meane do I not vnderſtande.

But yet I haue them in great reuerence
And honoure, ſauing them from filth and ordure;
By often bruſhing and moch diligence,
Full goodly bounde in pleaſaunt couerture
Of Damas, Sattin, or els of Veluet pure;[1]
I keepe them ſure, fearing leaſt they ſhould be loſt,
For in them is the cunning wherein I me boaſt.

But if it fortune that any learned man
Within my houſe fall to diſputation,
I drawe the curtaynes to ſhewe my bokes then,
That they of my cunning ſhould make probation:
I loue not to fall in altercation:
And while the commen, my bookes I turne & winde,
For all is in them, and nothing in my minde.

Ptolomeus[2] the riche cauſed longe agone
Ouer all the worlde good bookes to be ſought,
Done was his commaundement anone:
* * * * *

Lo in likewiſe of bookes I haue ſtore,
But fewe I reade, and fewer vnderſtande,
I folowe not their doctrine nor their lore,
It is ynough to beare a booke in hande:
It were too muche to be in ſuche a bande;
For to be bound to loke within the booke,
I am content on the fayre couering to looke.——

Eche is not lettred that nowe is made a lorde,
Nor eche a Clerke that hath a benefice:
They are not all lawyers that plees do recorde,
All that are promoted are not fully wiſe,
On ſuche chaunce nowe fortune throwes her dice,

Non ratione vacat certa, ſenſuq; latenti:

Congeſtis etenim ſtultus confido libellis;
Spem quoq; nec paruam, collecta volumina præbent,
Calleo nec verbum, nec libri ſentio mentem:
Attamen in magno per me ſeruantur honore,
Pulueris & cariem plumatis tergo flabellis.

Aſt vbi doctrinæ certamen voluitur, inquam,
Ædibus in noſtris librorum culta ſupellex
Eminet, & chartis viuo contentus opertis:
Quas video ignorans, juuat & me copia ſola.

Conſtituit quondam diues Ptolomeus, haberet
Vt libros toto quæſitos undiq; mundo,
Quos grandes rerum theſauros eſſe putabat:

Non tamen archanæ legis documenta tenebat,
Quis fine non poterat vitæ diſponere curſum.
En pariter teneo numeroſa volumina, tardus
Pauca lego, viridi contentus tegmine libri.

Cur vellem ſtudio ſenſus turbare frequenti,
Aut tam ſollicitis animum confundere rebus?
Qui ſtudet, aſſiduo motu fit ſtultus & amens.

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[1] Students and monks were anciently the binders of books. In the firſt page of a MS. Life of Concubranus this note occurs, "Ex conjunctione dompni Wyllelmi Edys monaſterii B. Mariæ S. Modwenæ virginis de Burton ſuper Trent monachi, dum eſſet ſtudens Oxoniæ, A. D. MDXVII." See MSS. Cotton. Cleopatr. ii., and MSS. Coll. Oriel. N. vi. 3, et 7, Art. The word conjunctio=*ligatura*. The book is much older than this entry.

[2] Ptolomeus Philadelphus, for whom he quotes Joſephus, lib. xii.

That though one knowe but the yriſhe game,[1]
Yet would he haue a gentlemans name.
So in like wiſe I am in ſuche caſe,
Though I nought can, I woulde be called wiſe:
Alſo I may ſet another in my place,
Which may for me my bookes exerciſe;
Or els I ſhall enſue the common guiſe,
And ſay *concedo* to euery argument
Leaſt by much ſpeeche my latin ſhould be ſpent.[2]

Seu ſtudeam, ſeu non, dominus tamen eſſe vocabor;
Et poſſum ſtudio ſocium diſponere noſtro,
Qui pro me ſapiat, doctaſq; examinet artes:
At ſi cum doctis verſor, concedere malo
Omnia, ne cogar fors verba latina profari.

In one part of the poem the apologue of Prodicus, of Hercules meeting Virtue and Pleaſure, is introduced. In the ſpeech of Pleaſure our author changes his metre, and breaks forth into a lyrical ſtrain, not totally void of elegance and delicacy, and in a rhythmical arrangement adopted by Gray:

All my veſture is of golde pure,
My gay Chaplet with ſtones ſet,
With couerture of fine aſure,
In ſiluer net my heare vp knet,
Softe ſilke betwene, leaſt it might fret;
My purple pall ouercouereth all,
Cleare as Chriſtall, no thing egall.—

With harpe in hande alway I ſtande,
Paſſing eche houre in ſwete pleaſour;
A wanton bande of euery lande,
Are in my towre me to honour,
Some of valour, ſome bare and poore;
Kinges in their pride ſit by my ſide:
Euery freſhe floure, of ſwete odoure,
To them I prouide, that with me bide.—

Who euer they be that folowe me,
And gladly flee to my ſtandarde,
They ſhall be free, not ſicke, nor ſee
Aduerſitie nor paynes harde.

No poynt of payne ſhall he ſuſtayne,
But ioy ſouerayne, while he is here;
No froſt ne rayne there ſhall diſtayne
His face by payne, ne hurt his chere.

He ſhall his head caſt to no drede
To get the mede[3] and lawde of warre;
Nor yet have nede for to take hede,
How battayles ſpede, but ſtande a farre.

Nor yet be bounde to care the ſounde
Of man or grounde, or trompet ſhrill,
Strokes that redound ſhall not confounde,
Nor his minde wounde, but if he will, &c.[4]

All ancient ſatirical writings, even thoſe of an inferior caſt, have their merit, and deſerve attention, as they tranſmit pictures of familiar manners, and preſerve popular cuſtoms. In this light, at leaſt,

[1] [See *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, ii. 315.]
[2] fol. 2.
[3] *meed;* reward.
[4] fol. 241-2.

Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, which is a general ſatire on the times, will be found entertaining. Nor muſt it be denied that his language is more cultivated than that of many of his cotemporaries, and that he contributed his ſhare to the improvement of the Engliſh phraſeology. His author, Sebaſtian Brandt, appears to have been a man of univerſal erudition; and his work, for the moſt part, is a tiſſue of citations from the ancient poets and hiſtorians.

[In 1517, Henry Watſon, the compiler of the old romance of *Valentine and Orſon*, produced a proſe verſion of Locher's Latin, and it came from the preſs of Wynkyn de Worde in 1518. The tranſlator ſays "that this booke hathe ben made in Almayne language/ and out of Almayne it was tranſlated into Latyne by mayſter Jaques Locher/ and out of Latyn in to rethoryke Frenſshe." He further informs us that he thought that a proſe verſion would be more acceptable than a metrical one, and that he had executed the taſk at the requeſt of his worſhipful maſter Wynken de Worde, through the "enticement" and exhortation of the Counteſs of Richmond and Derby.]

Barclay's other pieces are the *Mirror of Good Manners*, and five *Eclogues*. He alſo wrote: 1. *The figure of our Mother holy church oppreſſed by the French king*, [known at preſent only from Maunſell's *Catalogue*.] 2. *Againſt Skelton*, [which is mentioned by Bale, but is not otherwiſe traceable.[1]] 3. *The Lives of St. Catharine, St. Margaret, and St. Etheldred.* 4. *The Life of S. George*, from Mantuan: dedicated to N. Weſt, biſhop of Ely, and written while our author was a monk of Ely. 5. [*The Introductory to wryte and pronoynce French*, which will occur again.] 6. *The famous cronycle of the warre which/ the Romaynes had agaynſt Jugurth vſurper of the kyngdome of Numidy: which cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowed Salluſt.* And *tranſlated into englyſshe by Syr Alexander Barclay, preeſt at comaundment of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke.* The Latin and Engliſh are printed together. The Latin is dedicated to Veſey, biſhop of Exeter, and dated "ex Cellula Hatfeld regis [*i.e.* King's Hatfield, Hertfordſhire] iii. id. Novemb." A new edition, without the Latin and the two dedications, was printed in 1557. 7. *Orationes variæ.* 8. *De fide Orthodoxa.*

The *Mirror* is a tranſlation from a Latin elegiac poem, written in the year 1516 by Dominicus Mancinus, *De quatuor Virtutibus.* It is in the ballad ſtanza.[2] Our tranſlator, as appears by the addreſs prefixed, had been requeſted by Sir Giles Alyngton to abridge or modernize Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis.* But the poet declined this undertaking as unſuitable to his age, infirmities and profeſſion, and choſe rather to oblige his patron with a grave ſyſtem of ethics. It is

[1] ["Bale mentions, among the writings of Alexander Barclay, a piece 'againſt Skelton.' It has not come down to us, but the extant works of Barclay bear teſtimony to the hearty diſlike with which he regarded our author."—*Dyce.*]

[2] [It was printed ſeparately by R. Pynſon, without date, folio, and is included in the ed. of the *Ship of Fools*, 1570.]

certain that he made a prudent choice. The performance ſhows how little qualified he was to correct Gower. [He was not, however, the only renderer into our Engliſh tongue of the treatiſe on the Virtues; for W. de Worde printed, in or about 1518, a different tranſlation with the original Latin of Mancinus. Of a ſtill later verſion we ſhall ſpeak in another place.]

Our author's *Eclogues*, I believe, are the firſt that appeared in the Engliſh language.[1] They are, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's,[2] of the moral and ſatirical kind, and contain but few touches of rural deſcription and bucolic imagery. They ſeem to have been written about the year 1514.[3] The three firſt are paraphraſed, with very large additions, from the *Miſeriæ Curialium* of Eneas Sylvius,[4] and treat of the *Miſeryes of Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall.* The fourth (in which is introduced a long poem in ſtanzas, called the *Towre of vertue and honour*)[5] treats *of the behaviour of Riche men agaynſt Poetes.* The fifth, *of the diſputation of Citizens and men of the Countrey.* Theſe paſtorals, if they deſerve the name, contain many alluſions to the times. The poet is prolix in his praiſes of Alcock, biſhop of Ely, and founder of Jeſus College in Cambridge. This very learned and munificent prelate deſervedly poſſeſſed ſome of the higheſt dignities in church and ſtate. He was appointed Biſhop of Ely in 1486. He died at Wiſbeach in 1501.[6] Roſſe ſays that he was tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward V., but was removed by the king's uncle, Richard. Roſſe, I think, is the only hiſtorian who records this anecdote."[7]

Yes ſince his dayes a cocke was in the fen,[8]
I knowe his voyce among a thouſande men:
He taught, he preached, he mended euery wrong;
But, Coridon, alas no good thing bideth long.

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[1] [The firſt four were printed by R. Pynſon, without date, 4to, with woodcuts; the fifth, *Of the Cytezen and Vplondiſhman*, came from W. de Worde's preſs, alſo without date, 4to. There are later editions.]

[2] Whom he mentions, ſpeaking of Egloges. *Eglog.* 1, *Prol.*

"And in like maner nowe lately in our dayes,
Hath other Poetes attempted the ſame wayes:
As the moſte famous Baptiſt Mantuan
The beſt of that ſort ſince Poetes firſt began,
And Frauncis Petrarke alſo in Italy," &c.

[3] Becauſe he praiſes "noble Henry which now departed late." Afterwards he falls into a long panegyric on his ſucceſſor Henry VIII. *Eglog.* i. As he does in the *Ship of Fooles*, fol. 205, a, where he ſays:

"This noble prince beginneth vertuouſly
By iuſtice and pitie his realme to maynteyne."

He then wiſhes he may retake Jeruſalem from the Turks, and compares him to Hercules, Achilles, &c.

[4] That is, Pius II., who died in 1464. This piece is among his *Epiſtles*, ſome of which are called tracts. *Epiſt.* clvi.

[5] It is properly an Elegy on the death of the Duke of Norfolk, lord high admiral.

[6] See Whart. *Angl. Sacr.* i. 675, 801, 381.

[7] *Hiſt. Reg. Angl.* p. 212, edit. Hearn.

[8] The iſle of Ely.

He all was a cocke,[1] he wakened vs from slepe,
And while we slumbred, he did our foldes kepe.
No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood,
Coulde hurte our fouldes, his watching was so good.
The hungry wolues, which that time did abounde,
What time he crowed,[2] abashed at the sounde.
This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe,
Than is a lion abashed of an oxe.
When he went, faded the floure of al the fen;
I boldly dare sweare this cocke trode neuer hen![3]

Alcock, while living, erected a beautiful sepulchral chapel in his cathedral, still remaining, but defaced. To which the shepherd alludes in the lines that follow:

This was a father of thinges pastorall,
And that well sheweth his Church cathedrall.
There was I lately about the middell of May:
Coridon, his Church is twenty sith more gay
Then all the Churches betwene the same and Kent;
There sawe I his tome and Chapell excellent.—
Our parishe Church is but a dongeon
To that gay Churche in comparison.—
When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side, &c.[4]

In another place he thus represents the general lamentation for the

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[1] Alcock.

[2] Among Wren's MSS. Collections (Registr. parv. Consistorii Elienſis, called the *Black Book*) the following curious memorial, concerning a long sermon preached by Alcock at Saint Mary's in Cambridge, occurs: "1. Alcock, divina gratia episcopus Elienſis, prima die dominica, 1488, bonum et blandum sermonem prædicavit in ecclesia B. Mariæ Cantabrig. qui incepit in hora prima post meridiem et duravit in horam tertiam et ultra." He sometimes, and even in the episcopal character, condescended to sport with his own name. He published an address to the clergy assembled at Barnwell, under the title of *Galli cantus ad confratres suos curatos in synodo apud Barnwell*, 25 Sept. 1498; to which is annexed his Constitution for celebrating certain feasts in his diocese, printed by Pinson, 1498. In the beginning is the figure of the bishop preaching to his clergy, with two cocks on each side; and there is a cock in the first page. By the way, Alcock wrote many other pieces. *The Hill of Perfection*, from the Latin, 1497, 4to; again, 1501, 4to. *Spousage of a Virgin to Christ*, 1486. *Homeliæ vulgares. Meditationes piæ.* A fragment of a [translation of] the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, in English verse, is supposed to be by Bishop Alcock, MSS. Harl. 1704, 4, fol. 13. [But Sir F. Madden has pointed out to the present editor that this is the same which is found in MS. Sloane 1853, and MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.20, and is assigned to Thomas Brampton. It was edited for the Percy Society by Mr. W. H. Black in 1842. Warton also wrongly attributed to Alcock the *Abbaye of the Holy Ghost*, a copy of which is in the Vernon MS. written before he was born. Sir F. Madden remarks: Another copy of the piece is in the Thornton MS. in the library of Lincoln Cathedral, A. 1. 17, of the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. Furnivall notes incidentally: "The Porkington MS. No. 20, belonging to Mr. Ormsby Gore, contains a translation of the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, beginning,

'Lord, in thyn yre vp take me nouȝt,
And in thyn yre blame not me—'

This MS. may be about A. D. 1400. MS. No. 19, in the same collection, a translation in prose of the *Horologium Sapientiæ*, is dated May 31, 1419."]

[3] [Sign. A iij, *recto*. The *butchers dogges wood* may be an oblique allusion to Wolsey.]

[4] *Eglog.* i. signat. A iii, *recto*.

death of this worthy prelate: and he rises above himself in describing the sympathy of the towers, arches, vaults, and images of Ely Monastery:

> The pretie palace by him made in the fen,[1]
> The maides, widowes, the wiues, and the men,
> With deadly dolour were pearsed to the hearte,
> When death constrayned this shepheard to departe.
> Corne, grasse, and fieldes, mourned for wo and payne,
> For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne.
> The pleasaunt floures for wo faded eche one.—
> The okes, elmes, and euery sorte of dere[2]
> Shronke vnder shadowes, abating all their chere.
> The mightie walles of Ely monastery,
> The stones, rockes, and towres semblably,
> The marble pillers and images echeone,
> Swet all for sorowe, when this good cocke was gone, &c.[3]

It should be remembered that these pastorals were probably written while our poet was a monk of Ely; and although Alcock was then dead, yet the memory of his munificence and piety was recent in the monastery.[4]

Speaking of the dignity and antiquity of shepherds, and particularly of Christ at his birth being first seen by shepherds, he seems to describe some large and splendid picture of the Nativity painted on the walls of Ely cathedral:

> I sawe them my selfe well paynted on the wall,
> Late gasing upon our Churche Cathedrall:
> I sawe great wethers in picture and small lambes,
> Daunsing, some sleeping, some sucking of their dams,
> And some on the grounde me semed lying still:
> Then sawe I horsemen at pendant of an hill.[5]

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[1] He rebuilt, or greatly improved, the episcopal palace at Ely.

[2] beasts, quadrupeds of all kinds. So in the romance of *Syr Bevis*, signat. F iii:

> "Rattes and myce and such smal dere
> Was his meate that seven yere."

Whence Shakespeare took, as Dr. Percy has observed, the well-known distich of the madman in *King Lear*, act iii. sc. 4:

> "But mice and rats, and such small deer
> Have been Tom's food for seven long year."

[Dyce's edit. 1868, vii. 302.] It cannot now be doubted, that Shakespeare in this passage wrote *deer*, instead of *geer* or *cheer*, which have been conjecturally substituted by his commentators.

[3] *Egl.* iii.

[4] He also compliments Alcock's predecessor, Morton, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury: not without an allusion to his troubles, and restoration to favour, under Richard III. and Henry VII. *Egl.* iii. [sign. C ij, *verso*.]

> "And shepheard Morton, when he durst not appeare,
> Howe his olde servauntes were carefull of his chere;
> In payne and pleasour they kept fidelitie,
> Till grace agayne gaue him authoritie, &c."

And again, *Egl.* iiii. [sign. C v, *recto*]:

> "Micene [Mecenas] and Morton be dead and gone certayne."

The *Dean of Powles*, I suppose Dean Colet, is celebrated as a preacher, *ibid.* As is, "The olde friar that wonned in Greenwich." *Egl.* v.

[5] *Egl.* v. [sign. D iv, *recto*. A portion of this passage has already been cited (p. 119, *supr.*), and has therefore not been repeated.]

Virgil's poems are thus characteriſed in ſome of the beſt-turned lines we find in theſe paſtorals:

> He ſonge of fieldes and tilling of the grounde,
> Of ſhepe and oxen, and battayle did he ſounde;
> So ſhrill he ſounded in termes eloquent
> I trowe his tunes went to the firmament.[1]

He gives us the following idea of the ſports, ſpectacles and pleaſures of his age:

> Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,
> Or goodly knightes in pleaſaunt apparayle,
> Or ſturdie ſouldiers in bright harnes and male.[2]—
> Some glad is to ſee theſe Ladies beauteous,
> Goodly appoynted in clothing ſumpteous:
> A number of people appoynted in like wiſe[3]
> In coſtly clothing after the neweſt giſe;
> Sportes, diſgiſing,[4] fayre courſers mount and praunce,
> Or goodly ladies and knightes ſing and daunce:
> To ſee fayre houſes and curious picture[s],
> Or pleaſaunt hanging[5] or ſumpteous veſture,
> Of ſilke, of purpure, or golde moſte orient,
> And other clothing diuers and excellent:
> Hye curious buildinges or palaces royall,
> Or Chapels, temples fayre and ſubſtanciall,
> Images grauen or vaultes curious;[6]
> Gardeyns and medowes, or place[7] delicious,
> Foreſtes and parkes well furniſhed with dere,
> Cold pleaſaunt ſtreames or welles fayre and clere,
> Curious cundites, &c.[8]

I ſhall here throw together ſome traits in theſe Eclogues of the common cuſtoms and manners of the times. A ſhepherd, after mentioning his ſkill in ſhooting birds with a bow, ſays:

> No ſhepheard throweth the axeltree ſo farre.[9]

A gallant is thus deſcribed:

> For women vſe to loue them moſte of all,
> Which boldly boſteth, or that can ſing and iet;
> Whiche hath the maiſtrey ofte time in tournament,
> Or that can gambauld, or daunce feat and gent.[10]

The following ſorts of wine are recited:

> As Muſcadell, Caprike, Romney, and Maluey,
> From Gene brought, from Grece or Hungary.[11]

As are the dainties of the table. A ſhepherd at court muſt not think to eat

> Swanne, nor heron,
> Curlewe, nor crane.[12]

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[1] *Egl.* iv. [ſign. C iv, *verſo*, col. 2.]
[2] armour and coats of mail.
[3] apparelled in uniform.
[4] maſques, &c.
[5] tapeſtry.
[6] roofs, curiouſly vaulted.
[7] houſes, ſeats.
[8] *Egl.* ii. [ſign. B i, *recto*, col. 1.]
[9] *Ibid.* [ſign. A ij, *recto*, col. 2, edit. *ut ſupr.*]
[10] *Ibid.* ii. [ſign. B ij, *recto*, col. 1.]
[11] *Ibid.* i; [ſign. B iii, *recto*, col. 1.]
[12] *Ibid.*

Again:

What fiſhe is of ſauor ſwete and delicious,—
Roſted or ſodden in ſwete hearbes or wine;
Or fried in oyle, moſte ſaporous and fine.—
The paſties of a hart.
The crane, the feſant, the pecocke and curlewe,
The partriche, plouer, bitter, and heronſewe—
Seaſoned ſo well in licour redolent,
That the hall is full of pleaſaunt ſmell and ſent.[1]

At a feaſt at court:

Slowe be the ſeruers in ſeruing in alway,
But ſwift be they after, taking thy meate away:
A ſpeciall cuſtome is vſed them amonge,
No good diſh to ſuffer on borde to be longe:
If the diſhe be pleaſaunt, eyther fleſhe or fiſhe,
Ten handes at once ſwarme in the diſhe:
And if it be fleſh, ten kniues ſhall thou ſee
Mangling the fleſh, and in the platter flee:
To put there thy handes is perill without fayle,
Without a gauntlet or els a gloue of mayle.[2]

The two laſt lines remind us of a ſaying of Quin, who declared it was not ſafe to ſit down to a turtle-feaſt in one of the city-halls, without a baſket-hilted knife and fork. Not that I ſuppoſe Quin borrowed his *bons-mots* from black-letter books.

The following lines point out ſome of the feſtive tales of our anceſtors:

Yet would I gladly heare ſome mery fit
Of mayde Marian, or els of Robin hood;
Or Bentleyes ale which chafeth well the blood,
Of perre of Norwich, or ſauce of Wilberton,
Or buckiſh Joly well-ſtuffed as a ton.[3]

He mentions "Bentley's Ale," which "maketh me to winke;"[4] and ſome of our ancient domeſtic paſtimes and amuſements are recorded:

Then is it pleaſure the yonge maydens amonge
To watche by the fire the winters nightes long:—
And in the aſhes ſome playes for to marke,
To couer wardens [pears] for fault of other warke:
To toſte white ſheuers, and to make prophitroles;
And aftir talking oft time to fill the bowles, &c.[5]

He mentions ſome muſical inſtruments:

Methinkes no mirth is ſcant,
Where no rejoyſing of minſtrelſie doth want:
The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delectable, &c.[6]

And the mercantile commodities of different countries and cities:

Englande hath cloth, Burdeux hath ſtore of wine,
Cornewall hath tinne, and lymſter wools fine.
London hath ſcarlet, and Briſtowe pleaſaunt red, &c.[7]

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[1] *Ibid.* [edit. *ut ſupr.* ſign. B iii, *verſo.*]
[2] *Ibid.* [ſign. B iv, col. 2.]
[3] *Ibid.* iv. [ſign. C vi, *recto*, col. 1.]
[4] *Ibid.* ii.
[5] *Ibid.* iv. [ſign. C iv, *verſo*, col. 2.]
[6] *Ibid.* ii.
[7] *Ibid.* iv. [ſign. C iv, *verſo.*]

Of ſongs at feaſts:

> When your fat diſhes ſmoke hote vpon your table,
> Then lavde ye ſonges and balades magnifie,
> If they be mery, or written craftely,
> Ye clappe your handes and to the making harke,
> And one ſay to other, lo here a proper warke.[1]

He ſays that minſtrels and ſingers are highly favoured at court, eſpecially thoſe of the French *giſe*.[2] Alſo jugglers and pipers.[3]

We have before ſeen, that our author and Skelton were rivals. He alludes to Skelton, who had been laureated at Oxford, in the following lines:

> Then is he decked as Poete laureate,
> When ſtinking Thais made him her graduate:—
> If they have ſmelled the artes triuiall,
> They count them Poetes hye and heroicall.[4]

The *Tower of Vertue and Honour*, introduced as a ſong of one of the ſhepherds into theſe paſtorals, exhibits no very maſterly ſtrokes of a ſublime and inventive fancy. It has much of the trite imagery uſually applied in the fabrication of theſe ideal edifices. It, however, ſhows our author in a new walk of poetry. This magnificent tower or caſtle is built on inacceſſible cliffs of flint: the walls are of gold, bright as the ſun, and decorated with "olde hiſtoryes and pictures manyfolde:" the turrets are beautifully ſhaped. Among its heroic inhabitants are Henry VIII., Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Shrewſbury. Labour is the porter at the gate, and Virtue governs the houſe. Labour is thus pictured, with ſome degree of ſpirit:

> Fearfull is labour without fauour at all,
> Dreadful of viſage, a monſter intreatable,
> Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall;
> To ſome men his looke is halfe intollerable,
> His ſhoulders large, for burthen ſtrong and able,
> His bodie briſtled, his necke mightie and ſtiffe;
> By ſturdie ſenewes, his ioyntes ſtronge and ſtable,
> Like marble ſtones his handes be as ſtiffe.
>
> Here muſt man vanquiſhe the dragon of Cadmus,
> Againſt the Chimer here ſtoutly muſt he fight,
> Here muſt he vanquiſh the fearefull Pegaſus,
> For the golden flece here muſt he ſhewe his might:
> If labour gaynſay, he can nothing be right,
> This monſter labour oft chaungeth his figure,
> Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight,
> Playnely he ſeemeth, thus changeth his nature:
>
> Like as Protheus ofte chaunged his ſtature.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Under his browes he dreadfully doth loure
> With gliſtering eyen, and ſide-dependaunt beard,
> For thirſt and hunger alway his chere is ſoure,
> His horned forehead doth make faynt heartes feard.

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[1] *Elg.* iv. [ſign. C iv, *verſo*.] [2] *Ibid.* ii. [3] *Ibid.* iv.
[4] *Ibid.* iv. [ſign. C v, *verſo*, col. 2.]

Alway he drinketh, and yet alway is drye,
The ſweat diſtilling with droppes aboundaunt, &c.

The poet adds that, when the noble Howard had long boldly contended with this hideous monſter, had broken the bars and doors of the caſtle, had bound the porter, and was now preparing to aſcend the tower of Virtue and Honour, Fortune and Death appeared, and interrupted his progreſs.[1]

The earlieſt modern Latin Bucolics are thoſe of Petrarch, in number twelve, written about 1350.[2] The Eclogues of Mantuan, our author's model, appeared about 1400, and were followed by many others. Their number multiplied ſo ſoon, that a collection of thirty-eight modern bucolic poets in Latin was printed at Baſle in 1546.[3] Theſe writers judged this indirect and diſguiſed mode of dialogue, conſiſting of ſimple characters which ſpoke freely and plainly, the moſt ſafe and convenient vehicle for abuſing the corruptions of the church.

[It may perhaps be added here, that this was the character of the Paſtoral ſchool of poetry long before Petrarch's time, for the Eclogues of Virgil are, in ſeveral inſtances, mere apologues, and ſo it was, later on, with thoſe of Browne, author of the *Shepheards Pipe*. The political verſes printed by Bentley, in his *Excerpta Hiſtorica*, 1833, are equally in the nature of apologues, and paint real perſons and events under feigned names. The ſame obſervation applies to the *Parlyament of Byrdes*, Drayton's *Owl*, and other pieces which might be ſpecified.]

Mantuan became ſo popular, as to acquire the eſtimation of a claſſic, and to be taught in ſchools. Nothing better proves the reputation in which this writer was held, than a ſpeech of Shakeſpeare's pedant, the pedagogue Holofernes:

Fauſte precor, gelida quando
Pecus omne ſub umbrâ,[4]

and ſo forth. Ah, good old Mantuan! I may ſpeak of thee, as the traveller doth of Venice,

Vinegia, Vinegia chi non te vede,
Ei non te pregia.

Old Mantuan! Old Mantuan! Who underſtandeth thee not loves thee not."[5] But although Barclay copies Mantuan, the recent and ſeparate publication in England of Virgil's bucolics by Wynkyn de Worde[6] might partly ſuggeſt the new idea of this kind of poetry.

With what avidity the Italian and French poets, in their reſpective

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[1] *Egl.* iv.

[2] *Bucolicorum Eclogæ* xii.

[3] [*Bucolicorum auctores* xxxviii. *quotquot à Virgilii ætate*, &c. See Brunet, laſt edit. i. 1373.]

[4] One of Mantuan's lines. Farnaby, in his Preface to Martial, ſays that *Fauſte precor gelida* was too often preferred to *Arma virumque cano*. Mantuan was three times printed in England before the year 1600. [See Herbert's edit. of Ames for the full and correct titles, ii. 941, 1268.]

[5] *Love's Lab. L.* act iv. ſc. 3 [edit. *ut ſupr.* ii. 195.]

[6] [W. de Worde appears to have printed this pretty often; but ſome of the editions cited by Ames and others are doubtful.]

languages, entered into this ſpecies of compoſition, when the rage of Latin verſification had ſubſided, and for the purpoſes above mentioned, is an inquiry reſerved for a future period. I ſhall only add here, that before the cloſe of the fifteenth century, Virgil's bucolics were tranſlated into Italian[1] by Bernardo Pulci, Foſſa de Cremona, [Hieronimo] Benivieni, and [Jacopo] Fiorino [de] Buoninſegni.

[We muſt not neglect to notice the work, which of all thoſe which have come down to us from Barclay's pen, is beſt entitled, perhaps, to the merit of originality. This book was called *The Introductory to wryte and pronounce French compyled by Alexander Barclay compendiouſly at the commaũdemẽt of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke*. The particulars, which precede, are above a ſhield of arms, exhibiting a lion rampant holding another ſhield with a lion on it, and beneath the woodcut occurs: "R. Coplande to the whyte lyone, Ballade [in French]." This educational treatiſe was printed by Copland in 1521, and occupies only 30 folio pages. It is the tract to which Palſgrave refers in his *Eclairciſſement de la Langue Françoiſe*, 1530.[2]

Barclay was employed by Henry VIII. to compoſe the impreſſes, or ſome of them, which were uſed at the *Field of Cloth of Gold* in 1520.[3] Barclay tranſlated the Eclogues of Æneas Sylvius into Engliſh; but it does not appear who was the renderer into our language of that writer's ſomewhat tragical ſtory of *Lucrece and Eurialus*, which went through at leaſt three editions between 1549 and 1567, and which affords a curious glimpſe of the ſtate of Italian manners and morals in the fifteenth century.

Another writer, belonging to this period, was George Cavendiſh, gentleman-uſher to Cardinal Wolſey, author of his Life, and alſo of certain Metrical Viſions, ſomewhat on the plan of the *Mirror for Magiſtrates*. Of the latter ſome ſpecimens are furniſhed elſewhere:[4] they are not remarkable for poetical elegance. Cavendiſh's *Life of Wolſey* itſelf is a work too well known to require further notice.]

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[1] Viz. La Bucolica di Virgilio per el clariſſimo poeta frate Evangeliſta Foſſa de Cremona. Venezia, 1494, 4to. But thirteen years earlier we find *la Bucolica* di Virgilio *tradotta da Bernardo Pulci con le bucoliche di Fr. de arſochis*, &c. Firenze, 1481. A dedication is prefixed, by which it appears that Buoninſegni wrote a *Piſcatory Eclogue*, the firſt ever written in Italy, in the year 1468.

[2] ["John Palſgrave," notes Warton himſelf, "a polite ſcholar and an eminent preceptor of the French language about the reign of Henry VIII., and one of the firſt who publiſhed in Engliſh a grammar or ſyſtem of rules for teaching that language."]

[3] [Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 1ſt S. i. 163.]

[4] [*Letters of Royal and Illuſtr. Ladies*, iii. 91, 273.]

SECTION XXIX.

IT is not the plan of this work to comprehend the Scotiſh poetry. But when I conſider the cloſe and national connection between England and Scotland in the progreſs of manners and literature, I am ſenſible I ſhould be guilty of a partial and defective repreſentation of the poetry of the former, were I to omit in my ſeries a few Scotiſh writers, who have adorned the preſent period with a degree of ſentiment and ſpirit, a command of phraſeology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any Engliſh poet ſince Chaucer and Lydgate: more eſpecially as they have left ſtriking ſpecimens of allegorical invention, a ſpecies of compoſition which appears to have been for ſome time almoſt totally extinguiſhed in England.

The firſt I ſhall mention is William Dunbar, a native of Salton in Eaſt Lothian, about the year [1460].[1] His moſt celebrated poems are *The Thiſtle and the Roſe* and *The Golden Terge*.

The *Thiſtle and the Roſe* was occaſioned by the marriage of James IV., King of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII., King of England: an event, in which the whole future political ſtate of both nations was vitally intereſted, and which ultimately produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms. It was finiſhed on the ninth day of May in the year 1503, nearly three months before the arrival of the queen in Scotland: whoſe progreſs from Richmond to Edinburgh was attended with a greater magnificence of parade, proceſſions, and ſpectacles, than I ever remember to have ſeen on any ſimilar occaſion.[2] It is worthy of particular notice, that during this expedition there was in the magnificent ſuite of the princeſs a company of players, under the direction of one John Ingliſh, who is ſometimes called Johannes. "Amonge the ſaide lordes and the qweene was in order, Johannes and his companye, the minſtrells of muſicke," &c.[3] In the midſt of a moſt ſplendid proceſſion, the princeſs rode on horſe-back behind the king into the city of Edinburgh.[4] Afterwards the ceremonies of this ſtately marriage are deſcribed; which yet is not equal, in magnificence and expenſe, to that of Richard II. with Iſabel of France at Calais in 1397. This laſt-mentioned marriage is re-

[1] ["William Dunbar was born about the middle of the fifteenth century. The preciſe date of his birth has not been aſcertained, but, from circumſtances to be afterwards ſtated, we may with certainty place it not later than the year 1460."—*Laing*. It may be added that all the extracts from Dunbar, derived by Warton and his editors from inferior texts, have been collated with Mr. Laing's ed. 1834, 2 vols. 8vo.]

[2] See a memoir, cited above, in Leland's *Coll.* tom. iii. *Append.* edit. 1770, p. 265.

[3] P. 267. See alſo, pp. 299, 300, 280, 289.

[4] P. 287.

corded with the moſt minute circumſtances, the dreſſes of the king and the new queen, the names of the French and Engliſh nobility who attended, the preſents, one of which is a collar of gold ſtudded with jewels and worth three thouſand pounds, given on both ſides, the banquets, entertainments, and a variety of other curious particulars, in five large vellum pages, in an ancient Regiſter of Merton priory in Surrey, in old French.[1] Froiſſart, who is moſt commonly prolix in deſcribing pompous ceremonies, might have greatly enriched his account of the ſame royal wedding from this valuable and authentic record.[2]

It may be pertinent to premiſe, that Margaret was a ſingular patroneſs of the Scotiſh poetry, now beginning to flouriſh. Her bounty is thus celebrated by Stewart of Lorne, in a Scotiſh poem, called *Lerges of this New ȝeir Day*, written in the year 1527:

Grit God relief[3] Margaret our quene!
For and ſcho war as ſcho hes bene[4]
Scho wald be lerger of lufray[5]
Then all the laif that I of mene,[6]
For lerges[7] of this new-yeir day.[8]

Dunbar's *Thiſtle and Roſe* is opened with the following ſtanzas, which are remarkable for their deſcriptive and picturesque beauties:

Quhen[9] Merch wes with variand windis paſt,
And Appryll had with hir ſilver ſchouris
Tane leif[10] at Nature, with ane orient blaſt,
And luſty May, that muddir[11] is of flouris,
Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris,[12]
Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
Quhois armony to heir it wes delyt:

In bed at morrow ſleiping as I lay,
Me thocht Aurora, with hir criſtall ene

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[1] MSS. Laud, E. 54, fol. 105, b. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

[2] See his *Cron.* tom. iv. p. 226, ch. 78. B. *penult.* Paris, 1574. Or lord Berners's Tranſlation, vol. ii. f. 275, cap. ccxvi. edit. 1523.

[3] great God help, &c. [4] If ſhe continues to do as ſhe has done.

[5] bounty. Fr. l'Offre. [6] any other I could ſpeak of.

[7] largeſs, bounty. [8] St. x. [9] when. *Qu* has the force of *w*.

[10] taken leave. [11] mother.

[12] Mattin oriſons. From *Horæ* in the miſſal. So again in the *Golden Terge*, St. ii. Where he alſo calls the birds the "chapel-clarkes" of Venus, St. iii. In the *Court of Love*, Chaucer introduces the birds ſinging a maſs in honour of May. Morris's *Chaucer*, vol. iv. p. 47, v. 1352, *ſeq.*

"On May day, when the larke began to ryſe,
To matens wente the luſty nightingale."

He begins the ſervice with *Domine labia.* The eagle ſings the *Venite.* The popinjay *Cœli enarrant.* The peacock *Dominus regnavit.* The owl *Benedicite.* The *Te Deum* is converted into *Te Deum Amoris*, and ſung by the thruſh, &c. &c. Skelton, in the *Book of Philip Sparrow*, ridicules the miſſal, in ſuppoſing various parts of it to be ſung by birds. Much the ſame ſort of fiction occurs in [*the Armonye of Byrdes*, a poem printed *circâ* 1550, and in] Sir David Lindſay's *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, edit. *ut infr.* ſignat. B iii:

"Suppoſe the geis and hennis ſuld cry alarum,
And we ſall ſerve *ſecundum uſum Sarum*," &c.

In at the window lukit[1] by the day,
And halſit[2] me with viſage paill and grene;
On quhois hand a lark ſang, fro the ſplene,[3]
"Awalk, luvaris,[4] out of your ſlomering,[5]
Se how the luſty morrow dois up ſpring!"

Me thocht freſche May befoir my bed up ſtude,
In weid[6] depaynt of mony diverſs hew,
Sober, benyng, and full of manſuetude,
In brycht atteir of flouris forgit new,[7]
Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, broun, and blew,
Balmit in dew, and gilt with Phebus' bemys;
Quhyll al the houſe illumynit of hir lemys.[8]

May then rebukes the poet for not riſing early, according to his annual cuſtom, to celebrate the approach of the ſpring; eſpecially as the lark has now announced the dawn of day, and his heart in former years had always

——— glaid and bliſsful bene
Sangis[9] to mak undir the levis grene.[10]

The poet replies, that the ſpring of the preſent year was unpromiſing and ungenial; unattended with the uſual ſong of birds and ſerenity of ſky: and that ſtorms and ſhowers, and the loud blaſts of the horn of lord Eolus, had uſurped her mild dominion, and hitherto prevented him from wandering at leiſure under the vernal branches. May rejects his excuſe, and with a ſmile of majeſty commands him to ariſe, and to perform his annual homage to the flowers, the birds, and the ſun. They both enter a delicious garden, filled with the richeſt colours and odours. The ſun ſuddenly appears in all his glory, and is thus deſcribed in the luminous language of Lydgate:

The purpour ſone, with tendir bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
Throw goldin ſkyis putting up his heid,
Quhois gilt treſſis ſchone ſo wondir cleir,
That all the world tuke comfort fer and neir.[11]

Immediately the birds, like the morning-ſtars, ſinging together, hail the unuſual appearance of the ſun-ſhine:

And, as the bliſsful ſoune of cherarchy,[12]
The fowlis ſong throw confort of the licht;

---

[1] looked. [2] hailed. [3] with good will. [4] lovers.
[5] ſlumbering. [6] attire.
[7] From Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*, vol. ii. p. 100, v. 69, Morris.

"For brighter was the ſchynyng of hir hewe,
Than in the Tour the noble i-forged newe."

[8] brightneſs. [9] ſongs.
[10] St. iv. See Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, vol. ii. p. 33, v. 183, Morris.

"Sche was ariſen, and al redy dight;
For May wole have no ſloggardye a nyght.
The ſeiſoun priketh every gentil herte,
And maketh him out of his ſleepe ſterte,
And ſeith, 'Arys, and do thin obſervance,'" &c.

[11] St. viii.
[12] The hierarchy. See *Job*, ch. xxxviii. v. 7. The morning-ſtars ſinging together.

The birdis did with oppin vocis cry,
O luvaris ſo, "Away thow dully nycht,
And welcum day that confortis every wicht.
Haill May, haill Flora, haill Aurora ſchene,
Haill princes Nature, haill Venus luvis quene."[1]

Nature is then introduced, iſſuing her interdict, that the progreſs of the ſpring ſhould be no longer interrupted, and that Neptune and Eolus ſhould ceaſe from diſturbing the waters and air:

Dame Nature gaif an inhibitioun thair,
To ferſs Neptunus, and Eolus the bawld,[2]
Nocht to perturb the wattir nor the air;
And that no ſchouris[3] [ſnell] and no blaſtis cawld
Effray ſuld[4] flouris, nor fowlis on the fald;
Scho bad eik Juno goddes of the ſky
That ſcho the hevin ſuld keip amene and dry.[5]

This preparation and ſuſpence are judicious and ingenious; as they give dignity to the ſubject of the poem, awaken our curioſity, and introduce many poetical circumſtances. Nature immediately commands every bird, beaſt, and flower, to appear in her preſence; and, as they had been uſed to do every May-morning, to acknowledge her univerſal ſovereignty. She ſends the roe to bring the beaſts, the ſwallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow[6] to ſummon the flowers. They are aſſembled before her in an inſtant. The lion advances firſt, whoſe figure is drawn with great force and expreſſion:

This awfull beiſt full terrible of cheir,
Perſing of luke, and ſtout of countenance,
Rycht ſtrong of corpis, of faſſoun fair, but feir,[7]
Luſty of ſchaip, lycht of deliverance,
Reid of his cullour as the ruby glance,
On ſeild of gold he ſtude full mychtely
With floure de lycis ſirculit[8] luſtely.[9]

This is an elegant and ingenious mode of blazoning the Scotiſh arms, which are a lion with a border or treſſure, adorned with flower de luces. We ſhould remember, that heraldry was now a ſcience of high importance and eſteem. Nature, lifting up his *cluvis cleir* or ſhining claws, and ſuffering him to reſt on her knee, crowns him with a radiant diadem of precious ſtones, and creates him the king of beaſts: at the ſame time ſhe enjoins him to exerciſe juſtice with mercy, and not to ſuffer his ſubjects of the ſmalleſt ſize or degree to be oppreſſed by thoſe of ſuperior ſtrength and dignity. This part of Nature's charge to the lion is cloſed with the following beautiful ſtroke, which indicates the moral tenderneſs of the poet's heart:

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[1] St. ix. [2] bold. [3] read *Scho u-ris*.
[4] ſhould [affright.] [5] St. x.
[6] The yarrow is *Achillea* or Millefolium, commonly called *Sneeſwort*. There is no reaſon for ſelecting this plant to go on a meſſage to the flowers; but that its name has been ſuppoſed to be derived from *Arrow*, being held a remedy for healing wounds inflicted by that weapon. The poet, to apologiſe for his boldneſs in perſonifying a plant, has added, "full craftely conjurit ſcho." St. xii.
[7] fierce. [8] encircled. [9] St. xiv.

And lat no bowgle with his buſteous[1] hornis
The meik pluch-ox[2] oppreſs for all his pryd,
Bot in the yok go peciable him beſyd.[3]

She next crowns the eagle king of fowls: and ſharpening his talons like darts of ſteel, orders him to govern great and ſmall, the wren or the peacock, with an uniform and equal impartiality. I need not point out to my reader the political leſſons couched under theſe commands. Nature now calls the flowers; and obſerving the thiſtle to be ſurrounded with a buſh of ſpears, and therefore qualified for war, gives him a crown of rubies, and ſays, "In field go forth and fend the laif."[4] The poet continues elegantly to picture other parts of the royal arms; in ordering the thiſtle, who is now king of vegetables, to prefer all herbs or flowers of rare virtue and rich odour: nor ever to permit the nettle to aſſociate with the fleur de lis, nor any ignoble weed to be ranked in competition with the lily. In the next ſtanza, where Nature directs the thiſtle to honour the roſe above all other flowers, excluſively of the heraldic meaning our author with much addreſs inſinuates to King James IV. an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, drawn from the high birth, beauty, and amiable accompliſhments of the royal bride, the Princeſs Margaret. Among the pageants exhibited at Edinburgh in honour of the nuptials, ſhe was complimented with the following curious mixture of claſſical and ſcriptural hiſtory. "Ny to that croſs was a ſcarfawſt [ſcaffold] made, where was repreſented Paris and the three Deeſſes, with Mercure that gaff hym the apyll of gold for to gyffe to the moſt fayre of the Thre, which he gave to Venus. In the ſcarfawſt was alſo repreſented the Salutacion of Gabriell to the Virgyne in ſaying *Ave gratia*, and ſens after [next,] the ſollempnizacion of the very maryage betwix the ſaid Vierge and Joſeph."[5]

Nor hald non udir flour in ſic denty[6]
As the freſche Rois, of cullour reid and quhyt;
For gife thow dois,[7] hurt is thyne honeſty,
Conſiddering that no flour is ſo perfyt,
So full of vertew, pleſans, and delyt,
So ful of blisful angeilike bewty,
Imperiall birth, honour, and dignite.[8]

Nature then addreſſes the roſe whom ſhe calls, "O luſty daughter moſt benyng," and whoſe lineage ſhe exalts above that of the lily. This was a preference of Tudor to Valois. She crowns the roſe with *clarefied* gems, the luſtre of which illumines all the land. The roſe is hailed queen by the flowers. Laſt, her praiſes are ſung by the univerſal chorus of birds, the ſound of which awakens the poet from his delightful dream. The fairy ſcene has vaniſhed, and he calls to the muſe to perpetuate in verſe the wonders of the ſplendid viſion.

Although much fine invention and ſublime fabling are diſplayed in

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[1] boiſterous, ſtrong. [2] plough-ox. [3] St. xvi. [4] defend the reſt.
[5] Leland, *Coll.* iii. Append. p. 289, *ut ſupr.* Not to mention the great impropriety, which they did not perceive, of applying ſuch a part of ſcripture.
[6] *dainty*, price. [7] if thou doeſt. [8] St. xxi.

the allegorical viſions of our old poets, yet this mode of compoſition, by dealing only in imaginary perſonages, and by excluding real characters and human actions, neceſſarily fails in that chief ſource of entertainment which we ſeek in ancient poetry, the repreſentation of ancient manners.

Another general obſervation, immediately reſulting from the ſubject of this poem, may be here added, which illuſtrates the preſent and future ſtate of the Scotiſh poetry. The marriage of a princeſs of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and intercourſe opened between the two courts and kingdoms by ſuch a connection, muſt have greatly contributed to poliſh the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts, of Scotland.

The deſign of Dunbar's *Golden Targe* is to ſhew the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged, over reaſon. The diſcerning reader will obſerve, that the caſt of this poem is tinctured with the morality and imagery of [Chaucer's] *Romaunt of the Roſe*, and the [poem called the *Flower and the Leaf.*][1]

The poet walks forth at the dawn of a bright day. The effects of the riſing ſun on a vernal landſcape, with its accompaniments, are thus delineated in the manner of Lydgate, yet with more ſtrength, diſtinctneſs, and exuberance of ornament:

Bryght as the ſtern of day begouth to ſchyne,
Quhen gone to bed war Veſper and Lucyne,
I raiſe, and by a roſere[2] did me reſt:
Up ſprang the goldyn candill matutyne,
With cleir depurit[3] bemes criſtallyne,
Glading the mery foulis in thair neſt:
Or Phebus wes in purpur cape[4] reveſt,
Up raiſe the lark, the hevenis menſtrale fyne,[5]
In May in till a morow myrthfulleſt.

Full angellike thir birdis ſang thair houris,
Within their courtyns[6] grene, in to thair bouris
Apparalit quhite and reyd wyth blomes ſuete:
Anamalit wes the feyld wyth all colouris,
The perly droppis ſchuke in ſilvir ſchouris,[7]
Quhill all in balme did branch and levis flete
To part fra Phebus, did Aurora grete,

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[1] ["*The Golden Targe* is moral, and ſo are many of his ſmaller pieces; but humour, deſcription, allegory, great poetical genius, and a vaſt wealth of words, all unite to form the complexion of Dunbar's poetry."—*Pinkerton.* "Mr. Warton, who has beſtowed great commendations on Dunbar, obſerves that his genius is 'peculiarly of a moral and didactic caſt;' and it is certainly in ſuch pieces that he is moſt confeſſedly ſuperior to all who preceded, and to nearly all who have followed him; but his ſatires, his allegorical and deſcriptive poetry, and his tales, are all admirable, and full of fancy and originality."—*G. Ellis.*]

[2] roſe-tree. [3] purified.

[4] cape. Ere Phebus was dreſſed in his purple robe.

[5] then. [The printed copies read *fyne*, inſtead of *ſyne*, as originally given by Warton.—*Price.*]

[6] curtains.

[7] The pearled drops fell from the trees like ſilver ſhowers.

Hir criſtall teiris I ſaw hyng on the flouris,
Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his hete.

For mirth of May, wyth ſkippis and wyth hoppis,
The birdis ſang upon the tender croppis,[1]
With curious notis, as Venus chapell clerkis:
The roſis yong, new ſpreding of thair knoppis,[2]
War ponderit[3] brycht with hevinly berial droppis,
Throu bemes reid, birnyng as ruby ſperkis;
The ſkyes rang for ſchoutyng of the larkis,
The purpur hevin oure ſkailit in ſilvir ſloppis[4]
Ouregilt the treis, branchis, leivis and barkis.

Doun throu the ryce[5] a rivyr ran wyth ſtremys
So luſtily agayn the lykand[6] lemys,
That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht,
Quhilk ſchadouit all about wyth twynkling glemis;[7]
The bewis[8] baithit war in ſecund bemis,
Throu the reflex of Phebus viſage brycht
On every ſide the hegeis raiſe on hicht:[9]
The bank was grene, the broke wes ful of bremys,
The ſtanneris cleir as ſternis in froſty nycht.

The criſtall air, the ſapher firmament,
The ruby ſkyes of the orient,
Keſt[10] berial bemes on emerant bewis grene,
The roſy garth,[11] depaynt and redolent,
With purpur, azure, gold, and goulis[12] gent,
Arayed wes by dame Flora the quene,
So nobily, that joy wes for to ſene:
The roch,[13] agayn the ryvir reſplendent,
As low enlumynit all the leves ſchene.[14]

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[1] branches. [2] knobs; buds.

[3] beſprinkled. An heraldic term. See *Obſervations on the Fairy Queen*, ii. p. 158, *ſeq.*

[4] covered with ſtreaks, *ſlips*, of ſilver.

[5] through the buſhes, the trees. Rice, or *Ris*, is properly a long branch. This word is ſtill uſed in the weſt of England. Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*, v. 137:

"And therupon he had a gay ſurplys,
As whyt as is the bloſme upon the rys."

So Alexander Scot:

"Welcum oure rubent rois vpoun þe *ryce*."

[A. Scot's poems, edit. Laing, p. 5.] So alſo Lydgate, in his poem called *London Lickpenny* (MSS. Harl. 367):

"Hot peſcode own [one] began to crye,
Straberys rype, and cherryes in the ryſe."

That is, as he paſſed through London ſtreets, they cried, hot peas, ripe ſtrawberries, and cherries on a bough or twig.

[6] pleaſant.

[7] The water blazed like a lamp, and threw about it ſhadowy gleams of twinkling light.

[8] boughs. [9] the high-raiſed edges, or bank.

[10] caſt. [11] garden.

[12] gules. The heraldic term for red.

[13] The rock, glittering with the reflection of the river, illuminated as with fire all the bright leaves. *Low* is flame.

[14] Compare Chaucer's Morning in the *Knight's Tale*, v. 633 (edit. Morris):

"The buſy larke, meſſager of *day*,
Salueth in hire ſong the morwe gray;

Our author, lulled by the muſic of the birds and the murmuring of the water, falls aſleep on the flowers, which he calls "Flora's mantill." In a viſion, he ſees a ſhip approach, whoſe ſails are like the "bloſſom upon the ſpray," and whoſe maſts are of gold bright as the "ſtar of day."[1] She glides ſwiftly through a cryſtal bay; and lands in the blooming meadows, among the green ruſhes and reeds, an hundred ladies clad in rich but looſe attire. They are clothed in green kirtles; their golden treſſes, tied only with glittering threads, flow to the ground; and their ſnowy boſoms are unveiled:

Als freſche as flouris that in May up ſpredis
In kirtillis grene, withoutyn kell[2] or bandis:
Thair brycht hairis hang gletering on the ſtrandis
In treſſis clere, wyppit[3] with goldyn thredis;
With pappis[4] quhite, and mydlis ſmall as wandis.[5]

In this brilliant aſſembly, the poet ſees Nature, dame Venus quene, the freſche Aurora, May, "lady Flora ſchene," Juno, Latona, Proſerpine, Diana "goddeſs of the chaſe and woodis grene," lady Clio, Minerva, Fortune, and Lucina. Theſe "michty quenes" are crowned with diadems, glittering like the morning-ſtar. They enter a garden. May, the queen of mirthful months, is ſupported between her ſiſters April and June: as ſhe walks up and down the garden, the birds begin to ſing, and Nature gives her a gorgeous robe adorned with every colour under heaven:

Thare ſaw I Nature preſent hir[6] a goun
Rich to behald, and nobil of renoun,
Off eviry hew undir the hevin that bene
Depaynt, and braid[7] be gude proporcoun.[8]

The vegetable tribes then do their obeiſance to Nature in theſe poliſhed and elegant verſes:

And eviry blome on branch, and eke on bonk,
Opnyt, and ſpred thair balmy levis donk,

And fyry Phebus ryſeth up ſo bright,
That al the orient laugheth of the light,
And with his ſtremes dryeth in the greves
The ſilver dropes, hongyng *on* the leeves."

It is ſeldom that we find Chaucer indulging his genius to an abſurd exceſs in florid deſcriptions. The ſame cannot be ſaid of Lydgate.

[1] In our old poetry and the romances, we frequently read of ſhips ſuperbly decorated. This was taken from real life. [In the deſcription of the Venetian ſhips which conveyed the cruſaders to Conſtantinople in 1202 we meet with ſimilar particulars.] Froiſſart, ſpeaking of the French fleet in 1387, prepared for the invaſion of England under the reign of Richard II. ſays, that the ſhips were painted with the arms of the commanders, and gilt, with banners, pennons, and ſtandards of ſilk: and that the maſts were painted from top to bottom, glittering with gold. The ſhip of Lord Guy of Tremoyll was ſo ſumptuouſly garniſhed, that the painting and colours coſt 2000 French franks, more than 222 pounds of Engliſh currency at that time. See Grafton's *Chron.* p. 364. At his ſecond expedition into France, in 1417, Henry V. was in a ſhip, whoſe ſails were of purple ſilk moſt richly embroidered with gold. Speed's *Chron.* B. ix, p. 636, edit. 1611. Many other inſtances might be brought from ancient miniatures and illuminations.

[2] caul. [3] bound. [4] paps. [5] St. vii.
[6] to her. [7] broad. [8] St. x.

Full low enclynyng to thair Quene ſo clere,
Quham of thair nobill noriſing thay thonk.[1]

Immediately another court, or group, appears. Here Cupid the king preſides:

—wyth bow in hand ybent,
And dredefull arowis grundyn ſcharp and ſquare.
Thare ſaw I Mars the god armypotent
Aufull and ſterne, ſtrong and corpolent.
Thare ſaw I crabbit[2] Saturn, ald and haire,[3]
His luke wes lyk for to perturb the air.
Thair wes Mercurius, wiſe and eloquent,
Of rethorike that fand[4] the ſtouris faire.[5]

Theſe are attended by other pagan divinities, Janus, Priapus, Eolus, Bacchus the "glader of the table," and Pluto. They are all arrayed in green; and, ſinging amorous ditties to the harp and lute, invite the ladies to dance. The poet quits his ambuſh under the trees, and preſſing forward to gain a more perfect view of this tempting ſpectacle, is eſpied by Venus. She bids her "keen archers" arreſt the intruder. Her attendants, a group of fair ladies, inſtantly drop their green mantles, and each diſcovers a huge bow. They form themſelves in battle-array, and advance againſt the poet:

And firſt of all, with bow in hand ybent,
Come dame Beautee, rycht as ſcho wald me ſchent;
Syne folowit all hir damoſells yfere,
With mony diverſe aufull inſtrument:[6]
Unto the pres Fair Having[7] wyth her went;
Fyne[8] Portrature, Pleſance, and luſty Chere.
Than come Reſoun, with ſchelde of gold ſo clere,
In plate and maille, as Mars armypotent,
Defendit me this noble[9] chevallere.[10]

Beauty is aſſiſted by tender Youth with her "virgins ying," green Innocence, Modeſty, and Obedience: but their reſiſtance was but feeble againſt the golden target of Reaſon. Womanhood then leads on Patience, Diſcretion, Stedfaſtneſs, Benign Look, Mild Cheer, and Honeſt Buſineſs:

Bot Reſon bure the Targe with ſik conſtance,
Thair ſcharp aſſayes might do no dures[11]
To me for all thair aufull ordynance.[12]

The attack is renewed by Dignity, Renown, Riches, Nobility, and Honour. Theſe, after diſplaying their high banner, and ſhooting a cloud of arrows, are ſoon obliged to retreat. Venus, perceiving the rout, orders Diſſemblance to make an attempt to pierce the golden ſhield. Diſſemblance or Diſſimulation chooſes for her archers, Preſence, Fair Calling, and Cheriſhing. Theſe bring back Beauty to the charge. A new and obſtinate conflict enſues:

Thik was the ſchote of grundyn dartis kene,
But Reſoun, with the Scheld of Gold ſo ſchene,

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[1] St. xi. [2] crabbed. [3] hoar. [4] found. [5] St. xiii.
[6] formidable weapons. [7] behaviour. [8] [after.] [9] warrior.
[10] St. xvii. [11] injury. [12] weapons. St. xix.

Warly[1] defendit quho ſo evir aſſayit:
The aufull ſtour he manly did ſuſtene.[2]

At length Preſence, by whom the poet underſtands that irreſiſtible incentive accruing to the paſſion of love by ſociety, by being often admitted to the company of the beloved object, throws a magical powder into the eyes of Reaſon; who is ſuddenly deprived of all his powers, and reels like a drunken man. Immediately the poet receives a deadly wound, and is taken priſoner by Beauty; who now aſſumes a more engaging air, as the clear eye of Reaſon is growing dim by intoxication. Diſſimulation then tries all her arts on the poet: Fair Calling ſmiles upon him: Cheriſhing ſoothes him with ſoft ſpeeches: New Acquaintance embraces him awhile, but ſoon takes her leave, and is never ſeen afterwards. At laſt Danger delivers him to the cuſtody of Grief.

By this time, "God Eolus his bugle blew." The leaves are torn with the blaſt: in a moment the pageant diſappears, and nothing remains but the foreſt, the birds, the banks, and the brook.[3] In the twinkling of an eye, they return to the ſhip: and unfurling the ſails, and ſtemming the ſea with a rapid courſe, celebrate their triumph with a diſcharge of ordnance. This was now a new topic for poetical deſcription. The ſmoke riſes to the firmament, and the roar is re-echoed by the rocks, with a ſound as if the rainbow had been broken:

And as I did awake of my ſueving,[4]
The joyfull birdis merily did ſyng
For myrth of Phebus tendir bemes ſchene.
Suete war the vapouris, ſoft the morowing,
Haleſum the vale[5] depaynt wyth flouris ying,
The air attemperit ſobir and amene:
In quhite and reid was all the field beſene,
Throu Naturis nobil freſch anamalyng
In mirthfull Maye of eviry moneth Quene.[6]

Our author then breaks out into a laboured encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. This I chooſe to recite at large, as it ſhews the peculiar diſtinction anciently paid to thoſe fathers of verſe, and the high ideas which now prevailed, even in Scotland, of the improvements introduced by their writings into the Britiſh poetry, language, and literature:[7]

O reverend Chaucere, roſe of rethoris all,
As in oure tong ane flour imperial[8]
That raiſe in Britane evir, quho reidis rycht,[9]
Thou beris of Makaris[10] the tryumph ryall,
Thy freſch anamilit termes celicall:
This matir coud illumynit have full brycht,[11]

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[1] warily. [2] St. xxiii. [3] St. xxvi.
[4] dream. [5] vale. [6] St. xxviii.
[7] Other inſtances occur in the elder Scotiſh poets.
[8] one flower.
[9] Ever roſe, or ſprung, in Britain, whoſo reads right.
[10] Thou beareſt of poets.
[11] This ſubject would have appeared to ſome advantage, had not, &c.

Was thou noucht of our Inglifch all the lycht,
Surmounting eviry tong terreftriall
Alls fer as Mayes morow dois mydnycht.

O morall Gower, and Lydgate laureate,
Your fugarit[1] lippis,[2] and tongis aureate,
Bene to oure eiris[3] cauſe of grete delyte,
Your angel mouthis moſt mellifluate
Our rude langage hes clere illumynate,
And faire oure-gilt our ſpeche, that imperfyte
Stude, or your goldyn pennis ſchupe to write,[4]
This Ile befoir wes bare and deſolate[5]
Of rethorike, or luſty freſch endyte.[6]

This panegyric, and the poem, is cloſed with an apology, couched in elegant metaphors, for his own comparative humility of ſtyle. He addreſſes the poem, which he calls a "litill quair:"

I knaw quhat thou of rethorike hes ſpent;
Off all hir luſty roſis redolent
Is nane in to thy gerland ſett on hicht;[7]
Eſchame[8] thar of, and draw the out of ſicht!
Rude is thy wede[9] diſteynit, bare, and rent,
Wele aucht thou be aferit of the licht![10]

Dunbar's *Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins* has very great merit in the comic ſtyle of painting. It exhibits a group of figures touched with the capricious but ſpirited pencil of Callot.[11] On the eve of Lent, a general day of confeſſion, the poet in a dream ſees a diſplay of heaven and hell. Mahomet,[12] or the devil, commands a dance to be performed by a ſelect party of fiends; particularly by thoſe, who in the other world had never made confeſſion to the prieſt, and had conſequently never received abſolution. Immediately the ſeven deadly ſins appear, and preſent a maſk or mummery with the neweſt gambols juſt imported from France.[13] The firſt is Pride, who properly takes place of all the reſt, as by that ſin fell the angels. He is deſcribed in the faſhionable and gallant dreſs of thoſe times: in a bonnet and gown, his hair thrown back, his cap awry, and his gown affectedly flowing to his feet in large folds:

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[1] ſugared. [2] lips. [3] to our ears.
[4] Ere your golden pens were ſhaped to write.
[5] bare and deſolate. [6] elegant compoſition. St. xxx.
[7] No freſh and fragrant roſes of rhetoric are placed on high in thy garland.
[8] be aſhamed. [9] weed, dreſs. [10] St. xxxi.
[11] [Warton ſeems here to have adopted the opinion of Dalrymple. "I do not recollect ever to have ſeen the *Seven Deadly Sins* painted by a more maſterly pencil than that of Dunbar. His deſigns certainly excel the explanatory peacocks and ſerpents of Callot."—*Lord Hailes* (Dalrymple), 1770.]
[12] Mahon. Sometimes written Mahoun or Mahound. See Matt. Paris, p. 289. ad ann. 1236; and Du Cange, *Lat. Gloſſ.* v. *Mahum.* The Chriſtians in the cruſades were accuſtomed to hear the Saracens ſwear by their prophet Mahomet: which thence became in Europe another name for the devil.
[13] The original is *garmountis.* In the memoir, cited above, concerning the progreſs of the Princeſs Margaret into Scotland, we have the following paſſage. "The lord of Northumberland made his *devoir*, at the departynge, of *gambades* and *lepps*, [leaps,] as did likewiſe the Lord Scrop the father, and many others that retorned agayne, in *takyng their congie.*"

Lat ſe, quoth he,[1] now quha begynnis.
With that the fowll Sevin Deidly Synnis
Begowth to leip at anis.[2]
And firſt of all in Dance was Pryd,
With hair wyld bak, and bonet on ſyd,
Lyk to mak vaiſtie wanis;
And round abowt him as a quheill,[3]
Hang all in rumpillis[4] to the heill,
His kethat[5] for the nanis.[6]
Mony prowd trumpour[7] with him trippit,
Throw ſkaldand[8] fyre ay as thay ſkippit
They girnd with hyddouſs[9] granis.[10]

Several holy harlots [had been previouſly introduced], attended by monks, who made great ſport for the devils:[11]

Heilie Harlottis in hawtane wyiſs,[12]
Come in with mony ſindrie gyiſs,[13]
Bot yit luche nevir[14] Mahoun:
Quhill prieſtis come in with bair ſchevin[15] nekkis,
Than all the Feyndis lewche[16] and maid gekkis,[17]
Blak-belly and *Bawſy-Broun.*

Black-belly and *Bawſy-brown* are the names of popular ſpirits in Scotland. The latter is perhaps our *Robin Goodfellow*, known in Scotland by the name of *Brownie.* ["In Bannatyne's MS." obſerves Dalrymple, "among other ſpirits there occurs,

Browny als that can play kow
Behind the claith with mony mow."]

Anger is drawn with great force, and his accompaniments are boldly feigned. His hand is always upon his knife, and he is followed in pairs by boaſters, threateners, and quarrelſome perſons, all armed for battle, and perpetually wounding one another:[18]

Then Yre come in with ſturt[19] and ſtryfe;
His hand wes ay upoun his knyfe,
He brandeiſt lyk a beir:
Boſtaris, braggaris, and barganeris,
Eftir hym paſſit into pairis,
All bodin in feir of weir:[20]

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[1] Mahomet. [2] began to dance at once. [3] wheel.
[4] rumples. [4] caſaque, caſſock. [6] nonce, deſignedly.
[7] Deceivers. [Mr. Laing, after citing the opinions of Dalrymple and Tyrwhitt, both of whom certainly ſeem to have miſtaken the ſenſe here, obſerves: "The word, however, no doubt means *deceiver;* and in this ſenſe it occurs in the poem on Diſcretion in Giving (p. 169 [of Mr. L.'s ed.]):

'Sum gevis to trumpouris and to ſchrewis.'"

[8] ſcalding. [9] they grinned hideouſly.
[10] St. ii. [11] St. iii. [12] haughty guiſe. [13] [a maſk.]
[14] never laughed. [15] while prieſts came with bare-ſhaven.
[16] laughed. [17] ſigns of deriſion. [18] St. iv. [19] diſturbance; affray.
[20] Literally, "All arrayed in feature of war." *Bodin*, and *feir* of *war*, are in the [Scotiſh] ſtatute book. Sir David Lindſay thus ſpeaks of the ſtate of Scotland during the minority of James V. *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, ſignat. B iii, edit. *ut infr.*:

"Oppreſſioun did ſa loud his bougill blaw,
That none durſt ride but into *feir of weir.*"

That is, *without being armed for battle.*

In jakkis and ſcryppis, and bonettis of ſteill,[1]
Thair leggis wer cheyneit to the heill,[2]
Frawart wes thair affeir;[3]
Sum upoun uder with brandis beft,[4]
Sum jagit utheris to the heft[5]
With knyvis that ſcherp cowd ſcheir.[6]

Envy is equal to the reſt. Under this Sin our author takes occaſion to lament with an honeſt indignation, that the courts of princes ſhould ſtill give admittance and encouragement to the whiſperers of idle and injurious reports:[7]

Nixt in the dance followit Invy,
Fild full of feid[8] and fellony,
Hid malyce and diſpyte;
For pryvie hatreut[9] that tratour trymlit;[10]
Him followit mony freik diſſymlit,[11]
With feyneit wordis quhyte:

And flattereris in to menis facis,
And back-byttaris[12] in ſecreit placis,
To ley[13] that had delyte.
With rownaris[14] of fals leſingis:[15]
Allace! that courtis of noble kingis
Of thame can nevir be quyte![16]

Avarice is uſhered in by a troop of extortioners and other miſcreants, patroniſed by the magician Warloch,[17] or the demon of the covetous; who vomit on each other torrents of melted gold, blazing like wild-fire; and as they are emptied at every diſcharge, the devils repleniſh their throats with freſh ſupplies of the ſame liquefied metal.[18]

Sloth does not join the dance till he is called twice: and his companions are ſo ſlow of motion, that they cannot keep up with the reſt, unleſs they are rouſed from their lethargy by being ſometimes warmed with a glimpſe of hell-fire:[19]

Syne Sweirnes, at the ſecound bidding,
Come lyk a ſow out of a midding,[20]
Full ſlepy wes his grunyie.[21]

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[1] In ſhort jackets, plates or ſlips, and bonnets of ſteel. Short coats of mail and helmets.
[2] Their legs armed with iron, perhaps iron network, down to the heel.
[3] Their look was *froward*, fierce. *Feir* is feature.
[4] Some ſtruck others, their companions, with ſwords.
[5] Wounded others to the haft.
[6] cut ſharp. [7] St. v. [8] enmity. [9] hatred. [10] trembled.
[11] diſſembling gallant. [12] backbiters. [13] lye
[14] Rounders, whiſperers. To *round in the ear*, or ſimply to *round*, was to whiſper in the ear.
[15] falſities. [16] free.
[17] [The original reads:

"Next him in Dans come Cuvatyce—
Catyvis, wrechis, and ockeraris,—
All with that *warlo* went."

Where *warlo* means a wicked perſon. A.-S. wær-loga, *iniquus*.—*Price*.]
[18] St. vi. [19] St. vii. [20] dunghill. [21] [grunt.]

Mony ſweir bumbard belly-huddroun,[1]
Mony ſlute daw and ſlepy duddroun,[2]
Him ſervit ay with ſounyie[3]
He drew thame furth in till a chenyie,[4]
And Belliall, with a brydill reynie,[5]
Evir laſcht thame on the lunyie.[6]
In Dance thay war ſo ſlaw of feit
They gaif thame in the fyre a heit
And maid them quicker of counyie.[7]

Luſt enters, neighing like a horſe,[8] and is led by Idleneſs. When his aſſociates mingle in the dance, their viſages burn red like the turquoiſe-ſtone.[9] The remainder of the ſtanza, although highly characteriſtical, is too obſcene to be tranſcribed. But this gave no offence. Their manners were too indelicate to be ſhocked at any indecency. I do not mean that theſe manners had loſt their delicacy, but that they had not yet acquired the ſenſibility ariſing from civilization. In one of the Scotiſh interludes of this age, written by a faſhionable court-poet, among other ridiculous obſcenities, the trying on of a Spaniſh padlock in public makes a part of theatrical repreſentation.

Gluttony brings up the rear; whoſe inſatiable rout are inceſſantly calling out for meat and drink; and although they are drenched by the devils with draughts of melted lead, they ſtill aſk for more:

Than the fowll monſtir Gluttony,
Off wame[10] unſaſiable and gredy,
To Dance he did him dreſs:
Him followit mony fowll drunckart,
With can and collep, cop[11] and quart,
In ſurffet and exceſs.
Full mony a waiſtleſs wally-drag[12]
With wamis[13] unweildable did furth wag,
In creiſche[14] that did increſs:
Drink ay thay cryit with mony a gaip;[15]
The Feyndis gaif thame hait leid to laip,[16]
Their leweray[17] wes na leſs.[18]

At this infernal dance no minſtrels played. No gleeman or minſtrel ever went to hell; except one who committed murder, and was admitted to an inheritance in hell "by brief of richt," that is, *per breve de recto*.[19] This circumſtance ſeems an alluſion to ſome real fact.

The concluding ſtanza is entirely a ſatire on the Highlanders. Dunbar, as I have already obſerved, was born in Lothian, a county of the Saxons.[20] The mutual antipathy between the Scotiſh Saxons and the Highlanders was exceſſive, and is not yet quite eradicated. Mahoun or Mahomet, having a deſire to ſee a highland pageant, a

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[1] glutton. [2] ſluggard. [3] attended on him with care.
[4] into a chain. [5] a bridle rein; a thong of leather.
[6] laſhed them on the loins. [7] apprehenſion.
[8] "Berand like a bagit horſe." The French *baguette* need not be explained.
[9] St. viii. [10] belly. [11] cup. [12] ſot.
[13] bellies. [14] fat. [15] gape. [16] hot lead to drink, to lap.
[17] deſire, appetite. [18] St. ix. [19] St. x.
[20] This is little more than a paraphraſe of what Dalrymple ſays. See Mr. Laing's *Dunbar*, ii. 263.]

fiend is commiſſioned to fetch Macfadyan; an unmeaning name, choſen for its harſhneſs. As ſoon as the infernal meſſenger begins to publiſh his ſummons, he gathers about him a prodigious crowd of "Erſche men;" who ſoon took up great room in hell. Theſe loquacious termagants began to chatter like rooks and ravens, in their own barbarous language: and the devil is ſo ſtunned with their horrid yell, that he throws them down to his deepeſt abyſs, and ſmothers them with ſmoke:

Than cryd Mahoun for a Heleand Padyane,
Syne ran a Feynd to feche Makfadyane
Far northwart in a nuke:[1]
Be he the Correnoth had done ſchout,[2]
Erſche men ſo gadderit him abowt,
In Hell grit roume thay tuke:
Thae tarmegantis[3] with tag and tatter
Full lowd in Erſche begowth to clatter,
And rowp lyk revin and ruke.[4]
The Devill ſa devit[5] wes with thair yell
That in the depeſt pot of hell
He ſmorit thame with ſmuke.[6]

I have been prolix in my citations and explanations of this poem, becauſe I am of opinion, that the imagination of Dunbar is not leſs ſuited to ſatirical than to ſublime allegory; and that he is the firſt poet who has appeared with any degree of ſpirit in this way of writing ſince Langland. His *Thiſtle and Roſe* and *Golden Targe* are generally and juſtly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic caſt. The meaſure of this poem is partly that of *Sir Thopas* in Chaucer: and hence we may gather, by the way, that *Sir Thopas* was anciently viewed in the light of a ludicrous compoſition. It is certain that the pageants and interludes of Dunbar's age muſt have quickened his invention to form thoſe groteſque groups. The exhibition of moralities was now in high vogue among the Scots. [Two pageants, *The Salutation of Gabriel* and *The Marriage of the Virgin* were exhibited at Edinburgh] at the marriage of James IV. and the princeſs Margaret.[7] Mummeries, which they call *Gyſarts*, and which are compoſed of moral perſonifications, are ſtill known in Scotland: and even till the beginning of [the laſt] century, eſpecially among the feſtivities of Chriſtmas, itinerant maſkers were admitted into the houſes of the Scotiſh nobility.[8]

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[1] nook.

[2] ["As ſoon as he had made the cry of diſtreſs, or what in old French is called *a l'aide*. So in the ballad of the battle of Harlaw: 'Cryand the *Corynoch* on hie.' The gloſſary ſubjoined to the *Evergreen* ſays, that it means a Highland *tune*: that is, it may be either a ſtrain of victory, or a dirge."—*Hailes* (or *Dalrymple*.)]

[3] [I ſuſpect that Dunbar meant another word than termagant, or "heatheniſh crew." There is a ſpecies of wild fowl well known in the Highlands of Scotland, which our ſtatute-book calls *termigant*. Dunbar may have likened the Highlanders to a flock of their country birds.—*Laing*. Termagant, a devil or Pagan god, as Mahomed was.—*F. Termigant* may be another form of *ptarmigan*.]

[4] chattered hoarſely. [5] deafened. [6] St. xi.

[7] *Memoir*, ut ſupra, p. 300, [and *ſupr.* ii. 224, Note.]

[8] [An account of all the *printed* editions of Dunbar's works will be found in the

SECTION XXX.

ANOTHER of the diſtinguiſhed luminaries, that marked the reſtoration of letters in Scotland at the commencement of the ſixteenth century, not only by a general eminence in elegant erudition, but by a cultivation of the vernacular poetry of his country, is Gawen Douglas. He was deſcended from a noble family, and born in the year 1475.[1] According to the practice of that age, eſpecially in Scotland, his education perhaps commenced in a grammar-ſchool of one of the monaſteries: there is undoubted proof, that it was finiſhed at the Univerſity of Paris. It is probable, as he was intended for the ſacred function, that he was ſent to Paris for the purpoſe of ſtudying the canon law: in conſequence of a decree promulged by James I., which tended in ſome degree to reform the illiteracy of the clergy, as it enjoined that no eccleſiaſtic of Scotland ſhould be preferred to a prebend of any value without a competent ſkill in that ſcience.[2] Among other high promotions in the church, which his very ſingular accompliſhments obtained, he was provoſt of the collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, abbot of the opulent convent of Abberbrothrock, and Biſhop of Dunkeld. He appears alſo to have been nominated by the Queen Regent to the archbiſhopric, either of Glaſgow or of St. Andrew's: but the appointment was repudiated by the pope.[3] In 1513, to avoid the perſecutions of the Duke of Albany, he fled from Scotland into England, and was moſt graciouſly received by Henry VIII. who, in conſideration of his literary merit, allowed him a liberal penſion.[4] In England he contracted a friendſhip with Polydore Vergil, one of the claſſical ſcholars of Henry's court.[5] He died of the plague in London, and was buried in the Savoy church, in the year 1521.[6]

In his early years he tranſlated Ovid's *Art of Love* (the favourite Latin ſyſtem of the ſcience of gallantry) into Scotiſh metre: which is now loſt.[7] In the year 1513, and in the ſpace of ſixteen months,[8]

Handb. of E. E. Lit. in voce; of the MSS. Mr. Laing furniſhes a liſt. There can be no doubt that Chepman and Millar, the proto-typographers of Scotland, publiſhed other pieces by Dunbar, not now known to exiſt. It is moſt ſingular that between 1508 and the appearance of Ramſay's *Evergreen* nothing of his ſhould have been printed.]

[1] Hume, *Hiſt. Dougl.* p. 219.

[2] Leſl. *De Reb. Geſt. Scot.* lib. ix.

[3] Thynne, *Continuat. Hiſt. Scot.* 455.

[4] Holinſh. *Scot.* 307.—iii. 872.

[5] Bale, xiv. 58.

[6] Weever, *Fun. Mon.* p. 446, and Stillingfl. *Orig. Brit.* p. 54.

[7] See edit. 1710, p. 483, *Epiſtle* or *Epilogue* to Lord Sinclair. The editor's name is [Thomas Ruddiman] a Scotchman. This tranſlation was firſt printed at London, 1553. 4to. [But the beſt text is that of Edinb. 1839, 2 vols. 4to, taken from Gale's MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge. With that the extracts made by Warton have been collated. This MS. includes, at the end, an imperfect comment by the tranſlator, not found elſewhere.]

[8] Leſl. *De Reb. Geſt. Scot.* lib. ix. p. 379. Rom. 1675.

he tranſlated into Scotiſh heroics the *Eneid* of Virgil, with the additional thirteenth book by Mapheus Vegius, at the requeſt of his noble patron Henry Earl of Sinclair.[1] But it was projected ſo early as the year 1501. For, in one of his poems written that year,[2] he promiſes to Venus a tranſlation of Virgil, in atonement for a ballad he had publiſhed againſt her court: and when the work was finiſhed, he tells Lord Sinclair that he had now made his peace with Venus, by tranſlating the poem which celebrated the actions of her ſon Eneas.[3] No metrical verſion of a claſſic had yet appeared in Engliſh; [for even that] of Boethius, who ſcarcely deſerves the appellation, [was not executed till a later date]. Virgil was hitherto commonly known only by Caxton's romance on the ſubject of the Eneid which, our author ſays, no more reſembles Virgil, than the devil is like Saint Auſtin.[4]

This tranſlation is executed with equal ſpirit and fidelity, and is a proof that the Lowland Scotiſh and Engliſh languages were now nearly the ſame. I mean the ſtyle of compoſition; more eſpecially in the glaring affectation of angliciſing Latin words. The ſeveral books are introduced with metrical prologues, which are often poetical, and ſhow that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry. In the prologue to the ſixth book, he wiſhes for the Sibyl's golden bough, to enable him to follow his maſter Virgil through the dark and dangerous labyrinth of the infernal regions.[5] But the moſt conſpicuous of theſe prologues is a deſcription of May [which occurs in that to the twelfth book,] and the greater part of which I will inſert:[6]

As freſch Aurore, to myghty Tithone ſpows,
Iſchit[7] of hir ſafron bed, and evir[8] hous,
In crammyſyn[9] cled and granyt violat,
With ſangwyne cape, the ſelvage[10] purpurat,
Onſchet[11] the wyndois of hir large hall,
Spred all with roſys, and full of balm ryall.
And eik the hevynly portis criſtallyne
Vpwarpis braid, the warld to illumyn.
The twynklyng ſtremowris[12] of the orient
Sched purpour ſprangis with gold and aſure ment.[13]
Peſſaud the ſabill barmkyn nocturnall,
Bet doun the ſkyis clowdy mantill wall:
Eous the ſteid, with ruby hamys red,
Abuf the ſey lyftis furth hys hed

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[1] *Epil.* ut ſupr.
[2] The *Palice of Honour*, ad calcem. [3] *Epil.* ut ſupr.
[4] *Prologue to the Tranſlation*, p. 5. The manuſcript notes written in the margin of a copy of the old quarto edition of this tranſlation by Patrick Junius, which Biſhop Nicolſon (*Hiſt. Libr.* p. 99) declares to be excellent, are of no conſequence, Bibl. Bodl. *Archiv. Seld.* B. 54, 4to. The ſame may be ſaid of Junius's Index of obſolete words in this tranſlation, Cod. MSS. Jun. 114. (5225.) See alſo *Diverſe Scotch words*, &c. *MS. Aſhm.* 846. 13.
[5] In the *Prologue* to the eighth book, the alliterative manner of Langland is adopted.
[6] Pag. 400. [7] iſſued. [8] ivory. [9] crimſon.
[10] edge. [11] unſhut, *i.e.* opened. [12] ſtreamers.
[13] ſtreaks, mingled with, &c.

Of cullour ſoyr, and ſum deill brovn as berry,
Forto alichtyn and glaid our emyſpery,
The flambe owtbraſtyng at his noys thyrlys;
Quhill ſchortly, with the bleſand[1] torch of day,
Abil3eit[2] in hys lemand[3] freſch array,
Furth of hys palyce ryall iſchit Phebus,
With goldyn crovn and viſſage gloryus,
Cryſp haris,[4] brycht as chriſolite or topace;
For quhais hew[5] mycht nane behald hys face:
The fyry ſparkis braſtyng from hys eyn,
To purge the ayr, and gylt the tendyr greyn.
The aureat fanis[6] of his trone ſouerane
With glytrand glans ourſpred the occiane;[7]
The large ſludis, lemand all of lycht,
Bot with a blenk[8] of hys ſupernale ſycht,
Forto behald, it was a glor to ſe
The ſtablit[9] wyndis, and the cawmyt ſee,
The ſoft ſeſſom,[10] the firmament ſereyn;
The lowne illumynat ayr,[11] and fyrth[12] ameyn:
The ſiluer ſcalyt fyſchis on the greit,[13]
Ourthwort[14] cleir ſtremys ſprynkland[15] for the heyt,
With fynnys ſchynand brovn as ſynopar,[16]
And chyſſell talys,[17] ſtowrand heir and thar:[18]
The new cullour alychtnyng[19] all the landis,
Forgane the ſtannyris ſchane,[20] the beriall ſtrandis:
Quhil the reflex of the diurnal bemys
The beyne bonkis[21] keſt ful of variant glemys:
And luſty Flora dyd hyr blomys ſpreid
Vnder the feit of Phebus ful3art[22] ſteid,
The ſwardit ſoyll enbrovd with ſelcouth hewys,[23]
Wod and foreſt obumbrat with thar bewys,[24]
Quhois blisfull branſchis, porturat[25] on the grund,
With ſchaddoys ſchene ſchew rockis rubicund:
Towris, turettis, kyrnellis,[26] pynnaclys hie,
Of kyrkis, caſtellis, and ilke fair cite,
Stude payntit, euery fyall,[27] fayn, and ſtage,[28]
Apon the plane grund by thar awyn vmbrage.[29]
Of Eolus north blaſtis havand[30] no dreid
The ſul3e ſpred hir braid boſum on breid.[31]
The cornys croppis, and the beris newbrerd,[32]
With glaidſum garmont reveſtyng the erd.[33]

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[1] blazing. [2] Fr. habillé; clothed.
[3] luminous. [4] curled locks. [5] whoſe exceſſive brightneſs.
[6] vanes of gold. [7] ocean. [8] only with one glance.
[9] ſettled, calmed. [10] ſeaſon. [11] air without wind, &c.
[12] frith. [13] ſand, gravel. [14] athwart, acroſs, through.
[15] gliding ſwiftly, with a tremulous motion, or vibration of their tails.
[16] cinnabar. [17] tails ſhaped like chiſſels.
[18] ſwimming ſwiftly, darting haſtily. [19] illuminating.
[20] over, upon, over-againſt, the bright gravel, or ſmall ſtones, thrown out on the banks of rivers. Hence the ſtrands were all of beryl.
[21] pleaſant banks. [22] brilliant, glittering.
[23] Bladed with graſs, and embroidered with ſtrange colours.
[24] boughs. [25] portrayed, painted, reflected. [26] battlements.
[27] round tower. [28] ſtery. [29] their own ſhadow.
[30] having.
[31] The ſoil, the country, ſpread abroad her expanſive boſoms.
[32] new-ſprung barley. [33] earth.

The variand veſtur of the venuſt vaill
Schrowdis the ſcherald fur,[1] and euery faill[2]
Ourfret[3] with fulȝeis[4] and figuris ful diuers,
The pray[5] byſprent with ſpryngand ſprowtis diſpers,
For callour humour on the dewy nyht,
Rendryng ſum place the gers pilis thar hycht,
Als far as catal the lang ſymmyris day
Had in thar paſtur eyt and knyp away:
And blisfull bloſſummys in the blomyt ȝard
Submittis thar hedys in the ȝong ſonnys ſalfgard:
Iue levis[6] rank ourſpred the barmkyn[7] wall,
The blomyt hauthorn cled hys pykis all,
Furth of freſch burgionys[8] the wyne grapis[9] ȝing
Endlang the treilȝeis[10] dyd on twyſtis hyng,
The loukit[11] buttouns on the gemyt treis
Ourſpredand leyuis of naturis tapeſtreis.
Soft greſy verdour eſtir balmy ſchowris,
On curland ſtalkis ſmylyng to thar flowris:
Behaldand thame ſa mony diuers hew
Sum pers,[12] ſum paill, ſum burnet, and ſum blew,
Sum greyce, ſum gowlys, ſum purpour, ſum ſangwane,
Blanchit or brovne, fawch ȝallow mony ane,
Sum heuynly culloryt in celeſtiall gre,
Sum watry[13] hewit as the haw wally[14] ſee
And ſum depart in freklys red and quhite,
Sum brycht as gold with aureat leuys lyte.
The daſy dyd on breid[15] hir crownell ſmaill,
And euery flour onlappit in the daill,
In battill gyrs[16] burgionys, the banwart wild,
The clauir, catcluke, and the cammamyld;
The flour delys furthſpred hys heuynly hew,
Floure dammes, and columby blauk and blew,
Seir downys ſmaill on dent de lyon[17] ſprang,
The ȝyng greyn[18] blomyt ſtrabery levis amang,
Gymp gerraflouris[19] thar royn leuis onſchet,
Freſch prymros, and the purpour violet,
The roys knoppys, tutand furth thar hed,
Gan chyp, and kyth thar vermel lyppis red,
Cryſp ſcarlet leuis ſum ſcheddand baith atanis,
Keſt[21] fragrant ſmell amyd from goldyn granys,[20]

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[1] furrow. [2] turf.

[3] It is evident our author intends to deſcribe two diſtinct things, viz. corn-fields and meadows or paſture lands: the former in the three firſt lines; *the varyant veſture*, &c. is plainly arable, and the *fulȝeis and figuris ful diuers*, are the various leaves and flowers of the weeds growing among the corn, and making a piece of embroidery. And here the deſcription of corn-fields ends: and that of paſture-lands begins at, *The pray byſprent*, &c. *Pray* [in the edition of 1839, corruptly] *ſpray*, is formed, through the French, from the Lat. *Pratum*, and *Spryngand Sproutis*, riſing ſprings, from the Ital. *ſpruzzure*, *ſpruzzolare*, *aſpergere*.

[4] leaves. [5] mead. [6] ivy-leaves. [7] rampart.
[8] ſprigs. [9] young. [10] trelliſſes; eſpaliers for vines.
[11] locked, encloſed, gemmed. [12] red. [13] watchet.
[14] blue and wavy. [15] unbraid. [16] graſs embattelled.
[17] dandelion. [18] young weeds.

[19] Gilliflowers. Gariophilum, Lat. Καρυοφυλλον, Gr. The Scotiſh word is nearer the original. Probably the poet wrote *thar awin*. See ver. 72, *thare awin umbrage*.

[20] ſeeds.

[21] It is obſervable, that our Poet never once mentions the ſcent of flowers till he

Heuynly lylleis, with lokrand toppys quhyte,
Oppynnit and ſchew thar creiſtis redymyte,[1]
The balmy vapour from thar ſilkyn croppys
Diſtilland hailſum ſugurat hunny droppys,
And ſyluer ſchakaris[2] gan fra leuys hing,
With cryſtal ſprayngis on the verdour ſing:
The plane pulderit with ſemyl ſettis ſovnd,
Bedyit full of dewy peirlys rovnd;
So that ilk burgiou, ſyon, herb, or flour,
Wolx all embalmyt of the freſch liquor,
And bathit hait dyd in dulce humouris fleyt,
Quharof the byis wrocht thar hunny ſweit.
Swannys[3] ſwouchis throw owt the ryſp[4] and redis,
Our al thir lowys[5] and the fludis gray,
Seirſand by kynd a place quhar thai ſuld lay;
Phebus red fowle hys corale creiſt can ſteir,
Oft ſtrekyng furth hys hekkill crawand cleir
Amyd the wortis, and the rutys gent,
Pykland hys meyt in alleis quhar he went,
Hys wifis Toppa and Partolet hym by,
As byrd al tyme that hantis bigamy;
The pantyt povn[6] paſand with plomys gym,
Keſt vp his taill a provd pleſand quheil rym,[7]
Yſchrowdyt in hys fedramme brycht and ſcheyn,
Schapand the prent of Argus hundreth eyn;
Amang the bronys[8] of the olyue twiſtis,
Seir ſmaill fowlys, wirkand crafty neſtis,
Endlang the heggeis thyk, and on rank akis[9]
Ilk byrd reioſyng with thar myrthfull makis:
In corneris and cleir fenyſtaris of glas
Full biſſely Aragne weuand was,
To knyt hir nettis and hir wobbys ſle,
Tharwith to caucht the myghe[10] or litill fle:
Vnder the bewyis beyir in luſty valys,

---

comes to the roſe, and never at all the ſcent of any particular flower, except the roſe, not even of the lily; for I take it, the words, *from thar ſylkyn croppys*, are meant to deſcribe the flowers in general; and *the balmy vapour* to be the ſame with the *freſch liquor*, and *the dulce humouris quharof the bis wrocht thar hunny ſweit*, an exhalation diſtinct from that which cauſes the ſcent. Afterwards *redolent odour*, is general; for he certainly means to cloſe his deſcription of the vegetable world by one univerſal cloud of fragrance from all nature.

[1] [Encircled, bound,] from *Redimitus*, Lat.

[2] ſhakers.

[3] That Milton had his eye upon this paſſage is plain, from his deſcribing the ſwan, the cock, and peacock, in this order, and with ſeveral of the attributes that our author has given them. See *Parad. L.* vii. 438, *ſeq.*

"The Swan with arched neck
Between her white wings, mantling proudly, rows
Her ſtate with oary feet; yet oft they quit
The dank, and, riſing on ſtiff pennons, tower
The mid aereal ſky: others on ground
Walk'd firm: the creſted Cock, whoſe clarion ſounds
The ſilent hours, and th' Other, whoſe gay train
Adorns him, color'd with the florid hue
Of rainbows and ſtarry eyes."

[4] ruſtling. [5] lakes. [6] peacock. [7] wheel-rim.
[8] branches. [9] oaks. [10] gnat.

Within fermans and parkis cloys of palys,
The buſtuus bukkis rakis furth on raw,
Heyrdis of hertis throw the thyk wod ſchaw,
The ȝong fownys followand the dun days,[1]
Kyddis ſkippand throw ronnys eftir rays,[2]
In yſſouris [3] and on leys litill lammys
Full tayt and tryg ſocht bletand to thar dammys.
On ſalt ſtremys wolx Doryda and Thetis,
By rynnand ſtrandis, Nymphis and Naedes,
Sik as we clepe wenſchis and damyſellis,
In greſy grauy wandrand by ſpryng wellis,
Of bloomyt branchis and flowris quhite and red
Plettand thar luſty chaplettis for thar hed:
Sum ſang ring ſangis, danſys, ledis, and rovndis,
With vocis ſchill, quhill all the daill reſovndis.
Dame naturis menſtralis on that other part,
Thar blisfull bay entonyng euery art,
To beyt thir amorus of thar nychtis baill,
The merly, the mauys, and the nychtyngale,
With mery notis myrthfully furth breſt,
Enforcying thame quha mycht do clynk it beſt:
The cowſchet [4] crowdis and pyrkis on the rys,
The ſtyrlyng changis diuers ſteuynnys nys,[5]
The ſparrow chyrmys in the wallis clyft,
Goldſpynk and lintquhyte fordynnand the lyft,[6]
The gukgo galys,[7] and ſo quytteris the quaill
Quhill ryveris rerdit,[8] ſchawis, and euery vaill,
And tender twyſtis trymlyt on the treis,
For byrdis ſang, and bemyng of the beys,
In wrablis dulce of heuynly armonyis,
The larkis, lowd releſchand [9] in the ſkyis,
Louys thar lege [10] with tonys curius;
Baith to dame Natur, and the freſch Venus,
Rendryng hie lawdis in thare obſeruance,
Quhais ſuguryt throtis [11] maid glaid hartis dans,
And al ſmail fowlis ſyngis on the ſpray;
Welcum the lord of lycht, and lamp of day,
Welcum foſtyr of tendir herbys grene,
Welcum quyknar of fluryſt flowris ſcheyn,
Welcum ſupport of euery rute and vayn,
Welcum confort of alkynd fruyt and grayn,

---

[1] does. [2] roes. [3] leaſowes. [4] dove.
[5] fine tunes. [6] firmament.
[7] Cries. So Chaucer of the nightingale. *Court of Love*, v. 1356.

"But *domine labia* gan he crie and *gale*."

So the Friar is ſaid to gale, *Wife of B. Prol.* v. 832. In Chaucer's *Cuckowe and Nightingale*, the latter is ſaid to *grede*, v. 135.

"And grede for that ſkillle, ocy ocy, I grede."

That is, *I cry*. Ital. *Gridare*. The word is uſed with more propriety in [the] *Geſt of Alexander*, written in 1312, fol. 55, col. 2. [See *ſupr.* ii. 205, *et ſeq.*]

"Averil is meory, and longith the day,
Ladies loven ſolas and play,
Swaynes juſtis, knyȝtis turnay,
Syngith the nyȝtyngale, *gredeth* the Jay."

[8] reſounded.
[9] mounting. [10] praiſed their Lady Nature. [11] ſugared throats.

Welcum the byrdis beild [1] apon the brer,
Welcum mayſter and rewlar of the ȝer,
Welcum wailfar of huſbandis at the plewys,[2]
Welcum reparar of woddis, treis, and bewys,
Welcum depayntar of the blomyt medis,
Welcum the lyfe of euery thyng that ſpredis,
Welcum ſtorour [3] of alkynd beſtiall,
Welcum be thy brycht bemys gladyng all.[4]

The poetical beauties of this ſpecimen will be reliſhed by every reader who is fond of lively touches of fancy and rural imagery. In the [*Life of Alexander*, juſt quoted,] Autumn is touched with theſe circumſtances : [5]

In tyme of herveſt merry it is ynouȝ,
Peres and apples hongeth on bouȝ,
The hayward bloweth his horne,
In everych felde ripe is corne,
The grapes hongen on the vyne,
Swete is trewe love and fyne;
King Aliſaunder a morowe ariſt,
The ſonne dryveth away the miſt,
Forth he went farre into Ynde
Moo mervayles for to fynde.

But the verſes of Douglas will have another merit with thoſe critics who love to contemplate the progreſs of compoſition, and to mark the original workings of genuine nature; as they are the effuſion of a mind not overlaid by the deſcriptions of other poets, but operating by its own force and bias in the delineation of a vernal landſcape, on ſuch objects as really occurred. On this account, they deſerve to be better underſtood: and I have therefore tranſlated them into plain modern Engliſh proſe. In the meantime, this experiment will ſerve to prove their native excellence. Diveſted of poetic numbers and expreſſion, they ſtill retain their poetry; and (to uſe the compariſon of an elegant writer on a like occaſion) appear like Ulyſſes ſtill a king and conqueror, although diſguiſed like a peaſant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdſman Eumaeus.

"Freſh Aurora, the wife of Tithonus, iſſued from her ſaffron bed, and ivory houſe. She was cloathed in a robe of crimſon and violet-colour; the cape vermilion, and the border purple: ſhe opened the windows of her ample hall, overſpread with roſes, and filled with balm, or nard. At the ſame time, the cryſtal gates of heaven were thrown open, to illumine the world. The glittering ſtreamers of the orient diffuſed purple ſtreaks mingled with gold and azure. The ſteeds of the ſun, in red harneſs of rubies, of colour brown as the berry, lifted their heads above the ſea, to glad our hemiſphere: the flames burſt from their noſtrils: while ſhortly, apparelled in his luminous array, Phebus, bearing the blazing torch of day, iſſued from his royal palace; with a golden crown, glorious viſage, curled

[1] who build. [2] ploughs. [3] reſtorer.
[4] [*Prologue to the Twelfth Book*, edit. 1839. This is a very ſuperior text to that furniſhed in all the preceding editions of Warton.]
[5] Fol. 95, col. 2.

locks bright as the chryſolite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable. The fiery ſparks, burſting from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new verdure. The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in a blaze, at the firſt glimpſe of his appearance. It was glorious to ſee the winds appeaſed, the ſea becalmed, the ſoft ſeaſon, the ſerene firmament, the ſtill air, and the beauty of the watery ſcene. The ſilver-ſcaled fiſhes, on the gravel, gliding haſtily, as it were from the heat or ſun, through clear ſtreams, with fins ſhining brown as cinnabar, and chiſſel-tails, darted here and there. The new luſtre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the ſmall pebbles on the ſides of rivers, and on the ſtrands, which looked like beryl: while the reflection of the rays played on the banks in variegated gleams; and Flora threw forth her blooms under the feet of the ſun's brilliant horſes. The bladed ſoil was embroidered with various hues. Both wood and foreſt were darkened with boughs; which, reflected from the ground, gave a ſhadowy luſtre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles, of churches, caſtles, and every fair city, ſeemed to be painted; and, together with every baſtion and ſtory, expreſſed their own ſhape on the plains. The glebe, fearleſs of the northern blaſts, ſpread her broad boſom. The corn-crops, and the new-ſprung barley, reclothed the earth with a gladſome garment. The variegated veſture of the valley covered the cloven furrow; and the barley-lands were diverſified with flowery weeds. The meadow was beſprinkled with rivulets: and the freſh moiſture of the dewy night reſtored the herbage which the cattle had cropped in the day. The bloſſoms in the blowing garden truſted their heads to the protection of the young ſun. Rank ivy-leaves overſpread the wall of the rampart. The blooming hawthorn clothed all his thorns in flowers. The budding cluſters of the tender grapes hung end-long, by their tendrils, from the trelliſes. The gems of the trees unlocking, expanded themſelves into the foliage of Nature's tapeſtry. There was a ſoft verdure after balmy ſhowers. The flowers ſmiled in various colours on the bending ſtalks. Some red, &c. Others, watchet, like the blue and wavy ſea; ſpeckled with red and white; or, bright as gold. The daiſy unbraided her little coronet. The graſs ſtood embattelled, with banewort, &c. The ſeeded down flew from the dandelion. Young weeds appeared among the leaves of the ſtrawberries. Gay gilliflowers, &c. The roſe buds, putting forth, offered their 'red vernal lips' to be kiſſed; and diffuſed fragrance from the criſp ſcarlet that ſurrounded their golden ſeeds. Lilies, with white curling tops, ſhewed their creſts open. The odorous vapour moiſtened the ſilver webs that hung from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round dewy pearls. From every bud, ſcyon, herb, and flower, bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee ſucked ſweet honey. The ſwans clamoured amid the ruſtling reeds; and ſearched all the lakes and gray rivers where to build their neſts. The red bird of the ſun lifted his coral creſt, crowing clear among the plants and 'rutis gent,' picking his food from every path, and attended by his wives

Toppa and Tartlet. The painted peacock with gaudy plumes, unfolded his tail like a bright wheel, inſhrouded in his ſhining feathers, reſembling the marks of the hundred eyes of Argus. Among the boughs of the twiſted olive, the ſmall birds framed their artful neſts, or along the thick hedges or rejoiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In the ſecret nook, or in the clear windows of glaſs, the ſpider full buſily wove her fly net, to enſnare the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that ſcreen the valley, or within the pale-incloſed park, the nimble deer trooped in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick woody ſhaws, and the young fawns followed the dappled does. Kids ſkipped through the briers after the roes; and in the paſtures and leas, the lambs, 'full tight and trig,' bleated to their dams. Doris and Thetis walked on the ſalt ocean; and Nymphs and Naiads, wandering by ſpring-wells in the graſſy groves, plaited luſty chaplets for their hair, of blooming branches, or of flowers red and white. They ſung, and danced, &c. Meantime, Dame Nature's minſtrels raiſe their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on the tall copſe, the ſtarling whiſtles her varied deſcant, the ſparrow chirps in the clefted wall; the goldfinch and linnet filled the ſkies, the cuckow cried, the quail twittered; while rivers, ſhaws, and every dale reſounded; and the tender branches trembled on the trees, at the ſong of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees," &c.

This landſcape may be finely contraſted with the deſcription of *Winter* from the Prologue to the ſeventh book,[1] a part of which I will give in literal proſe:

"The fern withered on the miry fallows: the brown moors aſſumed a barren moſſy hue: banks, ſides of the hills, and bottoms, grew white and bare: the cattle looked hoary from the dank weather: the wind made the red weed waver on the dike: From crags and the foreheads of the yellow rocks hung great icicles, in length like a ſpear: the ſoil was duſky and grey, bereft of flowers, herbs, and graſs: in every holt and foreſt, the woods were ſtripped of their array. Boreas blew his bugle horn ſo loud, that the ſolitary deer withdrew to the dales: the ſmall birds flocked to the thick briers, ſhunning the tempeſtuous blaſt, and changing their loud notes to chirping: the cataracts roared, and every linden-tree whiſtled and brayed to the ſounding of the wind. The poor labourers 'went wet and weary, draggled in the fen.' The ſheep and ſhepherds lurked under the hanging banks, or wild broom. Warm from the chimney-ſide, and refreſhed with generous cheer, I ſtole to my bed, and laid down to ſleep; when I ſaw the moon ſhed through the windows her twinkling glances, and watery light: I heard the horned bird, the night-owl, ſhrieking horribly with crooked bill from her cavern: I heard the wild-geeſe, with ſcreaming cries, fly over the city through the ſilent night. I was ſoon lulled aſleep; till the cock clapping his wings crowed thrice, and the day peeped. I waked and ſaw the moon diſappear, and heard the jack-daws cackle on the

[1] P. 200, edit. 1710.

roof of the houſe. The cranes, prognoſticating tempeſts, in a firm phalanx, pierced the air with voices ſounding like a trumpet. The kite, perched on an old tree, faſt by my chamber, cried lamentably, a ſign of the dawning day. I roſe, and half-opening my window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, and hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; the ground ſtiff, grey, and rough; the branches rattling; the ſides of the hills looking black and hard with the driving blaſts; the dew-drops congealed on the ſtubble and rind of trees; the ſharp hailſtones, deadly-cold, 'hopping' on the thatch and the neighbouring cauſeway," &c.

Bale, whoſe titles of Engliſh books are often obſcured by being put into Latin, recites among Gawin Douglas's poetical works his *Narrationes aureæ* and *Comœdiæ aliquot ſacræ*.[1] Of his *Narrationes aureæ* our author ſeems to ſpeak in the *Epilogue to Virgil*, addreſſed to his patron Lord Sinclair:[2]

> I have alſo a ſtrange command [comment] compyld,
> To expone ſtrange hyſtoryes and termes wild.

Perhaps theſe tales were the fictions of ancient mythology. Whether the *Comœdiæ* were ſacred interludes or Myſteries for the ſtage, or only ſacred narratives, I cannot determine. [One] of his original poems is the *Palace of Honour*, a moral viſion, written in the year 1501, planned on the deſign of the Table of Cebes, and imitated in the elegant Latin dialogue *De Tranquillitate Animi* of his countryman Florence Wilſon (or Florentius Voluſenus).[3] It was firſt printed at London in 1553, [with his verſion of the *Æneid*, but at preſent is rarely found bound up with the latter. The printer of the later edition of 1579, at Edinburgh, ſpeaks of the book as having been publiſhed in Scotland before, and there is a ſtrong preſumption that the London edition of 1553 is merely a reprint of one of theſe loſt Scotiſh impreſſions. The earlier quarto (of 1553) is valuable as containing marginal notes, which were omitted in that of 1579.][4] The object of this allegory is to ſhow the inſtability and inſufficiency of worldly pomp, and to prove that a conſtant and undeviating habit of virtue is the only way to true Honour and Happineſs, who reſide in a magnificent palace ſituated on the ſummit of a high and inacceſſible mountain. The allegory is illuſtrated by a variety of examples of illuſtrious perſonages: not only of thoſe who, by a regular perſeverance in honourable deeds, gained admittance into this ſplendid habitation, but of thoſe who were excluded from it by debaſing the

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[1] xiv. 58. [2] *Ut ſupr.* p. 483.

[3] Lugd. 1543, 4to.

[4] Again, Edinb. 1579, 4to., "When pale Aurora with face lamentable." [Mr. Pinkerton has ſince publiſhed another allegorical poem by Douglas, called *King Hart*. Vide *Ancient Scottiſh Poems*, 1786.—*Price*. See alſo a Dialogue concerning a theological ſubject to be debated between *duos famatos viros*, G. Douglas, Provoſt of St. Giles, and maſter David Cranſtoun, bachelor of divinity, prefixed to John Major's *Commentarii in prim. Sentent.* Paris, 1519. [The *Palace of Honour* has been reprinted for the Bannatyne Club, 1827, from a collation of the quartos of 1553 and 1579.]

dignity of their eminent ſtations with a vicious and unmanly behaviour. It is addreſſed, as an apologue for the conduct of a king, to James IV. is adorned with many pleaſing incidents and adventures, and abounds with genius and learning.

SECTION XXXI.

WITH Dunbar and Douglas I join Sir David Lyndſay, although perhaps in ſtrictneſs he ſhould not be placed ſo early as the cloſe of the fifteenth century. He appears to have been employed in ſeveral offices about the perſon of James V., from the infancy of that monarch, by whom he was much beloved; and at length, on account of his ſingular ſkill in heraldry, a ſcience then in high eſtimation and among the moſt polite accompliſhments, he was knighted and appointed Lion King-at-arms of the kingdom of Scotland. Notwithſtanding theſe ſituations, he was an excellent ſcholar.[1]

Lyndſay's principal performances are *The Dream* and *The Monarch*. In the addreſs to James V, prefixed to the *Dream*, he thus, with much tenderneſs and elegance, ſpeaks of the attention he paid to his majeſty, when a child:

> Quhen thou wes young, I bure the in myne arme
> Full tenderlye, till thow begouth to gang;[2]
> And in thy bed oft happit the full warme,
> With lute in hand ſyne[3] ſoftlye to the ſang.

He adds that he often entertained the young prince with various dances and geſticulations, and by dreſſing himſelf in feigned characters, as in an interlude.[4] A new proof that theatrical diverſions were now common in Scotland.

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[1] [The 4to edit. of 1568 may be conſidered as the *editio princeps* of the *Works* of Lyndſay. Copies are at Moſtyn and Britwell. But for a tolerably copious account of all the impreſſions, both anterior to 1568 and ſubſequent to it, ſee *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* in v. The laſt edition is by Mr. G. Chalmers, 3 vols. 8vo., London, 1806, by which the preſent text has been corrected.—*Price*. But the Early Engliſh Text Society has now iſſued a reprint of the *Monarke*, called in the old printed copies *A Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier*, and of the *Minor Poems*, from the ſecond edition by John Skot, and Mr. Laing's long-promiſed edition of the whole Works is believed to be in a very forward ſtate. This was written in 1869; but the ſaid edition is not yet forthcoming (1871).]

[2] began to walk. [3] then.

[4] So alſo his *Complaynt to the Kingis Grace*. Signat. E iii:

> "As ane chapman beris his pack,
> I bure thy grace upon my back;
> And ſumtymes ſtridlingis on my nek,
> Danſand with mony bend and bek.
> And ay quhen thow come fra the ſcule,
> Than I behuffit to play the fule.
> I wat thou luffit me better than
> Nor now ſum wyfe dois hir gude man."

Sumtyme in danſing feirelie I flang,
And ſumtyme playand farſis[1] on the flure,—
* * * * *
And ſumtyme lyke ane feind[2] transfigurate,
And ſumtyme lyke the griſlie gaiſt of Gy,[3]
In divers formis oftymes disfigurate,
And ſumtyme diſgyſit full pleſandlye.[4]

He adds:

So ſen thy birth I have continuallye
Bene occupyit, and ay to thy pleſour,
And ſumtyme Sewar, Coppar, and Carvour.

That is, ſewer, and cupper or butler. He then calls himſelf the king's "ſecreit Theſaurar" and "chief Cubicular." Afterwards he enumerates ſome of his own Works:

I have at lenth the ſtoreis done diſcryve
Of Hector, Arthur, and gentill Julius,
Of Alexander and worthy Pompeius.

Of Jaſon and Medea, al at lenth,
Of Hercules the actis honorabill,
And of Sampſon the ſupernaturall ſtrenth,
And of leill luffaris [lovers] ſtories amiabill:
And oftymes have I feinzeit mony fabill,
Of Troylus the ſorrow and the joy,
And ſeiges all of Tyre, Thebes, and Troy.
The prophecyis of Rymour, Beid, and Marling,
And of mony uther pleſand ſtorye,
Of the reid Etin and the gyir carling.[5]

In the Prologue to the *Dream* our author diſcovers ſtrong talents for high deſcription and rich imagery. In a morning of the month of January the poet quits the copſe and the bank, now deſtitute of verdure and flowers, and walks towards the ſea-beach. The dawn of day is expreſſed by a beautiful and brilliant metaphor:

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[1] playing farces, frolics. [2] in the ſhape of a fiend.

[3] [The ghoſt of Guy of Aloſt. It will be perhaps ſufficient to refer the reader to Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 185.]

[4] Diſguiſed, maſked, to make ſport. Signat. D i.

[5] As to the prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer, venerable Bede, and Merlin, [ſee *ſupr.* vol. ii. 87, and MSS. Aſhm. 337, 6.] Thomas the Rhymer, or Thomas Leirmouth of Erceldoun, ſeems to have written a poem on Sir Triſtram, [of which the original caſt has not come down to us; at leaſt no copy is at preſent known.] Rob. de Brunne ſays this ſtory would exceed all others:

"If men yt ſayd as made Thomas."

That is, "If men recited it according to the original compoſition of Thomas Erceldoun, or the Rhymer." See Langtoft's *Chron. Append. Pref.* p. 100, vol. i. edit. 1725. He flouriſhed about 1280. [The "tayle" of the red Etin is mentioned in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, as a popular ſtory of a giant with three heads. —*Chalmers.* The Gyir-carling is Hecate, or the mother-witch of the Scotiſh peaſants.—*Dr. Jamieſon.*] Many of Lyndſay's Interludes are among Lord Hyndford's MSS. of Scotiſh poetry, and are exceedingly obſcene. One of Lyndſay's *Moralities*, called *Ane Satyre of the three Eſtaits in commendation of vertew and vytuperation of vyce*, was printed at Edinburgh, 1602. This piece, which is entirely in rhyme, and conſiſts of a variety of meaſures, muſt have taken up four hours in the repreſentation. [Whether ſo or not, it was performed at Linlithgow in 1540. See Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd S. iii. 280.]

Be this fair Titan with his lemis licht
Over all the land had ſpred his baner bricht.

In his walk, muſing on the deſolations of the winter and the diſtance of ſpring, he meets Flora diſguiſed in a ſable robe :[1]

I met dame Flora in dule weid diſgyſit,[2]
Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill,
With ſtalwart[3] ſtormis hir ſweitnes wes ſuppryſit,
Hir hevinly hewis war turnit into ſabill,
Quhilkis umquhyle[4] war to luffaris amiabill.
Fled from the froſt the tender flouris I ſaw
Under dame Naturis mantill lurkyng law.[5]

The birds are then repreſented, flocking round Nature, complaining of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and calling for the genial warmth of ſummer. The expoſtulation of the lark with Aurora, the ſun, and the months, is conceived and conducted in the true ſpirit of poetry :

Allace, Aurore, the ſillie lark can cry,
Quhare hes thow left thy balmy liquour ſweit,
That us rejoſit, we mounting in the ſky ?
Thy ſilver droppis ar turnit into ſleit !
O fair Phebus, quhare is thy hailſum heit ?
* * * * *
Quhare art thow, May, with June thy ſiſter ſchene,
Weill bordourit with daſyis of delyte ?
And gentill Julie, with thy mantill grene
Enamilit with roſis reid and whyte ?

The poet aſcends the cliffs on the ſea-ſhore, and entering a cavern, "high in the crags," ſits down to "regiſter in rhyme ſome mery mater of antiquitie." He compares the fluctuation of the ſea with the inſtability of human affairs;' and at length, being comfortably ſhrouded from the falling ſleet by the cloſeneſs of his cavern, is lulled aſleep by the whiſtling of the winds among the rocks, and the beating of the tide. He then has the following viſion.

He ſees a lady of great beauty and benignity of aſpect ; who ſays, ſhe comes to ſooth his melancholy by ſhowing him ſome new ſpectacles. Her name is Remembrance. Inſtantaneouſly ſhe carries him into the centre of the earth. Hell is here laid open ;[6] which is filled with popes, cardinals, abbots, archbiſhops, in their pontifical attire, and eccleſiaſtics of every degree. In explaining the cauſes of their puniſhments, a long ſatire on the clergy enſues. With theſe are joined biſhop Caiphas, biſhop Annas, the traitor Judas, Ma-

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[1] [Edit. 1806, i. 191-2.] [2] diſguiſed in a [ſad] garment.
[3] violent. [4] formerly. [5] low.
[6] It was a part of the old mundane ſyſtem, that hell was placed in the centre of the earth. So a fragment, cited by Hearne, *Gloſſary* [to Peter Langtoft,] ii, 583:

"Ryght ſo is hell-pitt, as clerkes telles,
Amyde the erthe and no where elles."

So alſo an old French tract, *L'Imaige du Monde, or Image of the world:*—"Saches que en la terre eſt enfer, car enfer ne pourrait eſtre en ſi noble lieu comme eſt l'air," &c. ch. viii.

homet, Chorah, Dathan, and Abiram. Among the tyrants, or unjuſt kings, are Nero, Pharaoh, and Herod. Pontius Pilate is hung up by the heels. He ſees alſo many ducheſſes and counteſſes, who ſuffer for pride and adultery. She then gives the poet a view of purgatory :[1]

A lytill above that dolorous dungeoun,
We enterit in ane cuntre full of cair;
Quhare that we ſaw mony ane legioun
Greitand and gowland with mony ruthfull rair.[2]
Quhat place is this, quod I, of blis ſa bair?
Scho anſwerit and ſaid, Purgatorie,
Quhilk purgis ſaulis, or thay cum to glorie.[3]

After ſome theological reaſonings on the abſurdity of this intermediate ſtate, and having viewed the dungeon of unbaptized babes, and the limbus of the ſouls of men who died before Chriſt, which is placed in a vault above the region of torment, they reaſcend through the bowels of the earth. In paſſing, they ſurvey the ſecret riches of the earth, mines of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. They mount through the ocean, which is ſuppoſed to environ the earth : then travel through the air, and next through the fire. Having paſſed the three elements, they bend towards heaven, but firſt viſit the ſeven planets.[4] They enter the ſphere of the moon, which is elegantly ſtyled

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[1] I have [already] mentioned a Viſion of Hell under the title of *Owayne Miles*. One Gilbertus Ludenſis, a monk ſent by King Stephen into Ireland, where he founded a monaſtery, with an Iriſh knight called Oen, wrote *De Oeni Viſione in Purgatorio*. See Wendover, *apud* Mat. Paris, *ſub ann.* 1153. Reg. Stephan. According to Ware, Gilbertus flouriſhed in the year 1152. *Scriptor. Hibern.* p. 111. [There is a printed tract called *Le Voiage du Chevalier Owen au purgatoire de S. Patrix;* it is in double columns, in a rude Gothic type, and conſiſts of very few leaves. "Sir Owain" is one of the *fabliaux*. See a Note, *ſupr.* p. 157.] Among the MSS. of Magdalene College, Oxford, are the *Viſiones of Tundal*, a knight of Ireland. "Cum anima mea corpus exueret." MSS. Coll. Magd. 53. It is printed in Tinmouth's *Sanctilogium*, and in the *Speculum Hiſtoriale* of Vincent of Beauvais, lib. xxvii. cap. 88, [and there are ſeveral other editions printed ſeparately. See Mr. Turnbull's *Viſions of Tundale*, &c. 1843, 8vo. Introd.] He is called Fundalus in a MS. of this piece, Bibl. Bodl. NE. B. 3. 16. He lived in the year 1149. Ware, *ut ſupra*, p. 55. I believe this piece is in the Cotton Library under the name of *Tundale*, MS. Calig. A. 12. f. 17.

There is a MS. of a knight, called Sir Oweyn, viſiting St. Patrick's Purgatory, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. 550; MSS. Cott. Nero. A. vii. 4. This piece was written by Henry, a Ciſtercian monk of Saltry, in Huntingdonſhire. See T. Meſſingham, *Florileg.* p. 86, *ſeq.* In the catalogue of the Library of Sion Monaſtery which contained fourteen hundred volumes, in Bennet Library, it is falſely attributed to Hugo de Saltereia. MSS. C.C.C.C. xli. The French have an ancient ſpiritual romance on this favourite expedition, ſo fertile of wonders, entitled : *Le Voyage du Puys ſainct patrix auquel lieu on voit les peines du Purgatoire et auſſi les joyes de paradis*. Lyon, 1506. 4to. [See Brunet, laſt edit. v. 1377.]

[2] roar. [3] Signat. D iii.

[4] The planetary ſyſtem was thus divided. i. The Primum Mobile, or firſt motion. ii. The cryſtalline heaven, in which were placed the fixed ſtars. iii. The twelve ſigns of the zodiac. iv. The ſpheres or circles of the planets in this order : viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and laſtly the moon, which they placed in the centre of univerſal nature. Again, they ſuppoſed the earth to be ſurrounded by three elementary ſpheres, fire, air, and water. Milton, in his *Elegy*

Quene of the ſey, and bewtie of the nicht.

The ſun is then deſcribed with great force:

Than paſt we to the ſpheir of Phebus bricht,
That luſtye lamp and lanterne of the hevin;
And glaider of the ſterris with his licht;
And principal of all the planetis ſevin:
And ſet in middis of thame all full evin:
As roy[1] royall rolling in his ſpheir
Full pleſandlye into his goldin chair.
For to diſcryve his diademe royall,
Bordourit with precious ſtanis ſchyning bricht,
His goldin cart, or throne imperiall,
The foure ſteidis that drawith it full richt, &c.[2]

They now arrive at that part of heaven which is called the *Chryſtalline*,[3] and are admitted to the *Empyreal*, or heaven of heavens. Here they view the throne of God, ſurrounded by the nine orders of angels, ſinging with ineffable harmony.[4] Next the throne is the Virgin

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on the Death of a fair Infant, makes a very poetical uſe of the notion of a *primum mobile*, where he ſuppoſes that the ſoul of the child hovers

"— Above that high firſt moving ſphere,
Or in th' Elyſian fields," &c.

St. vi. v. 39. See *Parad. L.* iii. 483:

[1] to be pronounced diſſyllabically.

[2] [Edit. 1806, i. 210.]

[3] Moſt of this philoſophy is immediately borrowed from the firſt chapters of the Nuremburg Chronicle, a celebrated book when Lyndſay wrote, printed in the year 149[3]. It is there ſaid, that of the waters above the firmament which were frozen like cryſtal, God made the cryſtalline heaven, &c. fol. iv. This idea is taken from Geneſis, i. 4. See alſo St. Paul, ii. Epiſt. Cor. xii. 2. The ſame ſyſtem is in Taſſo, where the archangel Michael deſcends from heaven, *Gier. Lib.* C. ix. ſt. 60, *ſeq.* And in Milton, *Parad. L.* iii. 481:

"They paſs the planets ſeven, and paſs the fixed,
And that cryſtalline ſphere," &c.

[4] Becauſe the ſcriptures have mentioned ſeveral degrees of angels, Dionyſius the Areopagite and others have divided them into nine orders, and thoſe they have reduced into three hierarchies. This was a tempting ſubject for the refining genius of the ſchool-divines: and accordingly we find in Thomas Aquinas a diſquiſition, *De ordinatione Angelorum ſecundum Hierarchias et Ordines.* Quæſt. cviii. The ſyſtem, which perhaps makes a better figure in poetry than in philoſophy, has been adopted by many poets who did not outlive the influence of the old ſcholaſtic ſophiſtry. See Dante, *Parad.* C. xxviii. Taſſo mentions, among *La grande oſte dol ciel*,

"Tre folte ſquadre, et ogni ſquadra inſtrutta
In tre ordini gira," &c.

Gier. Lib. xviii. 96. And Spenſer ſpeaks of the angels ſinging in their "trinall triplicities." *Fair. Qu.* i. xii. 39. And again, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Love*. See alſo Sannazarius, *De Part. Virgin.* iii. 241. Milton perhaps is the laſt poet who has uſed this popular theory. *Parad. L.* v. 748.

"Regions they paſſ'd, and mighty regencies
Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,
In their triple degrees."

And it gives great dignity to his arrangement of the celeſtial army. See *ibid. ſupr.* 583.

"— Th' empyreal hoſt
Of angels, by imperial ſummons call'd,

Mary, the queen of queens, "well cumpanyit with ladyis of delyte." An exterior circle is formed by patriarchs, prophets, evangeliſts, apoſtles, conquerors in the three battles of the world, of the fleſh, and of the devil, martyrs, confeſſors, and "doctours in divinitie," under the command of St. Peter, who is repreſented as their lieutenant-general.

Milton, who feigns the ſame viſionary route with very different ideas, has theſe admirable verſes, written in his nineteenth year, yet marked with that characteriſtical great manner which diſtinguiſhes the poetry of his maturer age. He is addreſſing his native language:

> Yet I had rather, if I were to chuſe,
> Thy ſervice in ſome graver ſubject uſe;
> Such as may make thee ſearch thy coffers round,
> Before thou clothe my fancy in fit ſound:
> Such, where the deep-tranſported mind may ſoar
> Above the wheeling poles; and at Heaven's door
> Look in, and ſee each bliſsfull deitie
> How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
> Liſtening to what unſhorn Apollo ſings
> To th' touch of golden wires, while Hebe brings
> Immortal nectar to her kingly ſire.
> Then paſſing through the ſpheares of watchfull fire,
> And miſtie regions of wide air next under,
> And hills of ſnow, and lofts of piled thunder,
> May tell at length how green-eyed Neptune raves,
> In heaven's defiance muſtering all his waves.[1]

Remembrance and the poet, leaving heaven, now contemplate the earth, which is divided into three parts. To have mentioned America, recently diſcovered, would have been hereſy in the ſcience of coſmography; as that quarter of the globe did not occur in Pliny and Ptolemy.[2] The moſt famous cities are here enumerated. The

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> Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne,
> Forthwith from all the ends of heaven appear'd,
> Under their Hierarchies in Orders bright.
> Ten thouſand thouſand enſigns high advanc'd,
> Standards and gonfalons, twixt van and rear
> Stream in the air, and for diſtinction ſerve
> Of Hierarchies, of Orders, and Degrees."

Such ſplendid and ſublime imagery has Milton's genius raiſed on the problems of Thomas Aquinas. See alſo *ibid.* 600. Hence a paſſage in his *Hymn on the Morning of Chriſt's Nativity* is to be illuſtrated. St. xiii. vi. 131:

> "And with your ninefold harmony
> Make up full concert to the angelike ſymphony."

That is, the ſymphony of the nine orders of angels was to be anſwered by the nine-fold muſic of the ſpheres. Thomas Heywood, a moſt voluminous dramatic poet in the reign of James I., wrote a long poem with large notes on this ſubject, called *The Hierarchie of the Bleſſed Angels*, 1635. See alſo Jonſon's *Elegie on my Muſe*, in the Underwoods.

[1] *At a Vacation Exerciſe*, &c. Newton's *Milt.* ii. p. 11.

[2] For the benefit of thoſe who are making reſearches in ancient coſmography, I obſerve that the map of England, mentioned by Harriſon and Hearne, and belonging to Merton college library, appears to have exiſted at leaſt ſo early as the year 1512. For in that year it was lent to the dean of Wells, William Coſyn, with a caution of forty ſhillings. *Regiſtr. Vet. Coll. Mert.* fol. 218, b. See its reſtitution, *ibid.* fol. 219, b.

poet next deſires a view of Paradiſe; that glorious "garth," or garden, of every flower. It is repreſented as elevated in the middle region of the air, in a climate of perpetual ſerenity.[1] From a fair fountain, ſpringing in the midſt of this ambroſial garden, deſcend four rivers, which water all the eaſt. It is incloſed with walls of fire, and guarded by an angel:

The cuntrie cloſit is about full richt
With wallis hie of hote and birnyng fyre,
And ſtraitly keipit be ane angell bricht.[2]

From Paradiſe a very rapid tranſition is made to Scotland. Here the poet takes occaſion to lament, that in a country ſo fertile, and filled with inhabitants ſo ingenious and active, univerſal poverty and every national diſorder ſhould abound. It is very probable, that the poem was written ſolely with a view of introducing this complaint. After an enquiry into the cauſes of theſe infelicities, which are referred to political miſmanagement, and the defective adminiſtration of juſtice, the *Commonwealth of Scotland* appears, whoſe figure is thus delineated:

We ſaw a bouſteous berne[3] cum ovir the bent,[4]
But[5] hors on fute, als faſt as he micht go;
Quhoſe rayment wes all raggit, revin,[6] and rent,
With viſage lene, as he had faſtit Lent:
And fordwart faſt his wayis he did advance,
With ane malicious countenance:
With ſcrip on hip and pykſtaff in his hand,
As he had purpoſit to pas fra hame.
Quod I, Gude man, I wald fane underſtand,
Gif ye pleiſit,[7] to wit quhat is your name?[8]
Quod he, My ſone, of that I think greit ſchame.
Bot ſen thow wald of my name have ane feill,
Forſuthe thay call me Jhone[9] the Common-weill.[10]

The reply of *Sir Commonwealth* to our poet's queſtion is a long and general ſatire on the corrupt ſtate of Scotland. The ſpiritual prelates, he ſays, have ſent away Devotion to the mendicant friars: and are more fond of deſcribing the diſhes at a feaſt than of explaining the nature of their own eſtabliſhment:

Senſual Pleſour hes baneiſt Chaiſtitie.

Liberality, Loyalty, and Knightly Valour, are fled:

And Cowardice, with lordis is laureate.

From this ſketch of Scotland (here given by Lyndſay), under the reign of James V., who acted as a viceroy to France, a Scotiſh hiſtorian might collect many ſtriking features of the ſtate of his country, during that intereſting period, drawn from the life.

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[1] "Paradiſus tantæ eſt altitudinis, quo eſt inacceſſibilis ſecundum Bedam; et tam altus, quod ethereum regionem pertingat," &c. *Chron. Nur.* ut ſupr. f. viii. b.

[2] [Edit. 1806, i. 229.]

[3] [ſtrong, powerful.]

[4] coarſe graſs, [alſo, an open field, or plain.]

[5] without.

[6] riven.

[7] if you pleaſe.

[8] know.

[9] John, for what reaſon I know not, is a name of ridicule and contempt in moſt modern languages.

[10] [Edit. 1806, i, 237-8.]

The poet then ſuppoſes, that *Remembrance* conducts him back to the cave on the ſea-ſhore, in which he falls aſleep. He is awakened by a ſhip firing a broadſide.[1] He returns home and, entering his oratory, commits his viſion to verſe. To this is added an exhortation of ten ſtanzas to James V. in which he gives his majeſty advice, and cenſures his numerous inſtances of miſconduct with incredible boldneſs and aſperity. Moſt of the addreſſes to James V. by the Scotiſh poets are ſatires inſtead of panegyrics.

I have not at preſent either leiſure or inclination to enter into a minute enquiry how far our author is indebted in his *Dream* to Tully's *Dream of Scipio*, and the *Hell*, *Purgatory* and *Heaven* of Dante.[2]

Lyndſay's poem, called *The Monarch*, is an account of the moſt famous monarchies that have flouriſhed in the world: but, like all the Gothic proſe-hiſtories or chronicles on the ſame favourite ſubject, it begins with the creation of the world, and ends with the day of judgment.[3] There is much learning in this poem. It is a Dialogue between Experience and a Courtier. This mode of conducting a narrative, by means of an imaginary myſtagogue, is adopted from Boethius. A deſcriptive prologue which conſiſts of octave ſtanzas, and in which the poet enters a delightful park, opens the poem.[4] The ſun clad in his embroidered mantle, brighter than gold or

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[1] "Thay ſparit nocht the poulder nor the *ſtanis*."

A proof that ſtones were now uſed inſtead of leaden bullets. At firſt they ſhot darts, or carrieaux, *i. e.* quarrels, from great guns. Afterwards ſtones, which they called gun-ſtones. In the *Brut d'Angleterre*, it is ſaid, that when Henry V., before Harflete, received a taunting meſſage from the Dauphin of France and a ton of tennis-balls by way of contempt, "he anoone lette make tenes balles for the *Dolfin* [Henry's ſhip] in all the haſte that they myght, and they were great gonneſtones for the *Dolfin* to playe with alle." But this game at tennis was too rough for the beſieged, when Henry "playede at the tenes with his harde gonneſtones," &c. See Strutt's *Cuſtoms and Manners of the Engliſh*, 1775, vol. ii. p. 32.

[2] In the Medicean library at Florence and the Ambroſian at Milan, there is a long manuſcript Italian poem, in three books, divided into one hundred chapters, written by Matteo Palmeri, a learned Florentine, about the year 1450. It is in imitation of Dante, in the "terza rima," and entitled [*Citta di Vita.*] The ſubject is, the peregrination of the ſoul, freed from the ſhackles of the body, through various ideal places and ſituations, till at length it arrives in the city of heaven. This poem was publicly burnt at Cortona, becauſe the author adopted Origen's hereſy concerning a third claſs of angels who for their ſins were deſtined to animate human bodies. See Trithem. c. 797, Julius Niger, *Scriptor. Florent.* p. 404, [and Muratori (*Rer. Ital. Script.* xiii. xix. and *Suppl.* i. This Palmeri (1405-75) muſt not be confounded with his nameſake of Piſa, who continued his chronicle *De Temporibus*. See Brunet, laſt edit. in v. for a notice of a work by Palmeri the Florentine, diſtinct from his *Citta di Vita*, and entitled *Libro della Vita Civile.*]

[3] It was printed Hafn. 1552. 4to.

[4] A park is a favourite ſcene of action in our old poets. See Chaucer's *Compl. Bl. Kn.* v. 39, [edit. Morris:]

"Toward a park encloſid with a wall," &c.

And in other places. Parks were anciently the conſtant appendage of almoſt every conſiderable manorial houſe. The old patent-rolls are full of licences for imparcations which do not now exiſt.

precious ſtones, extinguiſhes the horned queen of night, who hides her viſage in a miſty veil. Immediately Flora began to expand :[1]

hir tapiſtrie
Wrocht de dame Nature quent and curiouſlie,
Depaynt with mony hundreth heuinlie hewis.

Meanwhile, Eolus and Neptune reſtrain their fury, that no rude ſounds might mar the melody of the birds which echoed among the rocks.[2]

In the park our poet, under the character of a Courtier, meets Experience, repoſing under the ſhade of a holly. This portrait is touched with uncommon elegance and expreſſion :

Into that Park I ſawe appeir
Ane ageit man, quhilk drew me neir,
Quhoſe beird was weil thre quarter lang ;
His hair doun ouer his ſchulders hang,
The quhilk as ony ſnaw was quhyte ;
Quhome to behald I thocht delyte ;
His habitt Angellyke of hew,
Of culloure lyke the Sapheir blew.
Onder ane Hollyng he repoſit.
To ſitt down he requeiſtit me
Onder the ſchaddow of that tre,
To ſaif me frome the Sonnis heit,
Amangis the flowris ſoft and ſweit ;—[3]

In the midſt of an edifying converſation concerning the fall of man and the origin of human miſery, our author, before he proceeds to his main ſubject, thinks it neceſſary to deliver a formal apology for writing in the vulgar tongue. He declares that his intention is to inſtruct and to be underſtood, and that he writes to the people.[4] Moſes, he ſays, did not give the Judaic law on mount Sinai in Greek or Latin. Ariſtotle and Plato did not communicate their philoſophy

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[1] [The enſuing extracts have been collated with the Early Engliſh Text Society's edit. of the *Monarke* (from the 2nd edit. printed by John Scot, *circâ* 1560).]

[2] Inſtead of Parnaſſus he chooſes Mount Calvary, and his Helicon is the ſtream which flowed from our Saviour's ſide on the croſs, when he was wounded by Longinus, that is Longias. This is a fictitious perſonage in the Goſpel of Nicodemus. I have mentioned him before. Being blind, he was reſtored to ſight by wiping his eyes with his hands which were bloody. See more of him in Chaucer's *Lamentat. Mary Magd.* v. 176. In the Gothic pictures of the Crucifixion, he is repreſented on horſeback, piercing our Saviour's ſide : and in Xavier's Perſic Hiſtory of Chriſt, he is called a horſeman. This notion aroſe from his uſing a ſpear, or lance: and that weapon, λογχη, undoubtedly gave riſe to his ideal name of Longias, or Longinus. He is afterwards ſuppoſed to have been a biſhop of Ceſarea, and to have ſuffered martyrdom. See Tillemont, *Memor. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. i. pp. 81, 251, and Fabric. *Apoc. Nov. Teſtam.* tom. i. p. 261. In the old Greek tragedy of *Chriſt ſuffering*, the converted Centurion is expreſsly mentioned, but not by this name. Almoſt all that relates to this perſon, who could not eſcape the fictions of the monks, has been collected by Wolfius, *Cur. Philol. et Crit. in S. Evangel.* tom. i. p. 414, ii. 984, edit. Baſil. 1741. See alſo Hoffman, *Lexic. Univerſal. Continuat.* in v. tom. i. p. 1036, col. 2, Baſil. 1683.

[3] Signat. B i.

[4] "Quharefore to Colȝearis, Cairtaris, and to Cukis,
To Iok and Thome, my Ryme ſal be diractit."

in Dutch or Italian. Virgil and Cicero did not write in Chaldee or Hebrew. Saint Jerom, it is true, tranſlated the Bible into Latin, his own natural language; but had Saint Jerom been born in Argyleſhire, he would have tranſlated it into Erſe. King David wrote the pſalter in Hebrew, becauſe he was a Jew. Hence he very ſenſibly takes occaſion to recommend the propriety and neceſſity of publiſhing the Scriptures and the miſſal, and of compoſing all books intended for common uſe, in the reſpective vernacular language of every country. This objection being anſwered, which ſhows the ideas of the times, our author thus deſcribes the creation of the world and of Adam:

Qvhen God had maid ye heuinis brycht,
The Sone, & Mone, for to geue lycht,
The ſterry heuin & Chriſtellyne,
And, be his Sapience diuyne,
The planetis, in yair circlis round
Quhirling about w[ith] merie ſound,
He cled the erth with herbis and treis;
All kynd of fyſches in the ſeis,
All kynd of beſt he did prepair,
With fowlis fleying in the air.
Quhen heuin and erth, and thare contentis,
Wer endit, with thare Ornamentis,
Than, laſt of all, the Lord began
Off moſt vyle erth to mak the man:
Nocht of the Lille nor the Roſe,
Nor Syper tre, as I ſuppoſe,
Nother of gold, nor precious ſtonis,
Off erth he mad fleſche, blude, and bonis.
To that intent God maid hym thus,
That man ſulde nocht be glorious,
Nor in hym ſelf no thyng ſuld ſe
Bot matere of humylite.[1]

Some of theſe nervous, terſe, and poliſhed lines need only to be reduced to modern and Engliſh orthography, to pleaſe a reader accuſtomed ſolely to reliſh the tone of our preſent verſification.

To theſe may be added the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and Solomon's temple:

Prince Tytus with his Chewalrye
With ſound of trompe Tryumphandlye
He enterrit in that gret citie, &c.
Thare wes nocht ellis bot tak and ſlay;
For thare mycht na man wyn away.[2]
The ſtrandis of blude ran throuch the ſtretis,
Off deid folk trampit vnder fetis;
Auld Wedowis in the preis wer ſmorit,[3]
Ȝoung Virginis ſchamefully deflorit;
The gret Tempyll of Salamone,
With mony A curyous caruit ſtone,
With perfyte pinnakles on hycht,
Quhilkis wer rycht bewtyfull and wycht,[4]
Quhare in ryche Iowelli[s] did abound,
Thay ruſcheit[5] rudlie to the ground,

[1] Signat. C iii. [2] eſcape. [3] ſmothered. [4] [fair or comely.]
[5] *f.* raſed [or daſhed].

And ſett in tyll thare furious yre,[1]
Sancta Sanctorum in to fyre.[2]

The appearance of Chriſt coming to judgment is poetically painted, and in a ſtyle of correctneſs and harmony, of which few ſpecimens were now ſeen:

As fyreflaucht haiſtely glanſing,[3]
Diſcend ſall the maiſt heuinly kyng;
As Phebus in the Orient
Lychtnis[4] in haiſt, the Occident,
Sa pleſandlye he ſall appeir
Amang the heuinlye cluddis cleir.
The Angelli[s] of the Ordoris Nyne
Inueron ſall that throne Diuyne.
In his preſen[s] thare ſalbe borne
The ſignis[5] of Cros, and Croun of thorne,
Pillar, Nalis, Scurgis, and Speir,
With euerilk thyng that did hym deir,[6]
The tyme of his grym Paſſioun:
And for our conſolatioun
Appeir ſall, in his handis and feit,
And in his ſyde, the prent compleit
Off his fyue Woundis Precious,
Schynand lyke Rubeis Radious.

When Chriſt is ſeated at the tribunal, judging the world, he adds,

There ſall ane Angell blawe a blaſt
Quhilk ſall mak all the warld agaſt.[7]

Among the monarchies, our author deſcribes the papal ſee: whoſe innovations, impoſtures and errors he attacks with much good ſenſe, ſolid argument, and ſatirical humour; and whoſe imperceptible increaſe, from ſimple and humble beginnings to an enormity of ſpiritual tyranny, he traces through a gradation of various corruptions and abuſes with great penetration and knowledge of hiſtory.[8]

Among ancient peculiar cuſtoms now loſt, he mentions a ſuperſtitious idol annually carried about the ſtreets of Edinburgh:

Of Edinburgh the gret Idolatrye
And manifeſt abominatioun
On thare feiſt day all creature may ſe:
Thay beir ane auld ſtock Image throuch ye toun
With talbrone,[9] troumpet, ſchalme and Clarioun,
Quhilk hes bene vſit mony one ȝeir bigone,
With prieſtis and freris in to proceſſioun,
Siclyke[10] as Bell wes borne throuch Babilone.[11]

He alſo ſpeaks of the people flocking to be cured of various infirmities to the "auld rude" (or croſs) of Kerrail.[12]

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[1] in their rage. [2] Signat. L iii. [3] [lightning.]
[4] lightens. [5] repreſentations. [6] [hurt].
[7] Signat. P iii. [8] Signat. M iii. [9] tabor. [10] ſo as.
[11] [The "auld ſtock-image" which is here reprobated by Lyndſay was the image of St. Giles, the patron ſaint of Edinburgh, and which was yearly, on the 1ſt of September, carried through the town in grand proceſſion.—*Chalmers.*]
[12] For alluſions of this kind the following ſtanza may be cited, [ſatirizing the licentiouſneſs which had crept into an old religious uſage:]

Our poet's principal vouchers and authorities in the *Monarch* are Livy, Valerius Maximus, Joſephus, Diodorus Siculus, Avicen (the Arabic phyſician), Oroſius, Saint Jerom, Polydore Vergil, Cario the chronicler, the *Faſciculus temporum*, and the *Chronica Chronicarum*. The *Faſciculus temporum* is a Latin chronicle, written at the cloſe of the fifteenth century by Wernerus Rolewinck, a Weſtphalian and a Carthuſian monk of Cologne, and is a moſt venerable volume.[1] The [*Chronicorum Liber*, uſually known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*,] written by Hartmannus Schedelius, a phyſician at Nuremberg, and from which our author evidently took his philoſophy in his *Dream*, was printed at Nuremberg in 1493.[2] This was a moſt popular compilation, and is at preſent a great curioſity to thoſe who are fond of hiſtory in the Gothic ſtyle, conſiſting of wonders conveyed in the black letter and wooden cuts. Cario's chronicle is a much more rational and elegant work: it was originally compoſed about the beginning of the ſixteenth century by [Johannes] Cario, an eminent mathematician, and [reviſed, at the author's requeſt,] by Melancthon. [It was firſt publiſhed in German at Wittenberg in 1532, and its popularity was ſo great that it ſaw eight-and-twenty editions. It poſſeſſes, however, little merit, and is now completely forgotten. There is an early Engliſh tranſlation.] Of Oroſius, a wretched but admired Chriſtian hiſtorian, who compiled in Latin a ſeries of univerſal annals from the creation to the fifth century, he cites a tranſlation:

> The tranſlatour of Oroſius
> Intill his cronicle wryttis thus.[3]

I know of no Engliſh tranſlation of Oroſius, unleſs the Anglo-Saxon verſion by King Alfred, which would perhaps have been much more difficult to Lyndſay than the Latin original, may be called ſuch: yet Oroſius was early tranſlated into French[4] and Italian.[5] For the

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> "This wes the practick of ſum pilgramage,
> Quhen fillokis into Fyfe began to fon
> With Joke and Thom than tuke thai thair vayage
> In Angus till the feild chapell of Dron:
> Than kittock thare als caidgie as ane con,
> Without regarde outher to ſin or ſchame,
> Gave Lawrie leif at laiſer to loup on,
> Far better had bene till have biddin at hame."

[A *fillok* is a wanton girl; literally *a mare*.] I will here take occaſion to explain two lines, Signat I iii:

> "Nor yit the fair maydin of France
> Danter of Inglis ordinance."

That is, Joan of Arc, who ſo often daunted or defeated the Engliſh army. To this heroine, and to Penthesilea, he compares Semiramis.

[1] [Firſt printed in 1474. See Brunet in v.] See it alſo among *Scriptor. German.* per J. Piſtorium, tom. i. p. 580.

[2] Again 1497, fol. [3] Signat. F ii.

[4] By [Antoine Verard, 1491, fol. See Brunet, laſt edit. in v. for a notice of this and later editions. Brunet omits to mention the Italian verſion indicated by Warton below.]

[5] By Benaccivoli, Ven. 1528, 4to.

ſtory of Alexander the Great, our author ſeems to refer to [the] poem on that ſubject written in the reign of Edward II.:[1] a work which I never remember to have ſeen cited before, and of which, although deſerving to be printed, only two manuſcripts now remain, the one in the library of Lincoln's Inn and the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Alexander the conquerour,
Gif thow at lenth wald reid his ring,[2]
And of his crewell conqueſſing
In Inglis toung in his greit buke,
At lenth his lyfe thare thow may luke.[3]

He acquaints us, yet not from his own knowledge, but on the teſtimony of other writers, that Homer and Heſiod were the inventors in Greece of poetry, medicine, muſic, and aſtronomy.[4]

Experience departs from the poet, and the dialogue is ended, at the approach of the evening, which is deſcribed with theſe circumſtances:

Behald, quhow Phebus dounwart dois diſcend,
Towart his palyce in the Occident.
The dew now dounkis[5] the roſſis redolent:
The Mareguldis, that all day wer reioſit
Of Phebus heit, now craftelly ar cloſit.[6]
The Cornecraik in the croft, I heir hir cry;
The bak, the Howlat,[7] febyll of thare eis,
For thare paſtyme now in the ewinnyng fleis.
The Nychtyngaill with myrthfull melody
Hir naturall notis perfith throw the ſky.[8]

Many other paſſages in Lyndſay's poems deſerve attention. Magdalene of France, married to James V. of Scotland,[9] did not live to ſee the magnificent preparations made for her public entry into Edinburgh. In a poem, called the *Deith of quene Magdalene*, our author, by a moſt ſtriking and lively proſopopeia, an expoſtulation with Death, deſcribes the whole order of the proceſſion. I will give a few of the ſtanzas:

Theif, ſaw thow nocht the greit preparatyvis
Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun?
Thow ſaw the pepill lauboring for thair lyvis,
To mak tryumphe with trump and clarioun!
* * * * *

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[1] See *ſupr.* vol. ii. p. [205, *et ſeq.*] [2] If thou at length would read his reign.
[3] Signat. K iii. He alſo cites Lucan for Alexander, Signat. L i. For an account of the riches of Pope John, he quotes Palmerius, Signat N i. This muſt have been [Matteo Palmeri of Florence, or rather his nameſake and continuator. See above. The former] wrote a general chronicle from the fifth century to his own times, entitled *De Temporibus*, and, I believe, firſt printed at Milan, 1475, fol.; afterwards reprinted with improvements and continuations; particularly at Venice, 1483, by Grynæas at the end of Euſebius, 1570, [and by Muratori, *ut ſupr.*]
[4] Signat. K iii. [5] moiſtens. [6] are cloſed.
[7] owlet, owl. [8] Signat. R.
[9] Not inelegantly, he compares James making frequent and dangerous voyages into France to addreſs the princeſs, to Leander ſwimming through the Helleſpont to Hero.

Thow ſaw makand[1] richt coſtlie ſcaffalding,
Depaintit weill with gold and aſure fyne,
Reddye prepairit for the upſetting,
With fontanis flowing water cleir and wyne:
Diſgyſit[2] folkis, lyke creaturis divyne,
On ilk ſcaffold to play ane ſundrie ſtorie:[3]
Bot all in greiting[4] turnit thow that glorie.

Thow ſaw mony ane luſtie freſche galland
Weill ordourit for reſaiving of thair quene,
Ilk craftiſman with bent bow in his hand,
Ful galȝeartlie in ſchort clething of grene, &c.

* * * * *

Syne nyxt in ordour paſſing throw the toun,
Thow ſuld haif hard the din of inſtrumentis,
Of tabrone, trumpet, ſchalme, and clarioun,
With reird[5] redoundand throw the elementis;
The herauldis with thair awful veſtimentis,
With maſeris[6] upon ather of thair handis,
To rewle the preis, with burneiſt ſilver wandis, &c.

Thow ſulde haif hard[7] the ornate oratouris,
Makand hir hynes ſalutatioun,
Baith of the clergy town and counſalouris,
With mony notabill narratioun.
Thow ſuld haif ſene hir coronatioun
In the fair abbay of the haly rude,
In preſence of ane myrthfull multitude.

Sic banketting, ſic awfull tornamentis
On hors and fute, that tyme quhilk ſuld haif bene,
Sic chapell royall with ſic inſtrumentis,
And craftie muſick, &c.[8]

Excluſively of this artificial and very poetical mode of introducing a deſcription of theſe ſplendid ſpectacles, inſtead of ſaying plainly that the queen's death prevented the ſuperb ceremonies which would have attended her coronation, theſe ſtanzas have another merit, that of tranſmitting the ideas of the times in the exhibition of a royal entertainment.[9]

Our author's *Complaint* contains a curious picture, like that in his *Dream*, of the miſerable policy by which Scotland was governed under James V. But he diverſifies and enlivens the ſubject, by ſuppoſing the public felicity which would take place, if all corrupt miniſters and evil counſellors were removed from the throne. This is deſcribed by ſtriking and pictureſque perſonifications:

For Iuſtice haldis hir ſweird on hie
With hir ballance of Equitie.
Dame Prudence hes the be the heid,
And temporance dois thy brydill leid.

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[1] making. [2] men, actors diſguiſed.
[3] plays and pageants acted on moveable ſcaffolds.
[4] to grief. [5] ſound. [6] maces. [7] heard.
[8] [Edit. 1806, ii. 183-4.]
[9] The curious reader may compare "The ordynaunce of the entre of Quene Iſabell into the towne of Paris," in Froiſſart. Berners's *Tranſl.* tom. ii. c. clvii. f. 172, b.

I ſe dame Force mak aſſiſtance,
Berand thy Targe of aſſurance:
And luſty lady Chaſtitie
Hes baneiſt Senſualitie.
Dame Ryches takis on the ſic cure,
I pray God that ſcho lang indure,
That Pouertie dar nocht be ſene
In to thy hous, for baith hir Ene,
Bot fra thy grace fled mony mylis
Amangis the Hountaris in the Ylis.[1]

I know not whether it be worth obſerving, that playing at cards is mentioned in this poem among the diverſions or games of the court:

Thare was na play, bot cartis and dyce.[2]

And it is mentioned as an accompliſhment in the character of a biſhop:

Bot gif thay can play at the cartis.[3]

Thus, in 1503, James IV. of Scotland, at an interview with the Princeſs Margaret in the Caſtle of Newbattle, finds her playing at cards:—"The kynge came prively to the ſaid caſtell, and entred within the chammer [chamber] with a ſmall cumpany, whar he founde the quene *playing at the Cardes*."[4]

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[1] Signat. G i. I here take occaſion to explain the two following lines:

"Als Jhone Makrery, the kingis fule,
Gat dowbill garmentis agane the yule."

That is, "The king's fool got two ſuits of apparel, or garments doubly thick, to wear at Chriſtmas." Signat. G i. So James I. in his declaration at an aſſembly of the Scotiſh Kirk at Edinburgh, in 1590, "The church of Geneva keep Paſche and Yule," that is, Eaſter and Chriſtmas. Calderwood's *Hiſt. Ch. Scot.* p. 256. Our author, in the *Complaynt of the Papyngo*, ſays that his bird ſang well enough to be a minſtrel at Chriſtmas. Signat. A iii.

"Scho micht have bene ane menſtrall at the *gule*."

Thus Robert of Brunne, in his chronicle, ſpeaking of King Arthur keeping Chriſtmas at York:

"On ȝole day mad he feſt
With many barons of his geſte."

See Hearne's *Rob. Glouc.* vol. ii. p. 678. And Leland's *Itin.* vol. ii. p. 116. In the north of England, Chriſtmas to this day is called *ule*, *yule*, or *youle*. Blount ſays, "in the northern parts they have an old cuſtom, after ſermon or ſervice on Chriſtmas-day; the people will, even in the churches, cry *ule*, *ule*, as a token of rejoycing, and the common ſort run about the ſtreets ſinging:

"Ule, Ule, Ule,
Three puddings in a pule,
Crack nuts, and cry Ule."

Diction. voc. *Ule*. In Saxon the word is ȝehul, ȝehol, or ȝeol. In the Welch rubric every ſaint's day is the *Wyl* or *Gwl* of that ſaint: either from a Britiſh word ſignifying *watching*, or from the Latin *Vigilia*, Vigil, taken in a more extended ſenſe. In Wales *wyliau* or *gwyliau* hadolig ſignifies the *Chriſtmas* holidays, where *wyla* or *gwyliau* is the plural of *wyl* or *gwl*.

I alſo take this opportunity of obſerving, that the court of the Roman pontiff was exhilarated by a fool. The pope's fool was in England in 1230, and received forty ſhillings of Henry III. *de dono regis*. MSS. James, xxviii. p. 190.

[2] Signat. F. iii. [3] Signat. G i.

[4] Leland. *Coll. Append.* iii. p. 284, *ut ſupr.*

In our author's *Tragedie of Cardinal Betoun*, a ſoliloquy ſpoken by the cardinal, he is made to declare, that he played with the king for three thouſand crowns of gold in one night, at *cartis* and dice.[1]

> Halking, hunting, and ſwift horſe rynning,
> Are changit all in wrangus wynning;
> Thar is no play bot *cartis* and dyce.

Where, by the way, horſe-racing is conſidered among the liberal ſports, ſuch as hawking and hunting, and not as a ſpecies of gaming.[2]

Cards are mentioned in a ſtatute of Henry VII.[3] Du Cange cites two Greek writers, who mention card-playing as one of the games of modern Greece, at leaſt before the year 1498.[4] It ſeems highly probable, that the Arabians, ſo famous for their ingenuity, more eſpecially in whatever related to numbers and calculation, were the inventors of cards, which they communicated to the Conſtantinopolitan Greeks. Carpentier ſays that cards, or *folia luſoria*, are prohibited.[5] But the age of theſe ſtatutes has not occurred to me.[6]

Benedictus Abbas has preſerved a very curious edict, which ſhews the ſtate of gaming in the Chriſtian army, commanded by Richard I. king of England and Philip of France, during the cruſade in the year 1190. No perſon in the army is permitted to play at any ſort of game for money, except knights and clergymen; who in one whole day and night ſhall not each loſe more than twenty ſhillings: on pain of forfeiting one hundred ſhillings to the archbiſhops of the army. The two kings may play for what they pleaſe: but their attendants, not for more than twenty ſhillings. Otherwiſe, they are to be whipped naked through the army for three days,[7] &c.

Prophecies of apparent impoſſibilities were common in Scotland: ſuch as the removal of one place to another. Under this popular prophetic formulary may be ranked the prediction in Shakeſpeare's *Macbeth*, where the *Apparition* ſays, that Birnam-wood ſhall go to Dunſinane. In the ſame ſtrain, peculiar to his country, ſays our author:

> Quhen the Bas and the iſle of May
> Beis ſet upon the mont Sinay,
> Quhen the Lowmound beſyde Falkland
> Beis liftit to Northumberland.

But he happily avails himſelf of the form, to introduce a ſtroke of ſatire:

> Quhen Kirkman yairnis[8] na dignite,
> Nor wyffis na ſoveranite.[9]

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[1] Signat. I ii. They are alſo mentioned in an old anonymous Scotiſh poem *Of Covetice*. *Anc. Sc. P.* ut ſupr. p. 168, ſt. iii.

[2] See alſo *ibid.* p. 146, ſt. v.

[3] xi. Hen. VII. cap. ii. That is, in 1496.

[4] *Gloſſ. Gr.* tom. i. v. Xaptia. p. 1734.

[5] *Statuta Crimin. Saonæ.* cap. xxx. p. 61.

[6] *Supplem. Lat. Gloſſ.* Du Cange, v. *Cartæ*, tom. i. p. 342.

[7] *Vit. Ric.* I. p. 610, edit. Hearn, tom. ii. King Richard is deſcribed playing at cheſs in this expedition. MSS. Harl. 4690:

> "And kyng Rychard ſtode and playe
> Att the cheſſe in his galleye."

[8] earn, gain.

[9] *Ibid.* Signat. H i.

The minority of James V. was diſſipated in pleaſures, and his education moſt induſtriouſly neglected. He was flattered, not inſtructed by his preceptors. His unguarded youth was artfully expoſed to the moſt alluring temptations. Even his governors and preceptors threw theſe temptations in his way; a circumſtance touched with ſome humour by our author:

Thare was few of that garniſoun
That lernit hym ane gude leſſoun.
Quod ane, The devill ſtik me with ane knife,
Bot, Schir, I knaw ane maide in Fyfe,
Ane of the luſtieſt wantoun laſſis!
Hald thy toung brother, quod ane uther,
I knaw ane fairer be fyſtene futher.
Schir, when ye pleis to Linlithquow pas,
Thare ſall ye ſe ane luſtie las.
Now *tritill tratill trow low*,
Quod the third man, thow dois bot mow;
Quhen his grace cummis to fair Stirling
Thare ſal he ſe ane dayis darling.
Schir quod the fourt, tak my counſell,
And go all to the hie bordell,
Thare may we loup at liberte
Withoutin any gravite,[1] &c.

It was in this reign that the nobility of Scotland began to frequent the court, which ſoon became the theatre of all thoſe idle amuſements which were calculated to ſolicit the attention of a young king. All theſe abuſes are painted in this poem with an honeſt unreſerved indignation. It muſt not in the mean time be forgotten, that James poſſeſſed eminent abilities, and a love of literature; nor is it beſide our preſent purpoſe to obſerve, that he was [probably] the author of the celebrated ballad called *Chriſt's Kirk on the Green*.[2]

The *Complaint of the Papingo* is a piece of the like tendency. In the Prologue, there is a curious and critical catalogue of the Scotiſh poets who flouriſhed about the fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth centuries. As the names and works of many of them ſeem to be totally forgotten, and as it may contribute to throw ſome new lights on the neglected hiſtory of the Scotiſh poetry, I ſhall not ſcruple to give the paſſage at large, with a few illuſtrations. Our author declares, that the poets of his own age dare not aſpire to the praiſe of the three Engliſh poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. He then, under the ſame idea, makes a tranſition to the moſt diſtinguiſhed poets, who formerly flouriſhed in Scotland:

Or quho can now the workis cuntrafait[3]
Off Kennedie,[4] with termes aureait?

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[1] *Ibid.* Signat. G. Compare Buchanan, *Hiſt.* lib. xiv. *ad fin.*

[2] Printed at Oxford, by Edm. Gibſon, 1691, 4to. with Notes. [But there is an edition printed as a broadſide in 1663, in the Chetham Library.] He died in 1452.

[3] imitate.

[4] [Walter Kennedy. All his known poems are inſerted in Mr. Laing's edition of Dunbar. Mr. Laing ſays, that he was born in Ayrſhire before the year 1460, and that he was the third ſon of Gilbert, firſt Lord Kennedy.] Kennedy wrote a

Or of Dunbar, quhilk language had at large,
As maye be ſene in tyll his Goldin Targe?
Quintyng,[1] Merſar,[2] Rowle,[3] Henderſon,[4] Hay[5] & Holland.[6]
Thocht thay be ded, yar libells bene leua[n]d,[7]
Quhilkis to reheirs makeith redaris to reioſe.
Allace for one quhilk lampe was of this land,
Of Eloquence the flowand balmy ſtrand,[8]
And in our Inglis rethorick the roſe,
As of Rubeis the Charbunckle bene choſe!
And as Phebus dois Synthia preſell;
So Gawane Dowglas, Byſchope of Dunkell,
Had, quhen he wes in to this lande on lyue,
Abuſe vulgare Poetis prerogatyue,
Boith in pratick and ſpeculatioun.
I ſaye no mare: gude redaris may diſcryue
His worthy workis, in nowmer mo than fyue.
And ſpeciallye the trew Tranſlatioun

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poem in Scotiſh metre on the *Paſſion of Chriſt*. MSS. Coll. Greſham. 286. Some of Kennedy's poems are in MSS. Hyndford. The *Flyting* between Dunbar and Kennedy is in the *Evergreen*. He exceeds his contemporary Dunbar in ſmoothneſs of verſification.

[1] He flouriſhed about the year 1320. He was driven from Scotland under the devaſtations of Edward I., and took refuge at Paris. He wrote a poem, called the *Complaint of the Miſeries of his Country*, printed at Paris, 1511. [Quintyne Schaw is the author of a poem called *Advyce to a Courtier*, printed in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottiſh Poetry*, vol. i. p. 348. He is mentioned by Dunbar in his *Lament for the Makaris* by the name of Quintyne, (as in the text) without any addition.—*Price*.]

[2] [So little is known regarding his perſonal hiſtory, that we cannot aſcertain the Chriſtian name of a poet, who was thought worthy of commemoration by Lyndſay, as well as by Dunbar. In the treaſurer's accounts, we find a Peter Merſar, who received articles of dreſs, "quhen he paſſit in Denmark," in November, 1494; a James Merſar, whoſe name occurs as receiving ſometimes the ſum of £10 from the king, between 1494 and 1497; and a Wille or William Merſar, who was one of the royal houſehold, and apparently a favourite attendant upon the king from 1500 to 1503. Which (if any) of theſe perſons was the poet muſt be left to conjecture. There was alſo an Andro Merſar, from 1503 to 1508, who was one of the grooms of the prince's chamber.—*Laing*.]

[3] Dunbar mentions Rowll of Aberdeen and Rowll of Coſtorphine, "twa bettir fallowis did no man ſie." *Ibid.* p. 77. [It is very uncertain which is here meant, or who was the real author of *Rowlls Curſing*, printed by Mr. Laing (from the Hyndford MS.) in *Rem. of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822. Mr. L. mentions that there is another copy, ſupplying ſome deficiencies in this text, in Maitland's MS.] There is an alluſion in the piece to Pope Alexander VI., who preſided from 1492 to 1503.

[4] [Robert Henryſon, ſchoolmaſter at Dumfermling. As full an account of him and his writings as we can perhaps ever expect, is given in Mr. Laing's edition of his *Poems and Fables*, Edin. 1865, 8vo.]

[5] Sir Gilbert Hay was chamberlain to Charles VII. of France, and, in 1456, tranſlated from French into Scotiſh the book of Bonet, prior of Salon, upon battles. From the teſtimony of Dunbar, it appears that Sir Gilbert alſo wrote poems, but his ſubſcription does not occur in any of the ancient collections.—*Sibbald*. [Hay's *Buke of the Order of Knighthood* has been printed by the Abbotsford Club, 1847.]

[6] ["This poet flouriſhed about the middle of the fifteenth century. His poem of the *Howlatt* is preſerved in Lord Hyndford's MS. and in the Auchinleck MS." —*Laing*. The *Howlat* has been printed two or three times. It is in Sibbald's collection. The beſt edition is that printed for the Bannatyne Club, 1823, 4to., from a collation of the Aſloane and Bannatyne MSS.

[7] living. [8] ſtream.

Off Virgill, quhilk bene conſolatioun
To cunnyng men, to knaw his gret Ingyne,
Als weill in Naturall Science as Deuyne.

And in the courte bene preſent in thir dayis,
That ballatis breuis luſtelie and layis,
Quhilk tyll our Prince daylie thay do preſent.
Quho can ſay more than ſchir Iames Inglis ſayis
In ballatis, farſes, and in pleſand playis?[1]
Bot Culroſe hes his pen maid Impotent,
Kyde in cunnyng[2] and pratick rycht prudent.
And Stewarte, quhilk diſyrith one ſtaitly ſtyle,
Full Ornate werkis daylie dois compyle.

Stewart of Lorne wyll carpe rycht curiouſlie,[3]
Galbreith, Kynlouch,[4] quhe[n] thay lyſt tham applie
In to that art, ar craftie of Ingyne.
Bot now of lait is ſtarte vpe haiſtelie
One cunnyng Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie,
One plant of Poetis callit Ballentyne;[5]
Quhoſe ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne:

Gett he in to the courte auctoritie,
He wyll preſell Quintyng and Kennetie.

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[1] [Mr. Laing in his Notes to Dunbar, ſpeaking of *A General Satire*, ſays: "This poem is preſerved in the manuſcripts of Bannatyne and Maitland. In the firſt of theſe it is attributed to Dunbar; in the other, and probably more correctly, to Sir James Inglis." An account of Inglis follows, and it appears that there were two perſons of this name about the ſame time. To the ſecond, who was living in 1550, ſhould perhaps be aſcribed *The Complaynt of Scotland*, printed at St. Andrew's about 1548. See Mr. L.'s remarks (Dunbar, ii. 396).]

[2] [Proved or practiſed in knowledge.—*Price.*]

[3] See ſome of his ſatirical poetry, *Anc. Sc. P.* p. 151.

[4] Theſe two poets are converted into one, under the name of *Gabriell Kinlyck*, in an edition of ſome of Lyndſay's works "firſt turned and made perfect Engliſhe," printed [in 1566.] This edition often omits whole ſtanzas; and has the moſt arbitrary and licentious miſrepreſentations of the text, always for the worſe. The editor (or tranſlator) did not underſtand the Scotiſh language, and is, beſides, a wretched writer of Engliſh. But the attempt ſufficiently expoſes itſelf. [It may be ſuſpected that the Anglicizer of Lyndſay was the ſame perſon who performed a ſimilar operation on Henryſon's *Moral Fables* in 1577. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. *Æſop.*]

[5] I preſume this is John Balantyn or Ballenden, archdeacon of Murray, canon of Roſſe, and clerk of the regiſter in the minority of James V. and his ſucceſſor. He was a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris. (Concœus *de duplici ſtatu religionis apud Scotos*, [1628,] lib. ii. p. 167.) At the command of James V. he tranſlated the ſeventeen books of Hector Boece's *Hiſtory of Scotland*. Edinb. by T. Davidſon [(1536), repr. 1821.] The preface is in verſe, "Thow marcyal buke pas to the nobyll prince." Prefixed is the *Coſmography* of Boece's Hiſtory, which Mackenzie calls *A Deſcription of Albany*, ii. 596. Before it is a Prologue, a viſion in verſe, in which Virtue and Pleaſure addreſs the king, after the manner of a dialogue. He wrote an addition of one hundred years to Boece, but this does not appear in the Edinburgh edition; alſo *Epiſtles to James the Fifth*, and *On the Life of Pythagoras*. Many of his poems are extant. The author of the article *Ballenden* in the *Biographia Britannica*, written [about 1747,] ſays that, "in the large collection of Scotiſh poems, made by Mr. Carmichael, there were ſome of our author's on various ſubjects; and Mr. Laurence Dundaſs had ſeveral, whether in manuſcript or printed, I cannot ſay," vol. i. p. 461, [edit. 1747-66.] His ſtyle has many galliciſms. He ſeems to have been a young man when this compliment was paid him by Lyndſay. He died at Rome, 1550. Dempſt. ii. 197. Bale, xiv. 65. Mackenz. ii. 595, *ſeq.*

The Scots, from that philoſophical and ſpeculative caſt which characterizes their national genius, were more zealous and early friends to a reformation of religion than their neighbours in England. The pomp and elegance of the Catholic worſhip made no impreſſion on a people whoſe devotion ſought only for ſolid edification, and who had no notion that the interpoſition of the ſenſes could with any propriety be admitted to co-operate in an exerciſe of ſuch a nature as appealed to reaſon alone, and ſeemed to exclude all aids of the imagination. It was natural that ſuch a people, in their ſyſtem of ſpiritual refinement, ſhould warmly prefer the ſevere and rigid plan of Calvin; and it is from this principle that we find moſt of their writers, at the reſtoration of learning, taking all occaſions of cenſuring the abſurdities of popery with an unuſual degree of abhorrence and aſperity.

In the courſe of the poem before us, an allegory on the corruptions of the church is introduced, not deſtitute of invention, humour and elegance; but founded on one of the weak theories of Wickliffe who, not conſidering religion as reduced to a civil eſtabliſhment, and becauſe Chriſt and his Apoſtles were poor, imagined that ſecular poſſeſſions were inconſiſtent with the ſimplicity of the Goſpel.

In the primitive and pure ages of Chriſtianity, the poet ſuppoſes that the Church married Poverty, whoſe children were Chaſtity and Devotion. The Emperor Conſtantine ſoon afterwards divorced this ſober and decent couple; and, without obtaining or aſking a diſpenſation, married the Church with great ſolemnity to Property. Pope Silveſter ratified the marriage: and Devotion retired to a hermitage. They had two daughters, Riches and Senſuality, who were very beautiful, and ſoon attracted ſuch great and univerſal regard that they acquired the chief aſcendancy in all ſpiritual affairs. Such was the influence of Senſuality in particular, that Chaſtity, the daughter of the Church by Poverty, was exiled; ſhe tried, but in vain, to gain protection in Italy and France. Her ſucceſs was equally bad in England. She ſtrove to take refuge in the court of Scotland, but they drove her from the court to the clergy. The biſhops were alarmed at her appearance, and proteſted they would harbour no rebel to the See of Rome. They ſent her to the nuns, who received her in form with proceſſions and other honours. But news being immediately diſpatched to Senſuality and Riches of her friendly reception among the nuns, ſhe was again compelled to turn fugitive. She next fled to the mendicant friars, who declared they could not take charge of ladies. At laſt ſhe was found ſecreted in the nunnery of the Burrowmoor, near Edinburgh, where ſhe had met her mother Poverty and her ſiſter Devotion. Senſuality attempts to beſiege this religious houſe, but without effect. The pious ſiſters were armed at all points, and kept an irreſiſtible piece of artillery, called *Domine cuſtodi nos:*

> Within quhoſe ſchote thare dar no Enemeis
> Approche thare place for dreid of dyntis doure;[1]

[1] hard dints.

Boith nycht and daye thay wyrk lyke beſye beis,[1]
For thare defence reddye to ſtand in ſtoure;
And hes ſic watcheis on thare vtter toure,
That dame Senſual with ſeage dar not aſſailȝe,
Nor cum within the ſchote of thare artailȝe.[2]

I know not whether this chaſte ſiſterhood had the delicacy to obſerve ſtrictly the injunctions preſcribed to a ſociety of nuns in England who, to preſerve a cool habit, were ordered to be regularly blooded three times every year, but not by a ſecular perſon; and the prieſts who performed the operation were never ſuffered to be ſtrangers.[3]

I muſt not diſmiſs this poem without pointing out a beautiful valediction to the royal palace of Snowdon; which is not only highly ſentimental and expreſſive of poetical feelings, but ſtrongly impreſſes on the mind an image of the romantic magnificence of ancient times, ſo remote from the ſtate of modern manners:

Adew, fair Snawdoun, with thy touris hie,
Thy Chapell royall, Park, and tabyll rounde![4]
May, Iune, and Iuly, walde I dwell in the,
War I one man to heir the birdis ſound,
Quhilk doth agane thy royall roche redounde![5]

Our author's poem, *To the Kingis grace in contemptioun of ſyde taillis*, that is, a cenſure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, has more humour than decency.[6] He allows a tail to the queen, but thinks it an affront to the royal dignity and prerogative that

Every lady of the land
Suld have hir taill ſo ſyde trailland.[7]
Quhare ever thay go, it may be ſene
How kirk and calſay[8] thay ſoup clene.
Kittok that clekkit was yeſtrene,[9]
The morne wyll counterfute the quene.
Ane mureland[10] Mag that milkid the yowis
Claggit[11] with clay above the howis,
In barn nor byir ſcho will nocht byde
Without hir kirtill taill beſyde.
Thay waiſt mair claith [cloth] within few yeiris
Nor wald cleith fyftie ſcore of freiris.[12]

In a ſtatute of James II. of Scotland[13] about the year 1460, it was ordered that no woman ſhould come to church or to market with her face "muſſaled," that is muzzled[14] or covered. Notwithſtanding

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[1] buſy bees. [2] artillery. Signat. C ii.
[3] MSS. James, xxvi. p. 32. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.
[4] round table, tournaments. [5] Signat. B iii.
[6] Compare a MS. poem of Occleve, *Of Pride and waſt clothing of Lordis men which is aȝens her aſtate.* MSS. Laud, K. 78, f. 67, b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is againſt pendent ſleeves ſweeping the ground, which with their fur amount to more than twenty pounds.
[7] Signat. L ii. [8] cauſey, ſtreet, path. [9] Kitty that was born yeſterday.
[10] moor-land. [11] clogged.
[12] [Edit. 1806, ii. 201-3.] He commends the ladies of Italy for their decency in this article. [13] ch. 70.
[14] [*Muffler* appears to have been the term uſed in England for the ſame half-

this ſeaſonable interpoſition of the legiſlature, the ladies of Scotland continued "muzzled" during three reigns.[1] The enormous excreſcence of female tails was prohibited in the ſame ſtatute, "That na woman wear tails unfit in length." The legitimate length of theſe tails is not, however, determined in this ſtatute; a circumſtance which we may collect from a mandate iſſued by a papal legate in Germany, in the fourteenth century. "It is decreed, that the apparel of women, which ought to be conſiſtent with modeſty, but now, through their fooliſhneſs, is degenerated into wantonneſs and extravagance, more particularly the immoderate length of their petticoats, with which they ſweep the ground, be reſtrayned to a moderate faſhion, agreeably to the decency of the ſex, under pain of the ſentence of excommunication."[2] The orthodoxy of petticoats is not preciſely aſcertained in this ſalutary edict: but as it excommunicates thoſe female tails which, in our author's phraſe, "keep the kirk and cauſey clean," and allows ſuch a moderate ſtandard to the petticoat as is compatible with female delicacy, it may be concluded, that the ladies who covered their feet were looked upon as very laudable conformiſts; an inch or two leſs would have been avowed immodeſty; an inch or two more an affectation bordering upon hereſy.[3] What good effects followed from this eccleſiaſtical cenſure, I do not find: it is, however, evident that the Scotiſh act of parliament againſt "long tails" was as little obſerved as that againſt "muzzling." Probably the force of the poet's ſatire effected a more ſpeedy reformation of ſuch abuſes than the menaces of the church or the laws of the land. But theſe capricious vanities were not confined to Scotland alone. In England, as we are informed by ſeveral antiquaries, the women of quality firſt wore trains in the reign of Richard II.: a novelty which induced a well-meaning divine of thoſe times to write a tract *Contra caudas dominarum*, againſt the tails of the ladies.[4] Whether or no this remonſtrance operated ſo

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maſked article of dreſs, which was a thin piece of linen that covered the lips and chin.—*Park.*]

[1] As appears from a paſſage in the poem before us:

"Bot in the kirk and market placis
I think thay ſuld nocht hide thair facis."

He therefore adviſes the king to iſſue a proclamation:

"Baith throw the land and borrowſtounis,
To ſchaw thair face, and cut thair gounis."

He adds that this is quite contrary to the mode of the French ladies:

"Hail ane Frence lady quhen ye pleis,
Scho wil diſcover mouth and neis."

[2] "Velamina etiam mulierum, quæ ad verecundiam deſignandam eis ſunt conceſſa, ſed nunc, per inſipientiam earum, in laſciviam et luxuriam excreverunt, et immoderata longitudo ſuperpelliceorum quibus pulverem trahunt, ad moderatum uſum, ſicut decet verecundiam ſexus, per excommunicationis ſententiam cohibeantur." Ludewig, *Reliq. Diplom.* tom. ii. p. 441.

[3] See Notes to *Anc. Sc. Poems*, ut ſupr. p. 256.

[4] See *Collectanea Hiſtorica*, ex *Diction. MS.* Thomæ Gaſcoign. *apud* Hearne's *W. Hemingford*, p. 512.

far as to occaſion the contrary extreme, and even to have been the diſtant cauſe of producing the ſhort petticoats of the preſent age, I cannot ſay. As an apology, however, for the Engliſh ladies in adopting this faſhion, we ſhould in juſtice remember, as was the caſe of the Scots, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen: a lady not leſs enterpriſing than ſucceſsful in her attacks on eſtabliſhed forms; and whoſe authority and example were ſo powerful, as to aboliſh, even in defiance of France, the ſafe, commodious, and natural mode of riding on horſeback hitherto practiſed by the women of England, and to introduce ſide-ſaddles.[1]

An anonymous Scotiſh poem has been communicated to me, belonging to this period: of which, as it was never printed, and as it contains capital touches of ſatirical humour, not inferior to thoſe of Dunbar and Lyndſay, I am tempted to tranſcribe a few ſtanzas.[2] It appears to have been written ſoon after the death of James V.[3] The poet mentions the death of James IV., who was killed in the battle of Flodden-field, fought in the year 1513.[4] It is entitled *Duncane Laider, or Macgregor's Teſtament.*[5] The Scotiſh poets were fond of conveying invective, under the form of an aſſumed character writing a will.[6] In the poem before us, the writer expoſes the ruinous policy and the general corruption of public manners prevailing in Scotland, under the perſonage of the *Strong Man*,[7] that is, tyranny or oppreſſion. Yet there are ſome circumſtances which ſeem to point out a particular feudal lord, famous for his exactions and inſolence, and who at length was outlawed. Our teſtator introduces himſelf to the reader's acquaintance, by deſcribing his own character and way of life, in the following expreſſive allegories:

My maiſter houſhold was heich[8] Oppreſſioun,
Reif[9] my ſtewart, that cairit of na wrang;[10]
Murthure, Slauchtir,[11] aye of ane profeſſioun,
My cubicularis[12] has bene thir yearis lang:
Recept, that oft tuik in mony ane fang,[13]
Was porter to the yettis,[14] to oppin wyde;
And Covatice was chamberlane at all tyde.[15]

Conſpiracie, Invy, and Falſe Report,
Were my prime counſalouris, leve[16] and deare;

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[1] Chaucer repreſents his *Wife of Bath* as riding with a pair of ſpurs. *Prol.* v. 475:

"And on her feete a paire of ſpurris ſharpe."

[2] For the uſe of this MS. I am obliged to the ingenious Mr. Pennant, whoſe valuable publications are familiar to every reader of taſte and ſcience.

[3] v. 162. [4] v. 78.

[5] "Copied," ſays my MS. "at Taymouth, in September, 1769, from a MS. in the library there, ending Auguſt 20th, 1490." The latter date certainly cannot refer to the time when this poem was written.

[6] See *The Teſtament of Mr. Andro Kennedy* [Laing's *Dunbar*, i. 137.]

[7] viz. Laider. [8] named, *hight.* [9] robbery.

[10] that ſcrupled to do no wrong. [11] murder, ſlaughter.

[12] The pages of my bed-chamber; called, in Scotland, *chamber-lads.*

[13] took many a booty. [14] gates; *yates, yattis.* [15] all times. [16] beloved.

Then Robberie, the peepill to extort,
And common Thift [1] tuke on them ſa the ſteir,[2]
That Treuth in my preſince durſt not appeir,
For Falſheid had him ay at mortal feid,[3]
And Thift brocht Lautie finallie to deid.[4]

Oppreſſioun clikit Gude Reule[5] be the hair,
And ſuddainlie in ain preeſoun him flang;[6]
And Crueltie caſt Pitie our the ſtair,[7]
Quhill Innocence was murthurit in the thrang.[8]
Then Falſheid ſaid, he maid my houſe richt ſtrang,
And furniſt weill with meikill wrangus geir,[9]
And bad me neither god nor man to feir.[10]

At length, in conſequence of repeated enormities and violations of juſtice, Duncane ſuppoſes himſelf to be impriſoned, and about to ſuffer the extreme ſentence of the law. He therefore very providently makes his laſt will, which contains the following witty bequeſts:

To my Curat Negligence I reſigne,
Thairwith his parochinaris[11] to teche;
Ane ather gift I leif him als condigne,[12]
Slouth and Ignorance ſendill[13] for to preche:
The ſaullis he committis for to bleiche[14]
In purgatorie, quhill thaie be waſchin clene,[15]
Pure religion thairbie to ſuſtene.

To the Vicar I leif Diligence and Care
To tak the upmoſt claith and the kirk kow,[16]
Mair nor[17] to put the corps in ſepulture:
Have pouir wad ſix gryis and ane ſow,[18]
He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe:[19]
His thocht is mair upon the paſche fynis,
Nor the ſaullis in purgatorie that pynis.[20]

Oppreſſioun the Perſone I leif untill,[21]
Pouir mens corne to hald upon the rig,[22]

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[1] theft. [2] ſteer, ſteerage; the management.
[3] enmity, hatred. [4] brought loyalty to death.
[5] caught Good Rule. Read *clekit*, clecked. Cleik is crooked iron, *Uncus*.
[6] threw him into priſon. [7] over the ſtairs. [8] murthered in the croud.
[9] furniſhed it well with much ill-gotten wealth. [10] v. 15, *ſeq.*
[11] pariſhioners. [12] as good. [13] ſeldom.
[14] to be bleached; whitened, or purified. [15] till they be waſhed clean.
[16] Part of the pall, taken as a fee at funerals. [The *kirk-kow* is the Mortuary.—*Ritſon.*]
[17] more than. [18] If the poor have ſix pigs and one ſow.
[19] His belly full. Belly was not yet proſcribed as a coarſe indelicate word. It often occurs in our tranſlation of the Bible: and is uſed, ſomewhat ſingularly, in a chapter-act of Weſtminſter-abbey ſo late as the year 1628. The prebendaries vindicate themſelves from the imputation of having reported that their dean, biſhop Williams, repaired the abbey, "out of the diet and Bellies of the prebendaries, and revenues of our ſaid church, and not out of his own revenues," &c. Widmore's *Weſtminſt. Abbey*, p. 213. Append. Num. xii. Lond. 1751. Here, as we now think, a periphraſis, at leaſt another term, was obvious. How ſhocking, or rather ridiculous, would this expreſſion appear in a modern inſtrument, ſigned by a body of clergy!
[20] He thinks more of his Eaſter-offerings, than of the ſouls in purgatory. Paſche is *paſchal*. Pais, Eaſter.
[21] I leave Oppreſſion to the Parſon, the proprietor of the great, or rectorial tythes.
[22] [The *rig* is the *ridge* of the open field, where the Parſon is ſo oppreſſive as to

Quhill he get the teynd alhail at his will :[1]
Suppois the barins thair bread ſuld go thig,[2]
His purpois is na kirkis for to big ;[3]
Sa fair an barne-tyme[4] god has him ſend'n,
This ſeven years the queir will ly unmendin.[5]

I leif unto the Dean Dignite, bot faill,[6]
With Greit Attendence quilk he ſall not miſs,
Fra adulteraris [to] tack the buttock-maill ;[7]
Gif ane man to ane madin gif ane kiſs,[8]
Get he not geir, thai ſall not come to bliſs :[9]
His winnyng[10] is maiſt throw fornicatioun,
Spending it ſhur with ſiclike[11] occupatioun.

I leif unto the Prioure, for his part,
Gluttony, him and his monkis to feid,
With far better will to drink ane quart,[12]
Nor an the bible ane chaptoure[13] to reid ;
Yit ar thai wyis and ſubtile into deid,[14]
Fenzeis thame pouir,[15] and has gret ſufficence,
And takith wolth away with gret patience.

I lief the Abbot Pride and Arrogance,
With trappit mules in the court to ryde,[16]

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detain the whole of the poor people's corn, till he thinks fit to draw his *tithe*.—*Ritſon.*]

[1] Until he get the tythe all at his will.

[2] Suppoſe the children ſhould beg their bread. *Barins*, or Bearns.

[3] To build no churches.

[4] So fair a harveſt.

[5] The choir or chancel which, as the rector, he is obliged to keep in repair. The more tythe he receives, the leſs willing he is to return a due proportion of it to the church.

[6] without doubt.

[7] A fine for adultery. Mailis is duties, rents. Maile-men, Mailleris, perſons who pay rent. Male is Saxon for tribute or tax. Whence Maalman, Saxon for one paying tribute. See Spelman and Ducange, *in vocibus.*

[8] If a man give a maid one kiſs. Chaucer ſays of his *Sompnour* or Apparitor, *Prol.* v. 651.

" He would ſuffer for a quart of wine
A good fellow to have his concubine."

See the *Freeres Tale*, where theſe abuſes are expoſed with much humour.

[9] If he does not get his fine, they will not be ſaved. Geir is properly goods, chattels.

[10] his profits, in the ſpiritual court.

[11] ſurely in the ſame manner.

[12] an Engliſh gallon.

[13] to read one chapter.

[14] unto death.

[15] feign themſelves poor.

[16] to ride on a mule with rich trappings. Cavendiſh ſays, that when Cardinal Wolſey went ambaſſador to France, he rode through London with more than twenty ſumpter-mules. He adds, that Wolſey " rode very ſumptuouſlie like a cardinal, on a mule ; with his ſpare-mule, and his ſpare-horſe, covered with crimſon velvett, and gilt ſtirrops," &c. *Mem. of Card. Wolſey*, edit. 1708, p. 57. When he meets the king of France near Amiens, he mounts another mule, more ſuperbly capariſoned. *Ibid.* p. 69. See alſo p. 192. [See a MS. of this Life, MSS. *Laud.* i. 66. MSS. *Arch.* B. 44, Bibl. Bodl.] The ſame writer, one of the cardinal's domeſtics, ſays, that he conſtantly rode to Weſtminſter-hall, " on a mule trapped in crimſon velvett with a ſaddle of the ſame." *Ibid.* pp. 29, 30. In the Computus of Maxtoke Priory, in Warwickſhire, for the year 1446, this article of expenditure occurs, " Pro pabulo duarum mularum cum harneſiis domini Prioris hoc anno." Again, in the ſame year, " Pro freno deaurato, cum ſella et panno blodii coloris, mulæ Prioris." *MS. penes me ſupr. citat.* Wickliffe deſcribes a Worldly

Not in the cloſter to make reſidence;
It is na honoure thair for him to byde,[1]
But ever for ane biſchoprik provyde:[2]
For weill ye wat ane pouir benefice
Of ten thouſand markis[3] may not him ſuffice.

To the Biſchop his Free will I allege,[4]
Becaus thair [is] na man him [dares] to blame;
Fra ſecular men he will him replege,[5]
And weill ye wat the pape is fur fra hame:[6]
To preich the goſpell he thinkis ſchame,
(Suppoſis ſum tym it was his profeſſioun,)
Rather nor for to ſit upon the ſeſſioun.[7]

I leif my Flatterie, and Fals Diſſembling,
Unto the Freris, thai ſa weill can fleitche,[8]
With mair profit throwe ane marriage-making
Nor all the lentrane[9] in the kirk to preiche.[10]
Thai gloiſs[11] the ſcripture, ever quhen thai teache,
Moer in intent the auditouris to pleiſs,
Nor the trew worde of god for to appeiſs.[12]

Thir[13] gifts that dame Nature has me lent
I have diſponit[14] heir, as ye may ſee:
It nevir was, nor yit is, my intent,
That trew kirkmen get acht belongis to me:[15]
But that haulis[16] Huredome and Harlottrie,
Gluttony, Invy, Covatice, and Pryde,
My executouris I mak tham at this tyde.

Adew all friends, quhill[17] after that we meit,
I cannot tell yow quhair, nor in quhat place;
But as the lord diſpouſis for my ſpreit,
Quher is the well of mercie and of grace,
That I may [ſtand] befoirr his godlie face:

Prieſt, "with fair hors and jolly, and gay ſaddles and bridles ringing by the way, and himſelf in coſtly clothes and pelure." Lewis's *Wiccl.* p. 121.

[1] continue. [2] look out for a biſhoprick.
[3] marcs. [4] give, aſſign.
[5] He will order trial in his own court. It is therefore unſafe to attack him.
[6] You well know the pope is at a great diſtance.
[7] He had rather ſit in parliament.
[8] fawn. [9] Or, Lentron, Lent.
[10] Who get more by making one match than by preaching a whole Lent. The mendicants gained an eſtabliſhment in families, and were conſulted and gave their advice in all caſes. Chaucer's *Friar*

"Hadde i-made many a fair mariage
Of yonge wymmen, &c.—*Prol. C. T.* v. 212.

[11] expound.
[12] explain. The mendicants not only perverted the plaineſt texts of ſcripture to cover their own fraudulent purpoſes, but often amuſed their hearers with legends and religious romances. Wickliffe, the grand antagoniſt of theſe orders, ſays that "Capped [graduated] friers that been cleped [called] maſters of divinitie, have their chamber and ſervice as lords and kings, and ſenden out idiots full of covetiſe to preche, not the goſpel, but chronicles, fables, and leſinges, to pleſe the peple, and to robbe them." Lewis's *Life of Wiccl.* p. 21, xiii.
[13] theſe. [14] diſpoſed, bequeathed.
[15] A true churchman, a chriſtian on the reformed plan, ſhall never get anything belonging to me.
[16] whole. [17] till.

Unto the devill I leif my ſynnis[1] all,
Fra him thai came, to him agane thei fall.[2]

Some readers may perhaps be of opinion, that Macgregor was one of thoſe Scotiſh lairds, who lived profeſſedly by rapine and pillage: a practice greatly facilitated, and even ſupported, by the feudal ſyſtem. Of this ſort was Edom o'Gordon, whoſe attack on the caſtle of Dunſe is recorded by the Scot[iſ]h minſtrels in a pathetic ballad [of queſtionable antiquity] which begins thus:

It fell about the Martinmas,
Quhen the wild blew ſchril and cauld,
Said Edom o'Gordon to his men,
We maun draw till a hauld:

And quhat a hauld ſall we draw till,
My mirry men and me?
We wil gae to the houſe o' the Rodes,
To ſee that fair ladie.[3]

Other parts of Europe, from the ſame ſituations in life, afford inſtances of the ſame practice. Froiſſart has left a long narrative of an eminent robber, one Amergot Marcel, who became at length ſo formidable and powerful, as to claim a place in the hiſtory of France. About the year 1380, he had occupied a ſtrong caſtle for the ſpace of ten years in the province of Auvergne, in which he lived with the ſplendour and dominion of a petty ſovereign: having amaſſed, by pillaging the neighbouring country, one hundred thouſand francs. His depredations brought in an annual revenue of twenty thouſand florins. Afterwards he is tempted imprudently to ſell his caſtle to one of the generals of the king for a conſiderable ſum. Froiſſart introduces Marcel, after having ſold his fortreſs, uttering the following lamentation, which ſtrongly paints his ſyſtem of depredation, the feudal anarchy, and the trade and travelling of thoſe days: "What a joy was it when we rode forthe at adventure, and ſomtyme found by the way a ryche priour, or marchaunt, or a route of mulettes, of Montpellyer, of Narbone, of Lymons, of Fongans, of Tholous, or of Carcaſſone, laden with clothe of Bruſſelles, or peltre ware comynge from the fayres, or laden with ſpycery from Bruges, from Damas, or from Alyſaunder! Whatſoever we met, all was ours, or els raunſomed at our pleaſures. Dayly we gate newe money; and the vyllaynes of Auvergne and of Lymoſyn dayly provyded, and brought to our caſtell, whete mele, breed [bread] ready baken, otes for our horſes and lytter, good wynes, beffes, and fatte mottons, pullayne, and wylde fowle. We were ever furnyſhed, as though we had been kings. Whan we rode forthe, all the country trembled for feare. All was oures, goynge or comynge. Howe toke we Carlaſte, I and the Bourge of Compayne! and I and Perot of Bernoys toke Caluſet. How dyd we ſcale with lytell ayde the ſtrong caſtell of Marquell pertayninge to the erle

[1] ſins. [2] v. 309, *ſeq.*

[3] [Percy's *Rel.* ed. 1812, i. 123, compared with Maidment's *Scotiſh Ballads and Songs*, 1868, i. 227.]

Dolphyn! I kept it not paſt fyve dayes, but I receyved for it, on a fayre table, fyve thouſand frankes; and forgave one thouſand, for the love of the erle Dolphyn's chyldren. By my faithe, this was a fayrie and goodlie life!" &c.[1]

But on the whole I am inclined to think, that our teſtator Macgregor, although a robber, was a perſonage of high rank, whoſe power and authority were ſuch, as to require this indirect and artificial mode of abuſe. For the ſame reaſon, I believe the name to be fictitious.

[To this period belongs the writer, who is only known to us as Blind Harry. No particulars of his life are known, except that, as Mr. Laing[2] has pointed out, "in the treaſurer's accounts we find that ſmall gratuities were occaſionally given to 'Blind Harye' by James IV. between April, 1489, and January, 1492[-3]." Blind Harry's performance is a narrative in verſe of the *Acts and Deeds of Sir William Wallace*, firſt printed, ſo far as can be now aſcertained, by Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar at Edinburgh, about 1520, folio.][3] This poem,[4] which conſiſts of twelve books, is tranſlated from the Latin of Robert Blare, or Blair, chaplain to Sir William Wallace. The [poem may be regarded as a valuable relic in its vernacular dreſs, inaſmuch as it ſtands in the ſame relation to the Scotiſh poetical literature of the fifteenth century that the *Brus*, noticed in an earlier ſection, does to that of the fourteenth. There ſeems to be good ground to aſſume that the date ſupplied by Dempſter, in which he has been hitherto too implicitly followed, is only wrong by a figure, and that his 1361 ſhould be 1461.[5] We ſhall annex Blind Harry's verſion of his author's] deſcription of the morning, and of Wallace arming himſelf in his tent:[6]

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[1] See tom. ii. cap. 170, fol. 115, a. And tom. i. cap. 149, fol. 73. See alſo *ibid.* cap. 440, fol. 313, b. Berners's Tranſlation.

[2] [Dunbar's Poems, ii. 358.]

[3] [The only known fragment of this edition is printed with Chepman and Myllar's peculiar types.]

[4] Tit. *Geſta Willelmi Wallas.* See Dempſt. ii. 148. [Blair] flouriſhed in 1800. He has left another Latin poem, *De liberata tyrannide Scotia.* Arnold Blair, mentioned in the title page in the text, probably Robert's brother, if not the ſame, was alſo chaplain to Wallace, and monk of Dumferling about the year 1327. *Relat.* ut ſupr. p. 1. But ſee pp. 9, 10. In the fifth book of the Scot[iſ]h poem we have this paſſage, p. 94, v. 533:

> "Maiſter Jhone Blayr was offt in that meſſage,
> A worthy clerk, bath wyſs and rycht ſawage,
> Lewyt he was befor in Paryſs town, &c.
> He was the man that pryncipall wndirtuk,
> That fyrſt compiled in dyt the Latyne buk,
> Off Wallace lyff, rycht famouſs of renowne,
> And Thomas Gray perſone of Libertoune,
> With him thai war and put in ſtory all
> Oftt ane or bath mekill of his travaill," &c.

[5] [Mr. Skeat's inform. Mr. Skeat ſuggeſts that the error is a mere ſlip of the preſs in Dempſter.]

[6] B. viii. v. 65. Dr. Jamieſon's text [1822, 4to.] has been adopted for this

In till a waill be a ſmall rywer fayr,
On athir ſid quhar wyld der maid repayr,
Set wachis owt that wyſly couth thaim kepe,
To ſouppar went, and tymyſly thai ſlepe,
Off meit and ſleip thai ceſs with ſuffiſiance,
The nycht was myrk, ourdrayfft the dyrkfull chance,
The mery day ſprang fra the oryent,
With bemys brycht enlumynyt the occident,
Efter Titan, Phebus wp ryſyt fayr,
Heich in the ſper, the ſignes maid declayr.
Zepherus began his morow courſs,
The ſwete wapour thus fra the ground reſourſs;
The humyll breyth doun fra the hewyn awaill
In every meide, bathe fyrth, forreſt and daail.
The cler rede amang the rochis rang
Throuch greyn branchis quhar byrdis blythly ſang,
With joyus woice in hewynly armony.
Than Wallace thocht it was no tyme to ly:
He croyſſit him, ſyne ſodeynli upraiſs,
To tak the ayr out off his palyon gais
Maiſter Jhon Blar was redy to raweſs,
In gud entent ſyne bownyt to the meſs.
Quhen it was done, Wallace can him aray,
In his armour, quhilk gudly was and gay;
His ſchenand ſchoyis that burnyſt was full beyn,
His leg-harnes he clappyt on ſo clene,
Pullane greis he braiſſit on full faſt,
A cloſs byrny with mony ſekyr claſp,
Breyſt-plait, braſaris, that worthy was in wer:
Beſid him furth Jop couth his baſnet ber;
His glytterand glowis grawin on aither ſid,
He ſemyt weill in battaill till abid.
His gud gyrdyll, and ſyne his burly brand,
A ſtaff off ſteyll he gryppyt in his hand.
The oft him blyſt, &c.
Adam Wallaice and Boid furth with him yeid
By a revir, throu out a floryſt meid.
And as thai walk atour the feyldys greyn,
Out off the ſouth thai ſaw quhar at the queyn
Towart the oft come ridand ſobyrly,
And fyfty ladyes was in hyr cumpany, &c.

The four following lines on the ſpring are uncommonly terſe and elegant:

Gentill Jupiter, with his myld ordinance,
Bath erb and tre revertis in pleſance;
And freſch Flora hir floury mantill ſpreid,
In euery waill bath hop, hycht, hill, and meide.[1]

A different ſeaſon of the year is here ſtrongly painted:

The dyrk regioun apperand wondyr faſt,
In November quhen October was paſt,
The day faillit throu rycht courſs worthit ſchort,
Till banyſt men that is no gret comfort:

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edition (1822, 4to).—*Price.* The edit. of 1570, printed by R. Lekprevik at Edinburgh, is the earlieſt impreſſion at preſent known in an at all complete ſtate, and the only copy of this diſcoverable appears to want ſomething.]

[1] Lib. ix. v. 22, ch. i. p. 250.

With thair power in pethis worthis gang,
Hewy thai think quhen at the nycht is lang.
Thus Wallace ſaw the nychtis meſſynger;
Phebus had loſt his fyry bemys cler:
Out of the wood thai durſt nocht turn that tyd
For adverſouris that in thair way wald byde.[1]

The battle of Black Ernſide ſhows our author a maſter in another ſtyle of painting:

Kerlé beheld on to the bauld Heroun,
Upon Fawdoun as he was lukand doune,
A ſuttell ſtraik wpwart him tuk that tide
Wndir the chokkeis the grounden ſuerd gart glid,
By the gude mayle, bathe halſs and his crag-bayne
In ſondyr ſtraik; thus endyt that cheftayne,
To grounde he fell, feile folk about him thrang,
Treſoune, thai criyt, traytouris was thaim amang.
Kerlye, with that, fled out ſone at a ſide,
His falow Stewyn than thocht no tyme to bide.
The fray was gret, and faſt away thai yeid,
Sawch towart Ern; thus chapyt thai of dreid.
Butler for woo off wepyng mycht nocht ſtynt.
Thus rakleſly this gud knycht haiff thai tynt.
They demyt all that it was Wallace men,
Or ellis himſelf, thocht thai couth nocht him ken;
He is richt ner, we ſall him haiff bot faill,
This febill woode may him littill awaill.
Fourtie thar paſt agayne to Sanct Jhonſtoun,
With this dede corſs, to beryſing maid it boune.
Partyt thar men, ſyne diverſs wayis raid,
A gret power at Dipplyn ſtill thar baid.
To Dalwryoch the Butler paſt bot let,
At ſyndry furdis the gait thai umbeſet,
To kepe the wode quhill it was, day thai thocht.
As Wallace thus in the thik forreſt ſocht,
For his twa men in mynd he had gret payne,
He wiſt nocht weill, gif thai war tayne or ſlayne,
Or chapyt haile be ony jeperte.
Threttene war left with him, no ma had he;
In the Gaſk-hall thair lugyng haif thai tayne.
Fyr gat thai ſone, bot meyt than had thai nane;
Twa ſcheipe thai tuk beſid thaim of a fauld,
Ordanyt to ſoupe in to that ſeemly hauld:
Graithit in haiſt ſume fude for thaim to dycht:
So hard thai blaw rude hornys wpon hycght.
Twa ſende he furth to luk quhat it mycht be;
Thai baid rycht lang, and no tithingis herd he,
Bot bouſtouſs noyis ſo brymly blewand faſt;
So othir twa in to the woode furth paſt.
Nane come agayne, bot bouſtouſly can blaw,
In to gret ire he ſend thaim furth on raw.
Quhen he allayne Wallace was lewyt thar,
The awfull blaſt aboundyt mekill mayr;
Then trowit he weill thai had his ludgyng ſeyne;
His ſuerd he drew of nobill mettall keyne,
Syn furth he went quhar at he hard the horne.
With out the dur Fawdoun was him beforn,

[1] Lib. v. ch. i. p. 78, v. 1.

As till his ſycht, his awne hed in his hand;
A croyſs he maid quhen he ſaw him ſo ſtand.
At Wallace in the hed he ſwaket thar,
And he in haiſt ſone hynt it by the hair,
Syne out agayn at him he couth it caſt,
In till his hart he was gretlye agaſt.
Rycht weill he trowit that was no ſpreit of man,
It was ſum dewill, at ſic malice began.
He wyſt no waill thar langar for to bide.
Up throuch the hall thus wicht Wallace can glid,
Till a cloſs ſtair, the burdis raiff in twyne,
Fyftene fute large he lap out of that in.
Wp the wattir he ſodeynelye couth fair,
Agayne he blent quhat perance he ſawe thair,
Him thocht he ſaw Fawdoun, that hugly ſyr,
That haill hall he had ſet in a fyr;
A gret raftre he had intill his hand.
Wallace as than no langar walde he ſtand.
Off his gud men full gret mervaill had he,
How thai war tynt throuch his feyle fantaſé.
Traiſtis rycht weill all this was ſuth in deide,
Suppoſs that it no poynt be of the creide.
Power thai had with Lucifer that fell,
The tyme quhen he partyt fra hewyn to hell.
Be ſic myſcheiff giff his men mycht be loſt,
Drownyt or ſlayne amang the Inglis oſt;
Or quhat it was in likneſs of Faudoun.
Quhilk brocht his men to ſuddand confuſioun;
Or gif the man endyt in ewill entent,
Sum wikkit ſpreit agayne for him preſent.
I can nocht ſpek of ſic divinité,
To clerkis I will lat all ſic matteris be:
Bot of Wallace, furth I will yow tell.
Quhen he was went of that perell fell,
Yeit glad wes he that he had chapyt ſwa,
Bot for his men gret murnyng can he ma.
Flayt by him ſelf to the Maker off buffe
Quhy he ſufferyt he ſuld ſic paynys pruff.
He wyſt nocht weill giff it wes Goddis will;
Rycht or wrang his fortoun to fullfill,
Hade he pleſd God, he trowit it mycht nocht be
He ſuld him thoill in ſic perplexité.
Bot gret curage in his mynd evir draiff,
Off Ingliſmen thinkand amendis to haiff.
As he was thus walkand be him allayne
Apon Ern ſide, makand a pytuouſs mayne,
Schyr Jhone Butler, to wache the furdis rycht,
Out fra his men of Wallace had a ſycht;
The myſt wes went to the montanys agayne,
Till him he raid, quhar at he maid his mayne.
On loude he ſperde, quhat art thow walkis that gait?
A trew man, Schyr, thocht my wiagis be layt;
Erandis I paſs fra Doun to my lord,
Schir Jhon Sewart, the rycht for till record,
In Doune is now, new cummyn fra the king.
Than Butler ſaid; this is a ſelcouth thing,
Thou leid all out, thow has beyne with Wallace,
I ſall the knaw, or thow cum of this place,
Till him he ſtert the courſer wondyr wicht,
Drew out a ſuerd, ſo maid him for to lycht.

Abown the kne gud Wallace has him tayne,
Throw the and brawn in ſondyr ſtraik the bayne.
Derfly to dede the knycht fell on the land.
Wallace the horſs ſone ſeſyt in his hand,
Ane awkwart ſtraik ſyne tuk him in the ſtede.
His crag in twa; thus was the Butler dede.
Ane Ingliſſman ſaw thair chiftayne wes ſlayn,
A ſper in reyſt he keſt with all his mayne,
On Wallace draiff, fra the horſs him to ber;
Warly he wrocht, as worthi man in wer.
The ſper he wan with outyn mor abaid,
On horſs he lap, and throw a gret rout raid;
To Dawryoch he knew the forſs full weill:
Befor him come feyll ſtuffyt in fyne ſteill.
He ſtraik the fyrſt, but baid, in the blaſoune,
Quhill horſs and man bathe flet the wattir doune.
Ane othir ſone doune fra his horſs he bar,
Stampyt to grounde, and drownyt with outyn mar.
The thrid he hyt in his harneſs of ſteyll
Throw-out the coſt, the ſper to brak ſum deyll.
The gret power than efftir him can ryd.
He ſaw na waill no langar thar to byd.
His burniſt brand braithly in hand he bar,
Quham he hytt rycht thai folowit him no mar.
To ſtuff the chaſs feyll frekis folowit faſt,
Bot Wallace maid the gayaſt ay agaſt.
The mur he tuk, and throw thair power yeid,
The horſs was gud, bot yeit he had gret dreid
For failyeing or he wan to a ſtrenth,
The chaſs was gret, ſcalyt our breid and lenth,
Throw ſtrang danger thai had him ay in ſycht.
At the Blakfurd thar Wallace doun can lycht,
His horſs ſtuffyt, for the way was depe and lang,
A large gret myile wichtly on fute couth gang.
Or he was horſt rydaris about him keſt,
He ſaw full weyll lang ſwa he mycht nocht leſt.
Sad men in deid wpon him can renew,
With retornyng that nycht twenty he ſlew,
The forſeaſt ay rudly rabutyt he,
Kepyt hys horſs, and rycht wyſly can fle,
Quhill that he cum the myrckeſt mur amang.
His horſs gaiff our, and wald no forthyr gang.[1]

I will cloſe theſe ſpecimens with an inſtance of our author's allegorical invention:

In that ſlummir cummand him thocht he ſaw,
Ane agit man faſt towart him couth draw,
Sone be the hand he hynt him haiſtele,
I am, he ſaid, in wiage chargit with the.
A ſuerd him gaiff oft burly burniſt ſteill,
Gud ſone, he ſaid, this brand thou ſall bruk weill.
Off topas ſtone him thocht the plumat was,
Baith hilt and hand all glitterand lik the glas.
Der ſone, he ſaid, we tary her to lang,
Thow ſall go ſe quhar wrocht is mekill wrang;
Than he him lad till a montane on hycht,
The warld him thocht he mycht ſe with a ſicht.

[1] p. 82.

He left him thar, ſyne ſone fra him he went,
Tharof Wallace ſtudiit in his entent,
Till ſe him mar he had ſtill gret deſyr,
Tharwith he ſaw begyne a felloune fyr,
Quhilk braithly brynt on breid throu all the land,
Scotland atour, fra Roſs to Sulway-ſand.
Than ſone till him thar deſcendyt a qweyne,
Inlumyt, lycht, ſchynand full brycht and ſcheyne;
In hyr preſens apperyt ſo mekill lycht,
At all the fyr ſcho put out off his ſycht,
Gaiff him a wand off colour reid and greyne,
With a ſaffyr ſanyt his face and eyne,
Welcum, ſcho ſaid, I cheiſs the as my luff;
Thow art grantyt be the gret God abuff,
Till help pepill that ſufferis mekill wrang,
With the as now I may nocht tary lang,
Thou ſall return to thi awne oyſs agayne,
Thi derraſt kyne ar her in mekill payne;
This rycht regioun thow mon redeme it all,
Thi laſt reward in erd ſall be bot ſmall;
Let nocht tharefor, tak redreſs off this myſs,
To thi reward thou ſall haiff leſtand blyſs.
Off hir rycht hand ſcho betaucht him a bok,
Humylly thus hyr leyff full ſone ſcho tuk,
On to the cloud aſcendyt off his ſycht.
Wallace brak up the buk in all his myght.
In thre partis the buk weill writyn was,
The fyrſt writyng was groſs letteris off bras,
The ſecound gold, the thrid was ſilver ſcheyne.
Wallace merveld quhat this writyng ſuld meyne;
To rede the buk he beſyet him ſo faſt,
His ſpreit agayne to walkand mynd is paſt,
And wp he raiſs, ſyne ſodandly furth went.
This clerk he fand, and tald him his entent
Off this wiſioun, as I haiff ſaid befor,
Completly throuch; Quhat nedis wordis mor.
Der ſone, he ſaid, my witt unabill is
To runſik ſic, for dreid I ſay off myſs;
Yit I ſall deyme, thocht my cunnyng be ſmall,
God grant na chargis efftir my wordis fall.
Saynct Androw was gaiff the that ſuerd in hand,
Off ſanctis he is the wowar off Scotland;
That montayne is quhar he the had on hycht,
Knawlage to haiff off wrang that thow mon rycht;
The fyr ſall be fell tithingis, or ye part,
Quhilk will be tald in mony ſyndry art.
I can nocht witt quhat qweyn at it ſuld be,
Quhethir Fortoun, or our Lady ſo fre,
Lykly it is, be the brychtnes ſcho brocht,
Modyr off him that all this warld has wrocht.
The prety wand, I trow, be myn entent,
Aſſignes rewlle and cruell jugement;
The red colour, quha graithly wndreſtud,
Betaknes all to gret battaill and blud;
The greyn, curage, that thow art now amang,
In ſtrowble wer thou ſall conteyne full lang;
The ſaphyr ſtayne ſcho bliſſit the with all,
Is leſtand grace, will God, ſall to the fall;
The thrynfald buk is bot this brokyn land,
Thou mon rademe be worthines off hand;

The bras lettris betakynnys bot to this,
The gret oppreſs off wer and mekill myſs,
The quhilk thow ſall bryng to the rycht agayne,
Bot thou tharfore mon ſuffer mekil payne;
The gold takynnis honour and worthinas,
Victour in armys, that thou ſall haiff be grace;
The ſilver ſhawis cleyne lyff and hewynys blyſs,
To thi reward that myrth thou ſall nocht myſs,
Dreid nocht tharfor, be out off all deſpayr.
Forthir as now heroff I can na mair.

[From Chepman and Myllar's (reputed) edition of 1520 or thereabouts, the epiſode of John of Lynn, the Engliſh reaver, and his diſcomfiture off the mouth of the Humber, is now taken as a ſpecimen of the oldeſt printed text of the poem:[1]

With egir will he wald haue bene away
Bad wynd ye ſaill in all ye haiſt yai may
Bot fra ye ſcottis yan micht yai nocht eſkey
The ſchippis ſa ſair on athir ſide yai wey
Thai ſaw na thing yat micht be to yame eis
Craufurd on loft yair ſaill brynt in ane bleis
Or Johne of lyn lchupe for to leif yat ſtede
Of his beſt men ſexty war brocht to dede
Thair ſchip by ouris ane burde was mare of hicht
Wallace lap in amang yai revaris wicht
Ane man he ſtraik our ſchip burd in ye ſee
On the our loft he ſlew ſone vthir thre
Longaveill enterit and als ye maiſter blair
Thai gaif na grace to freik yat yai fand yair
Wallace him ſelf with Johne of lyn was met
At his collair ane felloun ſtraik he ſet
Baith helm and hede fra ye ſchulderis he draif
Blaiz our ye burd in ye ſey keſt ye laif
Of his body yan all ye remanand
Enterit and ſlew ye brigantis yat yai fand
The ſchip yai tuke grete gold and vthir gere
That yai revaris had gaderit lang in were
Bot maiſter blair ſpak na thing of him ſell
In deid of armys quhat eventure yat befell
Schir thomas gray was yan preiſt to wallace
Put in ye buke how yame hapnit yis eace
That blair was in and mony wourthy deid
Of quhilk him ſelf had na pleſance to reid
Wallace gart reull ye ſchip with his avne men
And ſaillit furth ye richt cours for to ken
In ye ſluce havyne quhill yai enterit be
The marchaindis weill he helpit in ſaufte
Of gold and gere he tuke part yat yai fand
Gaif yame ye ſchip ſyne paſſit to the land
Throw flandris raid vpone ane gudly wiſe
Enterit in france and ſocht to pariſe
The glad tithingis yat to ye king was brocht
Of wallace come it comfortit al yair thocht
Thai trowit be him to get reddres of wrang
The ſuthroun had in gyane wrocht ſa lang
The peris of france war ſtil at yair parliament
The king command with trew and haill entent

[1] *Golagrus and Gawane*, &c. 1827. Introd. 25-8.]

Thai ſuld forſe a lordſchip to wallace
The lordis all yan demyt off yis cace."
Wallace and his yan ſone to harneis ȝeid
Quhen yai war graithit into yare wourthy weid
Him ſelf and blare and ye knycht longaveill.
Thir thre has tane to keip ye mydſchip weill
Before was aucht and ſex be eft he kend.
Syne twa he cheſit ye top for to defend.
[And gray he maid] yare ſteir man for to be
[The merchandis yan ſaw thaim ſa manfulle]
Defend yame ſelf becaus yai had no weid
Out of ye how yai tuke ſkynnis gude ſpeid
Ay betuix twa ſtuffit woll as yai micht beſt
Agane ye ſtraik yat yai micht ſum part leſt
Than Wallace leuch and commendit yame aw
Of ſic harnes before he neuer ſaw
Be yat ye barge come on yame woundir faſt
Sevin ſcore hir in yat was na thing agaſt
Quhen Johne of lyn ſaw yame in armour bricht
He lewch and ſaid yir haltane wourdis on hicht.
ȝone glaikit ſcottis can ws nocht undirſtand
Fulis yai ar is new cūmyn of ye land.
He cryit ſtrike bot nane anſuer yai maid
Blair with ane bow ſchot faſt withoutin baid
Or yai clippit he ſchot bot arowis thre.
And at ilk ſchot he gart ane revar dee
The brigantis yan yai bikkerit woundir faſt
Amang ye ſcottis with ſchot and gūmys caſt
And yai agane with ſperis hedit weill
Fele woundis maid throw platis of fyne ſteill
Athir vthir feſtnit with clippis kene
Ane cruell countir yair was at ſchipburd ſene
The derfschot draif als thik as haill ſchour
Contenit yair with neir ye ſpace of ane hour
Quhen ſchot was gane ye Scottis grete comfort had
At hand ſtrakis yai war ſicker and ſad
The marchaindis als with ſir thing as yai mycht
Previt full weill in defence of yair richt
Wallace and his at neir ſtrakis quhen yai ſe
With ſcharp ſwerdis yai gart fele brigantes dee
Thai in ye top ſa wychtly wrocht with hand
In the ſouth top yair micht na revar ſtand
All ye mydſchip of revaris was maid waiſt
That to gif our in poynt yai war almaiſt
Than Johne of lyn was richt gretly agaſt
He ſaw his folk about him failȝe faſt.

John Major, the Scotiſh hiſtorian, who was born about the year 1470, remembered Blind Harry to have been living, and to have publiſhed a poem on the achievements of Sir William Wallace, when he was a boy. He adds that he cannot vouch for the credibility of thoſe tales which the bards were accuſtomed to ſing for hire in the caſtles of the nobility. I will give his own words.[1] That,

[1] "Integrum librum Gulielmi Wallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, meæ infantiæ tempore cudit: et quæ vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conſcripſit. Ego autem talibus ſcriptis ſolum in parte fidem impertior; quippe qui hiſtoriarum recitatione coram principibus victum et veſtitum, quo dignus erat, nactus eſt."—*Hiſt. Magn. Britan.* L. iv. c. xv. f. 74, a, edit. 1521. Compare Holinſh. *Scot.* ii. p. 414; Mack. tom. i. 423; Dempſt. lib. viii. p. 349.

in this poem, Blind Harry has intermixed much fable with true hiſtory, will appear from ſome proofs collected by Sir David Dalrymple in his judicious and accurate annals of Scotland.[1]]

Robert Henryſon, the contemporary of Dunbar, was, according to the received account, a member of the family of Henderſon or Henryſon of Fordell, Co. Fife. Mr. Laing ſuppoſes that he may have been born about 1425; at any rate, he received a liberal education; and there ſeems to be little reaſon to doubt that he is the ſame perſon who is deſcribed as being admitted a member of the Univerſity of Glaſgow on the 10th September, 1462. He was at that time by no means a young man, if the identification ſhould be correct, for he is mentioned as the "Venerable Maſter Robert Henryſone, Licenciate in Arts, and Bachelor in Decrees." The reader who deſires to be poſſeſſed of ſuch few particulars of the poet's hiſtory as it has been poſſible with the utmoſt diligence to collect together, muſt be referred to Mr. Laing's Introduction. Henryſon is generally known to have been a ſchoolmaſter at Dunfermling, and this was his occupation, probably, during all the latter part of his life. Mr. Laing obſerves: "the fact ſeems to be, that the Grammar School of Dunfermline was within the precincts of the Abbey, and under the juriſdiction of the Abbots." Henryſon is ſaid to have lived to be very old, and to have died of a diarrhœa or flux. His editor places the time of his deceaſe towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

Several excellent judges have ſpoken highly of Henryſon's powers of deſcription. He was the earlieſt of our paſtoral writers, and alſo the firſt who put into a Britiſh dreſs the ſeries of Fables, which paſs under the name of Æſop. At what period of his career this writer produced his *Morall Fabillis of Eſope the Phrygian* is as uncertain as the date of the compoſition of his *Robene and Makyne* and *Teſtament of Creſſeid.* The Fables have come down to us only in a comparatively modern impreſſion, made at Edinburgh in 1569. That nothing from his pen was committed to the preſs in his lifetime, almoſt amounts to a certainty; but an edition of his *Orpheus and Euridice* is ſtill extant, printed at Edinburgh in 1508, 4to, when the poet had perhaps not been dead many years. With the exception of one or two of his minor pieces, which were alſo included by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar in their popular ſeries of publications during the reign of James IV., this is the only tribute which his countrymen paid to his memory till very long afterwards. Like Dunbar, he ſeems to have fallen into utter neglect. But we may be prejudging here, for editions upon editions of old Scotiſh authors have doubtleſs completely diſappeared, and Henryſon's poems may have been republiſhed more frequently and continually than in our preſent ſtate of information we can poſitively affirm to have been the caſe. There is unfortunately ſcarcely

[1] See p. 245, edit. 1776. [For an account of all the known early printed editions of the *Wallace*, ſee *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Wallace.*]

ſpace for an extended ſeries of extracts from Henryſon's Poems and Fables, highly deſerving as they are of wider notice and appreciation. The Editor muſt content himſelf with giving the two opening ſtanzas of *Robene and Makyne:*

Robene ſat on gud grene hill,
Kepand a flok of ſe:
Mirry Makyne ſaid him till,
"Robene, thow rew on me;
I haif thee luvit lowd and ſtill,
Thir yeiris two or thre;
My dule in dern bot gif thow dill,
Doutleſs but dreid I de."

Robene anſwerit, "Be the Rude,
Na thing of lufe I knaw,
Bot keipis my ſcheip undir yone wude,
Lo! quhair thay raik on raw:
Quhat hes marrit thee in thy mude,
Makyne, to me thow ſchaw?
Or quhat is lufe, or to be lude,
Fane wald I leir that law."

This admirable production is probably not leſs than two hundred and fifty years older than Allan Ramſay's *Gentle Shepherd.* It appears to be conſidered, and the Editor is inclined to concur in the opinion, that the author's *Orpheus and Euridice* was a youthful production; it wants the grace and poliſh which are found in thoſe pieces which may be preſumed to have come from his pen in his maturer years. But for the time when it was (conjecturally) compoſed, it is a work remarkable for the richneſs and beauty of its deſcriptions.

His beſt known work, however, is his ſequel to Chaucer's *Troylus and Creſſeide*, under the title of *The Teſtament of Creſſeide.* All the early MSS. (if there were any except Aſloane's) and printed copies have periſhed; and the 4to of 1593 in the Britiſh Muſeum is the moſt ancient and authentic text which remains. *The Teſtament of Creſſeid* is correctly (the Editor thinks) regarded as one of Henryſon's lateſt performances, and, on the whole, it is certainly the moſt finiſhed and maſterly of his poems. Henryſon's ballads have alſo conſiderable merit. His genius was both verſatile and opulent.

A few words muſt be ſaid here of ALEXANDER SCOT, whom Pinkerton termed "the Anacreon of old Scotiſh poetry." Scot follows Dunbar at an interval of about a quarter of a century in the ſtrict order of time; but the diſtance between them is really greater, when it is conſidered that Dunbar had attained ſome celebrity in 1490, while Scot does not appear to have written any of thoſe poems which are extant from his pen much before the middle of the ſixteenth century. Mr. Laing, who collected theſe productions in 1821, ſays: "Alexander Scot has uniformly been reckoned the moſt eminent of the early minor Scotiſh poets, and we cannot aſſume for him a higher character. His poems, with the few exceptions at the beginning [verſions of the Pſalms,] are all of the amatory kind, and are chiefly to be viewed as the light and ſportive effuſions of

an elegant and ingenious mind." Scot flouriſhed at a middle period in the hiſtory of Scotiſh poetry, when the old allegorical and picturesque ſchool of writers had died out, and before Scotiſh verſification arrived at a higher perfection and refinement in the works of the later Makars.

A verſion of Hector Boece was executed about 1530 by William Stewart, of whoſe identity there ſeems to be ſome doubt, ſince at the time when he flouriſhed (early part of the fifteenth century) there were two perſons of the ſame name, both of whom were attached to the court of James V. of Scotland. The late Mr. Turnbull, who edited this Scotiſh tranſlation of Boece for the firſt time in 1858, ſuppoſed that the author was the ſame Stewart of whom Lyndſay, in his *Complaynt of the Papingo* [*circâ* 1530], ſays that he

> Full ornate warkis daylie dois compyle.

But the aſſignation is, after all, a little uncertain.

But although Stewart merely purported to render Boece out of Latin into the vernacular Scotiſh, he in fact did more, for in ſome caſes he introduces notices of curious incidents, overlooked by his original, from ſources with which Boece does not appear to have been converſant. As a ſpecimen of Stewart's ſtyle and language, I ſhall avail myſelf of one of Mr. Turnbull's extracts, as it is an account of a matter which is deſcribed imperfectly by Boece, and for which Stewart is ſuppoſed to have been indebted to Fordun:

> The Ingliſmen, as my author did tell,
> Had Coupar caſtell in keiping that da,
> In falt of victuall on the nycht awa,
> Richt quyetlie out of the houſs tha ſtall,
> That ſamen nycht on to one ferry all,
> Quhilk Donybriſſis callit than that wes,
> In that purpois attonir Forth than to pas.
> To that ſame ferry ſyne quhen tha come till,
> The ferriar, in magir of his will,
> Out of his bed at midnycht gart him ryis.
> The ferrear that ſubtill wes and wyiſs,
> Quhen that he ſaw that na better micht be,
> With thame richt ſone he paſſit to the ſe.
> In mid water as thame he aſkit fraucht,
> Said ane, "ȝow ſall haif all that euir we aucht;"
> And with his fiſt vpoun the face him ſmet.
> And he agane, "Gramercy, gentill met!
> Haif it be ſo, the laif ſall all be fre."
> ȝit nevirtheles he thocht rycht ſone to haif
> Ane trew mendis for him and all the laif.

It would be improper to overlook in this place Alexander Montgomery, whom Dr. Irving characterizes, juſtly enough, as "one of the moſt popular of the early Scotiſh poets." The ſame writer obſerves: "Some of thoſe poets undoubtedly poſſeſſed higher powers of invention; and the rank of Sir David Lyndſay, together with the acknowledged efficacy of his ſatires on the tottering church, rendered him more conſpicuous among his contemporaries; but few Scotiſh poems of equal antiquity ſeem to have obtained ſo permanent a hold of public attention as the *Cherrie and the Slae*."

As ſeveral of Montgomery's pieces occur in the Bannatyne MS., written in 1568, he was probably not born later than 1540, and it is ſuppoſed by Mr. Laing that he was ſtill living in 1605. He appears to have been at one time of his life in the ſervice of the regent Morton, and there is alſo little doubt that he held ſome military preferment, although he is not deſcribed as Captain Montgomery in any but the poſthumous impreſſions of his poems. Dr. Irving and Mr. Laing have collected his remains and all the notices of his life which were diſcoverable; but the latter partake of the ſcantineſs and obſcurity incidental to poetical biography. As a writer midway between Lyndſay and Drummond, exhibiting the Scotiſh language in its ſtate of ſlow tranſition, Montgomery clearly merits ſome degree of attention, and his works unqueſtionably poſſeſs unuſual merit. Some of his ſonnets are as ſmooth and poliſhed as the poet of Hawthornden's, and his paſtoral is a production which, in the editor's opinion, places him at leaſt on a level with Drummond as a man of genius. *The Flyting betwixt Montgomery and* [Sir Patrick Hume of] *Polwart* is a ſtrange, groteſque performance, reminding us of Dunbar's ſimilar conteſt with Walter Kennedy, and Skelton's poems againſt Garneſche. If Montgomery had produced nothing but this *Flyting* and his ſelect verſion of the Pſalms, entitled, *The Mindes Melodie*, he would have only been remembered as a perſon whoſe verſatility of talent enabled him to leave to poſterity ſpecimens of the broadeſt ſatire and of the devouteſt common-place. But, as it is, his *Cherrie and the Slae* and his *Sonnets* juſtly claim for him a high rank among the Scotiſh writers of the latter half of the ſixteenth century and of the beginning of the ſeventeenth. His poems have not enjoyed quite ſo extenſive a popularity as thoſe of Lyndſay which, it ought to be recollected, have a ſtrong *religious* intereſt, apart from any other faſcination; but the *Cherry and the Slae* has never loſt its hold on the public memory and affection, while nothing but modern zeal has reſtored to notice Henryſon's *Robene and Makyne* and the ſublime creations of Dunbar.]

I cannot return to the Engliſh poets without a hint, that a well-executed hiſtory of the Scotiſh poetry from the thirteenth century would be a valuable acceſſion to the general literary hiſtory of Britain.[1] The ſubject is pregnant with much curious and inſtructive information, is highly deſerving of a minute and regular reſearch, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both acceſſible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care, and at preſent are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempſter and Mackenzie. The Scots appear to have had an early propenſity to theatrical repreſentations; and it is probable that, in the proſecution of ſuch a deſign, among ſeveral other intereſting and unexpected diſcoveries, many anecdotes, conducing to illuſtrate the riſe and progreſs of our ancient drama, might be drawn from obſcurity.

[1] [This has now, to a certain extent, been accompliſhed by the publication of the *Hiſtory of Scotiſh Poetry*, by the late Dr. Irving, edited by Dr. Carlyle, 1861, 8vo.]

SECTION XXXII.

MOST of the poems of John Skelton were written in the reign of Henry VIII. But as he was laureated at Oxford [before] the year [1490],[1] I conſider him as belonging to the fifteenth century.

Skelton, having ſtudied in both our univerſities,[2] [and at Louvaine,[3] took holy orders in 1498,[4] and] was promoted to the rectory of Diſs in Norfolk.[5] But for his buffooneries in the pulpit, and his ſatirical ballads againſt the Mendicants, he was

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[1] [" For a notice of Skelton's laureation at Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Bliſs obligingly ſearched the archives of that Univerſity, but without ſucceſs. 'No records,' he informs me, 'remain between 1463 and 1498, that will give a correct liſt of degrees.'"—*Dyce.* But the queſtion is, whether, being a mere honorary academical diſtinction, Skelton's inauguration would have been regiſtered in the *Books of Degrees* at all.]

[2] [He was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge in 1493.—*Dyce.*]

[3] [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. xv.]

[4] [*Ibid.* xx.]

[5] [Probably as early as 1504. See Dyce's *Skelton*, i. xxvi.] At the end of his *Trentale for old John Clarke*, there is this colophon. " Auctore Skelton rectore de Dis. Finis, &c. Apud Trumpinton, ſcript. per Curatum ejuſdem quinto die Jan. A.D. 1507." He was ordained both deacon and prieſt in the year 1498. On the title of the monaſtery de Graciis near the tower of London. Regiſtr. Savage. Epiſc. Lond. There is a poem by Skelton on the death of King Edward IV., who died A.D. 1483. This is taken into the *Mirrour for Magiſtrates.* [But perhaps Skelton's earlieſt production was his loſt poem on the *Creation of Prince Arthur* in 1489. See Dyce's *Skelton*, i. xxi. There is an imperfect copy of the *Garlande of Laurell* in Cotton. MS. Vit. E x. 200. A ſecond, ſupplying ſome matter wanting in the printed copies, was in a MS. volume formerly in the library at Eſhton Hall.] Caxton, in his [prologue] to Virgil's *Eneidos*, ſays, [" For he hath late tranſlated the epyſtlys of Tulle and the boke of dyodorus ſyculus, and dyuerſe other werkes owte of latyn in to englyſshe." The former is not known, but of the latter there is an unique but imperfect MS. in the library of C.C.C. Cambridge. (See a deſcription of it communicated by Mr. Thomas Wright to Dyce's *Skelton*, i. cii.) In the Preface to the proſe *Eneid*, Caxton alſo remarks, "But I pray mayſter John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the vnyuerſite of oxenforde, to ouerſee and correcte this ſayd booke :—for hym I knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and englyſshe euery dyffyculte that is therin." This, however, does not ſeem to have flattered Skelton into the ſervice of becoming Caxton's critical overſeer, as the book had no re-impreſſion.—*Park.* But Caxton does not ſeem to indicate an intention of reprinting the work, merely a wiſh that, if Skelton diſcovered any errors, he ſhould correct them.] Bale mentions his *Invectiva* on William Lily the grammarian. I know nothing more of this, than that it was anſwered by Lily in *Apologia ad Joh. Scheltonum* [at preſent unknown. See Dyce's *Skelton*, i. xxxvii.; but Wood has preſerved the beginning :] " Siccine vipereo pergis me," &c. Skelton's *Elinour Rummyng* or *Rumpkin* [occurs in all the editions of the little volume called *Certaine Bokes*, &c.] The laſt of the old editions is in 1624, 4to. In the title page is the picture of our genial hoſteſs, an old woman, holding a pot of ale [in each hand] with this inſcription :

" When Skelton wore the laurell Crowne
My Ale put all the Ale wiues downe."

ſeverely cenſured, and perhaps ſuſpended by Nykke his dioceſan, a rigid biſhop of Norwich, from exerciſing the duties of the ſacerdotal function. Wood ſays, he was alſo puniſhed by the biſhop for "having been guilty *of certain crimes*, as moſt poets are."[1] But theſe perſecutions only ſerved to quicken his ludicrous diſpoſition, and to exaſperate the acrimony of his ſatire. As his ſermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuſe, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length, daring to attack the dignity of Cardinal Wolſey, he was cloſely purſued by the officers of that powerful miniſter; and, taking ſhelter in the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter Abbey, was kindly entertained and protected by Abbot Iſlip,[2] to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, in 1529.

Skelton was patroniſed by Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, who deſerves particular notice here; as he loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of ſuch genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almoſt the only profeſſed poet of the reign of Henry VII., to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But ſtill ſtronger proofs of his literary turn, eſpecially of his ſingular paſſion for poetry, may be collected from a very ſplendid MS., which formerly belonged to this very diſtinguiſhed peer, and is at preſent preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.[3] It contains a large collection of Engliſh poems, elegantly engroſſed on vellum, and ſuperbly illuminated, which had been thus ſumptuouſly tranſcribed for his uſe. The pieces are chiefly thoſe of Lydgate, after which follow the aforeſaid Elegy of Skelton and ſome ſmaller compoſitions. Among the latter are a metrical hiſtory of the family of Percy, preſented to him by one of his own chaplains, and a prolix ſeries of poetical inſcriptions, which he cauſed to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his caſtles of Lekinfield and Wreſſil.[4] Three of the apartments in the latter, now deſtroyed, were adorned with poetical inſcriptions. Theſe are called, in the MS. above mentioned, *Proverbes in the Lodgings in Wreſſill.*[5]

1. *The proverbes in the ſydis of the innere chaumbre . . . . at Wreſſill.* This is a poem of twenty-four ſtanzas, each containing ſeven lines: beginning thus,

> When it is tyme of coſte and greate expens,
> Beware of waſte and ſpende be meaſure:

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[1] [See Dyce's *Skelton*, i. xxviii. "The following entry occurs among the Acts and Orders of the Court of Requeſts: 'An. xvii. Hen. VII. (1501) 10 Julij, apud Weſtminſter *Jo. Skelton* commiſſus carceribus janitoris domini regis.'"—*Park.*]

[2] His Latin epitaph or elegy on the death of Henry VII. is addreſſed to Iſlip, A.D. 1512.

[3] MSS. Reg. 18 D. [ii.]

[4] See [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 178.] MSS. C.C.C. Cant. 168.

[5] [They are partly printed in the ſecond edition of the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1807, iv. 411-21.]

Who that outrageyuſly makithe his diſpens,
Cauſythe his goodis not longe to endure, &c.

2. *The counſell of Ariſtotill, which he gayfe to Alexander, kinge of Maſſydony; which are writyn in the Syde of the Utter Chamber above of the houſe in the Gardynge at Wreſylls.* This is in thirty-eight lines; beginning thus,

Punyſhe moderatly and diſcretly correcte,
As well to mercye as to juſtice havynge a reſpecte, &c.

3. *The proverbis in the ſyde of the Utter Chamber above of the hous in the gardying at Wreſyll.* A poem of thirty ſtanzas, chiefly of four lines, viz.

Remorde thyne ey inwardly,
Fyx not thy mynde on Fortune, that delythe dyverſly, &c.

The following apartments in Lekinfield had poetical inſcriptions: as mentioned in the ſaid MS. *Proverbs in the Lodgings at Lekingfield.*

1. "The proverbis of the garett over the Bayne at Lekyngfelde." This is a dialogue in 32 ſtanzas, of four lines, between *the Parte Senſatyve* and *the Part Intellectyve;* containing a poetical compariſon between ſenſual and intellectual pleaſures.

2. "The proverbis in the garet at the new lodge in the parke of Lekingfelde." This is a poem of 32 ſtanzas, of four lines, being "a diſcant on Harmony, as alſo on the manner of Singing, and playing on moſt of the inſtruments then uſed: *i. e.* the Harps, Claricordes, Lute, Virgynall, Clariſymballis, Clarion, Shawme, Orgayne, Recorder." The following ſtanza relates to the Shawme, and ſhews it to have been uſed for the Baſs, as the Recorder was for the Meane or Tenor:

A Shawme makithe a ſweete ſounde for he tunithe Baſſe,
It mounithe not to hy, but kepithe rule and ſpace.
Yet yf it be blowne with a too vehement wynde,
It makithe it to miſgoverne out of his kynde.

3. "The proverbis in the rooffe of the hyeſt chawmbre in the gardinge at Lekingfelde." If we ſuppoſe this to be the room mentioned by Leland, where the Genealogy was kept, the following jingling reflections on the family motto (in thirty diſtichs) will not appear quite ſo miſplaced:

Eſperaunce en Dyeu,
Truſt in hym he is moſt trewe.

En Dieu eſperance,
In hym put thyne affiance.

Eſperaunce in the worlde? nay;
The worlde varieth every day.

Eſperaunce in riches? nay, not ſo,
Riches ſlidithe and ſone will go.

Eſperaunce in exaltacion of honoure?
Nay, it widderithe . . . lyke a floure.

Eſperaunce in bloode and highe lynage?
At moſte nede, bot eſy avauntage.

The concluding diſtich is:

Eſperaunce en Dieu, in hym is all;
Be thou contente and thou art above Fortunes fall.

4. "The proverbis in the roufe of my Lorde Percy cloſett at Lekyngfelde." A poetical dialogue, containing inſtructions for youth, in 142 lines.

5. "The proverbis in the roufe of my Lordis library at Lekyngefelde." Twenty-three ſtanzas of four lines, from which I take the following ſpecimen:

To every tale geve thou no credens.
Prove the cauſe, or thou give ſentens.
Agayn the right make no dyffens,
So haſt thou a clene conſciens.

6. "The counſell of Ariſtotell, whiche he gave to Alexander kinge of Macedony; in the ſyde of the garet of the gardynge in Lekynfelde." This, [which was alſo at Wreſyll,] conſiſts of nine ſtanzas, of eight lines: Take the laſt [four lines from the laſt] ſtanza but one [as a further ſpecimen]:

If ye be moved with anger or haſtynes,
Pauſe in youre mynde and your yre repreſs:
Defer vengeance unto your anger aſſwagede be;
So ſhall ye mynyſter juſtice, and do dewe equyte.

This caſtle is alſo demoliſhed. One of the ornaments of the apartments of the old caſtles in France, was to write the walls all over with amorous Sonnets.

The Earl's cultivation of the arts of external elegance appears, from the ſtately ſepulchral monuments which he erected in the minſter or collegiate church of Beverley in Yorkſhire, to the memory of his father and mother; which are executed in the richeſt ſtyle of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day the conſpicuous and ſtriking evidences of his taſte and magnificence. In the year 1520, he founded an annual ſtipend of ten marcs for three years for a preceptor or profeſſor, to teach grammar and philoſophy in the monaſtery of Alnwick, contiguous to another of his magnificent caſtles.[1] A further inſtance of his attention to letters and ſtudious employments occurs in his *Houſehold-book*, dated 1512, yet remaining; in which the Libraries of this earl and of his lady are ſpecified:[2] and

[1] From the Receiver's accompts of the Earl's Eſtates in Com. Northumb. A. xv. Henr. VIII. A.D. 1527. "Soluciones denariorum per Warrantum Domini. Et in denariis per dominum receptorem doctori Makerell Abbati monaſterii de Alnewyk ſolutis, de exitibus hujus anni, pro ſolucione vadii unius pedagogi, ſive Magiſtri, exiſtentis infra Abbathiam predictam, et docentis ac legentis Grammaticam et Philoſophiam canonicis et fratribus monaſterii predicti, ad x marcas per annum pro termino iij annorum, virtute unius warranti, cujus data eſt apud Wreſſill xx^mo die Septembris anno xij Regis predicti, ſigno manuali ipſius Comitis ſignati, et penes ipſum Abbatem remanentis, ultra vj lib. xiij s. iv d. ſibi allocatas anno xiij Henr. viij^vi, et vj lib. xiij s. iiij d. ſimiliter ſibi allocatas in anno xiiij ejuſdem Regis ut per ii acquietancias inde confectas, et penes Auditorem remanentes." From *Evidences of the Percy family*, at Sion-houſe. C. iii. Num. 5, 6. Communicated by Dr. Percy.

[2] Pag. 44 [edit. 1770. The work was reprinted in 1827.]

in the ſame curious monument of ancient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains ſhould be a Maker of Interludes.[1] With ſo much boldneſs did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whoſe principal occupations were hawking and tilting, and who deſpiſed learning as an ignoble and petty accompliſhment, fit only for the purpoſes of laborious and indigent eccleſiaſtics. Nor was he totally given up to the purſuits of leiſure and peace: he was, in the year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath againſt Lord Audley and his partiſans; and he was often engaged, from his early years, in other public ſervices of truſt and honour. But Skelton hardly deſerved ſuch a patronage.

It is in vain to apologiſe for the coarſeneſs, obſcenity, and ſcurrility of Skelton, by ſaying that his poetry is tinctured with the manners of his age.[2] Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpoliſhed than thoſe of the reign of Henry VII. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in deſcribing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is groſs and illiberal, was the opinion of his cotemporaries; at leaſt of thoſe critics who lived but a few years afterwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the *Arte of Engliſh Poeſie*, publiſhed in 1589, [but written long before,] ſpeaking of the ſpecies of ſhort metre uſed in the minſtrel-romances, for the convenience of being ſung to the harp at feaſts, and in Carols and Rounds, "and ſuch light or laſcivious Poemes, which are commonly more commodiouſly vttered by theſe buffons or vices in playes then by any other perſon," and in which the ſudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately ſubjoins: "Such were the rimes of *Skelton* . . . . being in deede but a rude rayling rimer,

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[1] Pag. 378. I am indebted to the uſual kindneſs of Dr. Percy for all the notices relating to this earl. See his Preface to the *Houſehold Book*, pag. xxi. *ſeq.* [edit. 1770.]

[2] ["Warton has undervalued him (Skelton); which is the more remarkable, becauſe Warton was a generous as well as a competent critic. He ſeems to have been diſguſted with buffooneries which, like thoſe of Rabelais, were thrown out as a tub for the whale; for unleſs Skelton had written thus for the coarſeſt palates, he could not have poured forth his bitter and undaunted ſatire in ſuch perilous times." *Southey*, 1831 (quoted by Dyce). "That Warton undervalued Skelton is very apparent; but Southey's *for* is not equally ſo. But our hiſtorian was tainted by Pope's antipathy to him. A reprint of Marſhe's edition of Skelton's *Workes* having appeared in 1736, Pope took occaſion, during the next year, to mention them in the following terms, caſting a blight on our poet's reputation, from which it has hardly yet recovered:

'Chaucer's worſt ribaldry is learn'd by rote,
And *beaſtly* Skelton Heads of Houſes quote.'"

—*Dyce*, 1843.

Warton enumerated among Skelton's loſt works, a better account of which is to be found in Dyce's edition, the *Peregrination of Mannes Lyfe*, which he thought it poſſible Skelton might have taken from a Latin metrical tract printed by Pynſon in 1508. But Skelton's original was in *proſe*.]

& all his doings ridiculous, he vſed both ſhort diſtaunces and ſhort meaſures, pleaſing onely the popular eare."[1] Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, or *Wit's Treaſury*, 1598, alſo obſerves: "as *Sotades Maronites* ye Iambicke Poet gaue himſelfe wholy to write impure and laſciuious things: ſo *Skeltō* (I know not for what great worthines ſurnamed the Poet Laureat) applied his wit to ſcurrilities and ridiculous matters, ſuch amōg the Greeks were called *Pantomimi*, with vs Buffons."[2]

Skelton's characteriſtic vein of humour is capricious and groteſque. If his whimſical extravagances ever move our laughter, at the ſame time they ſhock our ſenſibility. His feſtive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His ſubjects are often as ridiculous as his metre: but he ſometimes debaſes his matter by his verſification. On the whole, his genius ſeems better ſuited to low burleſque, than to liberal and manly ſatire. It is ſuppoſed by Caxton, that he improved our language;[3] but he ſometimes affects obſcurity, and ſometimes adopts the moſt familiar phraſeology of the common people.

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[1] Lib. ii. ch. ix. p. 69, [edit. 1811.]

[2] [This quotation is not accurately given in the former editions of Warton. *Palladis Tamia* purports to be a ſequel to Ling's *Politeuphuia*, 1597, 8vo. Biſhop Hall characterized both the temper and metre of this lampooner with forcible brevity, when he ſpoke of "*angry* Skelton's breathleſſe rhymes." *Virgidemiarum*, lib. iv.—*Park.* I reckon the interval of time when Skelton began to write, and when Puttenham publiſhed, to be infinite as to the refinement of manners. Yet even in this laſt period, and later, the commentators of Shakſpeare are glad to ſhelter his ribaldry and puns under the manners of his age.—*Aſhby.*]

[3] [Caxton ſpeaks of Skelton's tranſlations from the Greek and Latin, as not rendered in rude and old language, but in poliſhed and ornate terms craftily. He adds, "And alſo he hath redde the ix. muſes, and underſtande theyr muſicalle ſcyences, and to whom of theym eche ſcyence is appropred. I ſuppoſe he hath dronken of Elycons well." *Prologue to Æneid.* Vide *ſupr.*—*Park.* That Churchyard indulged the ſame ſtrange notion appears from the following curious encomium, [prefixed to Skelton's *Poems* in 1568,] in which he tells us that the converſation of Skelton reſembled the taunting perſonality of his writings:

"diuers men of late
Hath helpt our Engliſhe toung,
That firſt was baes and brute:
Ohe! ſhall I leaue out Skeltons name
The bloſſome of my frute,
The tree wheron indeed
My branchis all might groe:
Nay, Skelton wore the lawrel wreath,
And paſt in ſchoels, ye knoe;
A poet for his arte,
Whoes iudgment ſuer was hie,
And had great practies of the pen,
His works they will not lie;
His termes to taunts did lean,
His talke was as he wraet,
Full quick of witte, right ſharp of words,
And ſkillful of the ſtaet.
Of reaſon riep and good,
And to the haetfull mynd,
That did diſdain his doings ſtill,
A ſkornar of his kynd.

He thus deſcribes (in the *Boke of Colin Cloute*[1]) the pompous houſes of the clergy:

Buyldyng royally
Their mancyons curyouſly
With turrettes and with toures,
With halles and with boures,
Stretchynge to the ſtarres;
With glaſſe wyndowes and barres:
Hangynge aboute the walles
Clothes of golde and palles;
Arras of ryche arraye,
Freſshe as flours in May:
Wyth dame Dyana naked;
Howe luſty Venus quaked,
And howe Cupyde ſhaked
His darte, and bent his bowe,
For to ſhote a crowe
At her tyrly tyrlowe:
And howe Parys of Troye
Daunced a *lege de moy*,
Made luſty ſporte and ioy
With dame Helyn the quene:
With ſuche ſtoryes bydene,[2]
Their chambres well beſene;
With triumphes of Ceſar,
And of Pompeyus war,
Of renowne and of fame
By them to get a name:
Nowe[3] all the worlde ſtares
How they ryde in goodly chares,
Conueyed by olyphantes
With lauryat garlantes;
And by vnycornes
With their ſemely hornes;
Vpon theſe beeſtes rydynge
Naked boyes ſtrydynge,
With wanton wenches winkynge
Nowe truly, to my thynkynge,
That is a ſpeculacyon
And a mete meditacyon
For prelates of eſtate
Their courage to abate;
From worldly wantonneſſe,
Their chambres thus to dreſſe
With ſuche parfyetneſſe
And all ſuche holyneſſe,
How be it they let downe fall
Their churches cathedrall.[4]

Theſe lines are in the beſt manner of his petty meaſure, which is

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Moſt pleaſant euery way,
As poets ought to be,
And ſeldom out of princis grace,
And great with eche degre."]

[1] [This, and all the other, extracts from Skelton have now been collated with ed. Dyce, 1843.]

[2] [*By dene*, ſeems to ſignify, beſides, moreover.—*Jamieſon.*]

[3] This is ſtill a deſcription of tapeſtry.

[4] [Skelton's Works, 1843, i. 347-9.]

made ſtill more diſguſting by the repetition of the rhymes. We ſhould obſerve, that the ſatire is here pointed at the ſubject of theſe tapeſtries. The graver eccleſiaſtics, who did not follow the levities of the world, were contented with religious ſubjects, or ſuch as were merely hiſtorical. Rous of Warwick, who wrote about 1460, relates that he ſaw in the Abbot's hall, at St. Alban's Abbey, a ſuite of arras, containing a long train of incidents belonging to a moſt romantic and pathetic ſtory in the life of the Saxon king Offa, which that hiſtorian recites at large.[1]

Hugh de Foliot, a canon regular of Picardy, ſo early as the year 1140, cenſures the magnificent houſes of the biſhops, with the ſumptuous paintings or tapeſtry of their chambers, chiefly on the Trojan ſtory.[2] Among the MSS. *Epiſtles* of Gilbert de Stone, a canon of Wells, who flouriſhed about 1360, there is a curious paſſage concerning the ſpirit for fox-hunting which anciently prevailed among our biſhops. Reginald Bryan, biſhop of Worceſter, in 1352, thus writes to the Biſhop of St. David's: "Reverende in Chriſto pater et domine, premiſſa recommendatione debita tanto patri. Illos optimos canes venaticos, duodecim ad minus, quibus non vidimus meliores, quos nuper, ſcitis, veſtra reverenda Paternitas repromiſit, quotidie expectamus. Languet namque cor noſtrum, donec realiter ad manus noſtras venerit repromiſſum." He then owns his eagerneſs of expectation on this occaſion to be ſinful; but obſerves, that it is the fatal conſequence of that deplorable frailty which we all inherit from our mother Eve. He adds that the foxes in his manor of Alnechurch and elſewhere had killed moſt of his rabbits, many of his capons, and had deſtroyed ſix of his ſwans in one night.[3] He then deſcribes the very exquiſite pleaſure he ſhall receive, in hearing his woods echo with the cry of the hounds and the muſic of the horns; and in ſeeing the trophies of the chace affixed to the walls of his palace.[4]

From a want of the notions of common propriety and decorum, it is amazing to ſee the ſtrange abſurdities committed by the clergy of the middle ages, in adopting the laical character. Du Cange ſays, that the deans of many cathedrals in France entered on the dignities habited in a ſurplice, girt with a ſword, in boots and gilt ſpurs, and a hawk on the fiſt.[5] Carpentier adds, that the treaſurers

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[1] J. Roſs. Warwic. *Hiſt. Reg. Angl.* edit. Hearne, p. 64.

[2] "Epiſcopi domos non impares eccleſiis magnitudine conſtruunt. Pictos delectantur habere thalamos: veſtiuntur ibi imagines pretioſis colorum indumentis.—Trojanorum geſtis paries, purpura atque auro veſtitur.—Græcorum exercitui dantur arma. Hectori clypeus datur auro ſplendens," &c. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. James, ii. p. 203. But I believe the tract is publiſhed in the works of a cotemporary writer, Hugo de Sancto-Victore.

[3] "Veniant ergo, Pater Reverende, illæ ſex Caniculorum copulæ, et non tardent," &c.

[4] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Super. D. 1. art. 123; MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x. 17. [See MSS. James, xix. p. 139.]

[5] *Latin. Gloſſ.* v. Decanus, tom. i. p. 1326. See alſo *ibid.* p. 79, and tom. ii. p. 179, *ſeq.*

of ſome churches, particularly that of Nivernois, claimed the privilege of aſſiſting at maſs, on whatever feſtival they pleaſed, without the canonical veſtments, and carrying a hawk; and the Lord of Saſſay held ſome of his lands, by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while his pariſh prieſt celebrated the ſervice, booted and ſpurred, to the beat of drum, inſtead of the organ.[1] Although their ideas of the dignity of the church were ſo high, yet we find them ſometimes conferring the rank and title of ſecular nobility even on the Saints. St. James was actually created a baron at Paris.[2] Thus Froiſſart, "Or eurent ils affection et devotion d'aller en pelerinage au Baron Saint Jaques." And in a fabliau:[3]

Dame, diſt il, et je me veu,
A dieu, et au Baron Saint Leu,
Et s'irai au Baron Saint Jaques.

Among the many contradictions of this kind, which entered into the ſyſtem of theſe ages, the inſtitution of the Knights Templars is not the leaſt extraordinary. It was an eſtabliſhment of armed monks, who made a vow of living at the ſame time both as anchorets and ſoldiers.

In the poem, *Why come ye not to Court*, Skelton thus ſatiriſes Cardinal Wolſey, not without ſome tincture of humour:

He is ſet ſo hye
In his ierarchy[4]
Of frantyck freneſy,
And folyſhe fantaſy,
That in the Chambre of Starres[5]
Al maters ther be he marres,
Clappyng his rod on the borde,
No man dare ſpeke a worde;
For he hathe al the ſayenge
Without any renayenge.
He rolleth in his recordes:
He ſayth, "How ſaye ye, my lordes?
Is nat my reaſon good?
Good euyn, good Robyn Hood!
Some ſay yes, and ſome
Syt ſtyll as they were dom,
Thus thwartyng ouer thom,
He ruleth all the roſte
With braggynge and with boſt;
Borne vp on euery ſyde
With pompe and with pryde,
With, trompe up, alleluya,[6]
For dame Philargerya,[7]
Hath ſo his hart in hold, &c.—
Adew, Philoſophia!
Adew, Theologia!
Welcome dame Simonia;[8]

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[1] *Suppl.* tom. i. p. 32. [2] Tom. iii. c. 30.
[3] Tom. ii. p. 182, cited by Carpentier, *ubi ſupr.* p. 469.
[4] hierarchy. [5] the ſtar-chamber.
[6] The pomp in which he celebrates divine ſervice.
[7] love of money. [8] ſimony.

With dame Caſtrimergia ;[1]
To drynke and for to eate
Swete ypocras[2] and ſwete meate.
To kepe his fleſshe chaſt,
In Lent, for repaſt
He eateth capons ſtewed,
Feſaunt and partriche mewed,—
Hennes, checkynges, and pygges
He foynes, and he prygges,
Spareth neyther mayde ne wyfe,
This is a poſtels lyfe ![3]

The poem called the *Bouge of Court* [*Bouche de la Cour*], or the *Rewards of a Court*, is in the manner of a pageant, conſiſting of ſeven perſonifications. Here our author, in adopting the more grave and ſtately movement of the ſeven-lined ſtanza,[4] has ſhown himſelf

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[1] Or gulæ concupiſcentia, gluttony. From the Greek, γαστριμαργια, Ingluvies, helluatio. Not an uncommon word in the monkiſh latinity. Du Cange cites an old Litany of the tenth century, "A Spiritu Caſtrimargiæ . . . . Libera nos, domine!" *Lat. Gloſs.* [edit. Henſchel, in v.] Carpentier adds, among other examples, from the ſtatutes of the Ciſtercian order, 1375, "Item, cum propter deteſtabile Caſtrimargiæ vitium in labyrinthum vitiorum deſcendatur," &c. *Suppl.* tom. i. p. 862, [or edit. *ut ſupr. ibid.*]

[2] I have before ſpoken of Hypocras, or ſpiced wine. I add here that the ſpice, for this mixture, was ſerved, often ſeparately, in what they called a ſpice-plate. So Froiſſart, deſcribing a dinner in the caſtle of Toulouſe, at which the King of France was preſent. "After dyner, they toke other paſtymes in a great chambre, and hereyng of inſtruments, wherein the erle of Foiz greatly delyted. Than wine and ſpyces was brought. The erle of Harcourt ſerved the kyng of his ſpyce-plate. And ſir Gerard de la Pyen ſerved the duke of Burbone. And ſir Monaunt of Noailles ſerved the erle of Foiz," &c. This was about the year 1360. *Chron.* tom. ii. cap. 164, f. 184, a. Again, *ibid.* cap. 100, f. 114, a. "The kynge alyghted at his palis [of Weſtminſter] whiche was redie apparelled for him. There the kynge dranke and toke ſpyces and his uncles alſo : and other prelates, lordes, and knyghtes." Lord Berners's Tranſl. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory [MS. *ſupr. citat.*] an. 1447, we have this entry, "Item pro vino cretico cum ſpeciebus et confectis datis diverſis generoſis in die ſancti Dionyſii quando Le fole domini Monfordes erat hic, et faceret jocoſitates ſuas in camera orioli." Here, I believe, vinum creticum is raiſin-wine, or wine made of dry grapes; and the meaning of the whole ſeems to be this. "Paid for raiſin wine with comfits and ſpices, when [the Lord] Montford's fool was here, and exhibited his merriments in the oriel-chamber." With regard to one part of the entry, we have again, "Item, extra cameram vocatam le geſtis chamber, erat una lintheamina furata in die ſancti Georgii Martiris quando le fole de Monfordes erat hic."

[3] He afterwards inſinuates, that the cardinal had loſt an eye by the French diſeaſe : and that Balthaſar, who had cured of the ſame diſorder Domingo Lomelyn, one who had won much money of the king at cards and hazarding, was employed to recover the cardinal's eye, p. 175. In the *Boke of Colin Clout*, he mentions the cardinal's mule, "wyth golde all betrapped." [Dr. Lort ſuggeſted to Mr. Aſhby, that the above loſs was the reaſon why the cardinal is always repreſented in profile, to hide his blemiſh. But how comes it, ſays Mr. Aſhby, that we have no pictures of him prior to the accident, *i.e.* before he was a cardinal, for as ſuch he is always dreſſed; yet he was as great a man before?—*Park.*]

[4] But in this ſtanza he ſometimes relapſes into the abſurdities of his favourite ſtyle of compoſition ; for inſtance, in *Speke Parrot*, p. 97 :

"*Albertus de modo ſignificandi*
And *Donatus* be dryuen out of ſchole ;

not always incapable of exhibiting allegorical imagery with ſpirit and dignity. But his comic vein predominates.

Riot is thus forcibly and humorouſly pictured:

Wyth that came Ryotte ruſshynge al at ones,
A ruſty galland,[1] to-ragged and to-rente;[2]
And on the borde he whyrled a payre of bones;[3]
Quater treye dews he clatered as he wente:
Now haue at all by ſaynte Thomas of Kente,[4]
And euer he threwe, and kyſt[5] I wote nere what:
His here was growen thorowe oute his hat.

Thenne I behelde how he dyſgyſed was;
His hede was heuy for watchynge ouer nyghte,
His eyen blereed, his face ſhone lyke a glas;
His gowne ſo ſhorte, that it ne couer myghte
His rumpe, he wente ſo all for ſomer lyghte;
His hoſe was garded wyth a lyſte of grene,
Yet at the knee they were broken I wene.

His cote was checked with patches rede and blewe,
Of Kyrkeby Kendall was his ſhorte demye;[6]
And ay he ſange *in fayth decon thou crewe:*
His elbowe bare, he ware his gere ſo nye:
His noſe a droppynge, his lyppes were full drye:
And by his ſyde his whynarde and his pouche:
The deuyll myghte daunce therin for ony crowche.[7]

Priſians hed broken now handy dandy,
And *Inter didaſcolos* is returned for a fole:
Alexander a gander of Menanders pole,
With *Da Cauſales* is caſt out of the gate,
And *da Racionales* dare not ſhew his pate."

Here by *da Cauſales* he perhaps means *Concilia*, or the canon law. By *da Racionales* he ſeems to intend *Logic*. Albertus is [Sigandus Albertus, author of the treatiſe *Liber Modorum Significandi*, printed at St. Albans, 1480, 4to.] To which add that Ingulphus ſays, in Croyland Abbey library there were many Catones and Donati in the year 1091. *Hiſt. Croyl.* Ingulph. *Script. Vet.* i. p. 104. And that no perſon was admitted into the college of Boiſſy at Paris, founded in 1358, "niſi Donatum aut Catonem didicerit." Bul. *Hiſt. Univ. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 355. *Interdidaſcalos* is the name of an old grammar. Alexander [Gallus, or *De Villa Dei*,] was a ſchoolmaſter at Paris about the year 1290, author, [among other works,] of the *Doctrinale*, which for ſome centuries continued to be the moſt favourite manual of grammar uſed in ſchools, and was firſt printed at [Parma in 1478.] It is compiled from Priſcian and in Leonine verſe. See Henr. Gandav. *Scriptor. Eccles.* cap. lix. This admired ſyſtem has been loaded with gloſſes and lucubrations; but, on the authority of an eccleſiaſtical ſynod, it was ſuperſeded by the [*Syntaxis* and *Grammatica* of Deſpauterius about 1515.] It was printed in England as early as 1503. Barclay, in the *Ship of Fooles*, mentions Alexander's book, which he calls "The olde Doctrinall, with his diffuſe and unperfite brevitie." Fol. 53, b, [edit. 1570.]

[1] galant. [2] all over tatters and rags. [3] dice.
[4] Saint Thomas Becket. [5] caſt; he threw I know not what.
[6] doublet, jacket.
[7] The devil might dance in his purſe without meeting with a ſingle ſixpence. *Crouche* is *Croſs*, a piece of money ſo called from being marked with the croſs. Hence the old phraſe, "to croſs the hand," for, to give money. In Chaucer's *Marchaunt's Tale*, when January and May are married, it is ſaid the prieſt "*Crouchid* them, and bad god ſhould them bleſs," ver. 1223, Morris. That is, "He *croſſed* the new-married couple," &c. In the poem before us, *Ryotte* ſays,

There is alſo merit in the delineation of Diſſimulation, in the ſame poem; and it is not unlike Arioſto's manner in imagining theſe allegorical perſonages:

Than in his hode I ſawe there faces tweyne;
That one was lene and lyke a pyned gooſt,
That other loked as he wolde me haue ſlayne:
And to me warde as he gan for to cooſt,
Whan that he was euen at me almooſt,
I ſawe a knyfe hyd in his one ſleue,
Wheron was wryten this worde Myſcheue.
And in his other ſleue, me thought, I ſawe
A ſpone of golde, full of hony ſwete,
To fede a fole, and for to preue a dawe,[1] &c.

The ſame may be obſerved of the figure of Diſdain:

He looked hawte, he ſette eche man at noughte;
His gawdy garment with ſcornys was all wrought,
With indygnacyon lyned was his hode;
He frowned, as he wolde ſwere by Cockes blode,[2]

He bote[3] the lyppe, he loked paſſynge coye;
His face was belymmed, as byes had hym ſtounge:
It was no tyme with hym to jape nor toye,
Enuye hathe waſted his lyuer and his lounge;
Hatred by the herte ſo had hym wrounge,
That he loked pale as aſhes to my ſyghte:
Diſdayne, I wene, this comerous crabes[4] hyghte.

Forthwith he made on me a prowde aſſawte,
With ſcornfull loke meuyd all in mode;[5]
He wente aboute to take me in a fawte,
He frounde, he ſtared, he ſtampped where he ſtoode:
I lokyd on hym, I wende[6] he had be woode:[7]
He ſet the arme proudly vnder the ſyde,
And in this wyſe he gan with me chyde.

In the *Garland of Laurel* our author attempts the higher poetry; but he cannot long ſupport the tone of ſolemn deſcription. Theſe are ſome of the moſt ornamented and poetical ſtanzas. He is deſcribing a garden belonging to the ſuperb palace of Fame:[8]

"I have no coyne nor *croſſe*," p. 72. Carpentier mentions a coin called in Latin Croſatus, and in old French Croſat, from being marked with the croſs. Hence Croiſage, Fr. for tribute; v. *Croſatus*, Suppl. Du Cange, *Lat. Gloſs.* tom. i. p. 1208. In Shakeſpeare's *Timon of Athens*, Flavius ſays:

"—— (*Aſide.*) More jewels yet?
There is no croſſing him in 's humour;
Elſe I ſhould tell him—well, ifaith, I ſhould,
When all's ſpent he'd be *croſs'd* then, an he could."

Act i. ſc. [ii. edit. Dyce, 1868, vi. 520.] That is, not thwarting him in his humour, but giving him money. Yet a jingle is intended. So in *As You Like It*, ii. iv. [edit. *ut ſupr.* iii. 25:] "Yet I ſhould bear no croſs if I did bear you; for I think you have no *money* in your purſe." A Cruzado, a Portugueſe coin, occurs in Shakeſpeare.

[1] [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 46.] To catch a ſilly bird.
[2] The Hoſt's oath in Lydgate. See *ſupr.* [3] bit.
[4] [So old editions and ed. Dyce, i. 41; but (?) *crab is*, as Warton read.]
[5] in anger. [6] weened, thought. [7] mad.
[8] [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 387.]

In an herber[1] I ſaw brought where I was;
There birdis on the brere ſange on euery ſyde,
With alys enſandid about in compas,[2]
The bankis enturfid with ſingular ſolas,
Enrailid with roſers[3] and vinis engrapid;
It was a new comfort of ſorowis eſcapid.

In the middis a coundight, that coriyuſly was caſt
With pypes of golde enguſhing out ſtremes
Of criſtall, the clerenes theis waters far paſt,
Enſwymmyng with rochis, barbellis, and bremis,
Whoſe ſkales enſilured again the ſon beames
Engliſterd that ioyous it was to beholde,
Then furthermore aboute me my ſyght reuolde.

Where I ſawe growyng a goodly laurell tre,
Enuerdurid with leuis continually grene;
Aboue in the top a byrde of Araby,
Men call a phenix: her wynges bytwene
She bet up a fyre with the ſparkis full kene,
With braunches and bowghis of the ſwete olyue,
Whos fragraunt flower was chefe preſeruatyue

Ageynſt all infeccyons with cancour enflamyd:
Ageynſt all baratows broiſiours of olde,
It paſſed all bawmis that euer were namyd,
Or gummis of Saby ſo derely that be ſolde:
There blewe in that gardynge a ſoft piplyng colde,
Enbrethyng of Zepherus, with his pleaſant wynde;
All frutis and flowres grew there in there kynde.

Dryades there daunſid vpon that goodly ſoile,
With the nyne Muſes, Pierides by name;
Phillis and Teſtalis ther treſſes with oyle
Were newly enbybid: and rownd about the ſame
Grene tre of laurell moche ſolacyous game
They made, with chapelettes and garlandes grene;
And formeſt of all dame Flora the quene:

Of ſomer ſo formally ſhe fotid the daunce:
There Cintheus ſat, twynklyng vyon his harpe ſtringis:
And Iopas his inſtrument did aduaunce,
The poemis and ſtoris auncient inbryngis
Of Athlas aſtrology, &c.

Our author ſuppoſes, that in the wall ſurrounding the palace of Fame were a thouſand gates, new and old, for the entrance and egreſs of all nations. One of the gates is called *Anglia*, on which ſtood a leopard. There is ſome boldneſs and animation in the figure and attitude of this ferocious animal:

The beldynge thereof was paſſynge commendable;
Wheron ſtode a lybbard crownyd with golde and ſtones,
Terrible of countenaunce and paſſynge formydable,
As quikly towchd as it were fleſshe and bones,
As gaſtly that glaris, as grimly that gronis,
As ferſly frownynge as he had ben fyghtyng,
And with forme fote he ſhoke forthe this writynge.

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[1] See *ſupr.* p. 65. [2] It was ſurrounded with ſand-walks.
[3] roſe-trees. See Chaucer's *Rom. R.* ver. 1651, *ſeq.* And our author, *infr.*:

"The ruddy *roſary*,
The pretty roſemary," &c.

Skelton, in the courſe of his allegory, ſuppoſes that the *poets laureate* (or learned men) of all nations were aſſembled before Pallas. This group ſhews the authors, both ancient and modern, then in vogue. Some of them are quaintly characteriſed. They are, firſt, *Olde* Quintilian, not with his *Inſtitutes* of eloquence, but with his *Declamacyons:* Theocritus, with his *bucolycall relacyons:* Heſiod, the [*Iconomicar*][1] Homer, *the freſshe hiſtoriar: The prynce of eloquence*, Cicero: Salluſt, who wrote both the *hiſtory* of Catiline and Jugurth: Ovid, *enſhryned with the Muſis nyne:* Lucan[2] Statius, writer of *Achilliedos:* Perſius, with *problemes diffuſe:* Virgil, Juvenal, Livy: Ennius, *that wrate of mercyall war:* Aulus Gellius, that *noble hiſtoriar:* Horace, with his *New Poetry:*[3] *Maiſter* Terence, *the famous comicar*, with Plautus: Seneca the tragedian: Boethius: Maximian, *with his madde ditiis how dotynge age wolde iape with yonge foly:*[4] Boccaccio, *with his volumys grete:* Quintus Curtius: Macrobius, who treated of *Scipions dreme:* Poggius Florentinus, with many a *mad tale:*[5] a friar of France *ſyr* Gaguyne, who frownyd on me *full angerly:*[6] Plutarch and Petrarch, two *famous clarkis:* Lucilius,

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[1] ["*i.e.* Heſiod the writer on huſbandry."—*Dyce.*]

[2] Of the popularity of Lucan in the dark ages, I have given proofs in the *Third Diſſertation*, vol. i. To which I will here add others. The following paſſage occurs in Lydgate's *Prologue to the Lyff and Paſſioun of the bleſſid Martyr ſeynt Alboon* [Alban] *and ſeynt Amphiballus* [printed at St. Albans, 1534, 4to.]

"I not acqueyntyd with Muſes of Mars,
Nor with metris of Lucan nor Virgile;
Nor with ſugred diteys of Cichero,
Nor of Omere to folowe the freſsh ſtyle."

And again, ſpeaking of Julius Cæſar, Lydgate refers to Lucan's *Pharſalia*, which he calls the *Records of Lucan.* Ibid. fol. 2, b. Peter de Blois, in writing to a profeſſor at Paris about the year 1170, ſays, "Priſcianus et Tullius, *Lucanus* et Perſius, iſti ſunt dii veſtri." *Epiſtol.* iv. fol. 3, edit. 1517. Eberhardus Bethunienſis, called *Græciſta*, a philologiſt who wrote about the year 1130, in a poem on *Verſification*, ſays of Philip Gualtier, author of the *Alexandreis*, that he ſhines with the light of Lucan. "Lucet Alexander Lucani luce." Of Lucan he obſerves, "Metro *lucidiore* canit." It is eaſy to conceive why Lucan ſhould have been a favourite in the dark ages.

[3] That is, Horace's *Art of Poetry.* Vineſauf wrote *De Nova Poetria.* Horace's *Art* is frequently mentioned under this title.

[4] His ſix Elegies *De incommodis ſenectutis.* Reineſius thinks that Maximinian was the biſhop of Syracuſe in the ſeventh century: a moſt intimate friend, and the ſecretary, of Pope Gregory the Great. (*Epiſt. ad Daum.* p. 207.) Theſe Elegies contain many things ſuperior to the taſte of that period.

[5] Poggius flouriſhed about the year 1450. By his *mad tales*, Skelton means his *Facetiæ*, a ſet of comic ſtories, very licentious and very popular. See the *Works of Poggius* by Thomas Aucuparius, Argentorat. 1513, f. 157, 184. The obſcenity contained in theſe compoſitions gave great offence, and fell under the particular cenſure of the learned Laurentius Valla. The objections of Valla Poggius attempts to obviate by ſaying, that Valla was a clown, a cynic, and a pedant, without any ideas of wit or elegance: and that the *Facetiæ* were univerſally eſteemed in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, and all countries that cultivated pure Latinity. *Invect. in Laurent. Vallam.* f. 82, b. edit. *ut ſupr.*

[6] Robert, or Rupert, Gaguin, a German, miniſter-general of the Maturines, who died at Paris in 1502. His moſt famous work is *Compendium ſuper Francorum Geſtis*, from Pharamond to the author's age. He has written among many other

Valerius Maximus, Propertius, Piſander,[1] and Vincentius Bellovacenſis [Vincent of Beauvais], who wrote the *Speculum Hiſtoriale*. The catalogue is cloſed by Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate, who firſt adorned the Engliſh language:[2] in alluſion to which part of their characters their apparel is ſaid to ſhine beyond the power of deſcription, and their tabards to be ſtudded with diamonds and rubies. That only theſe three Engliſh poets are here mentioned, may be conſidered as a proof, that only theſe three were yet thought to deſerve the name.

No writer is more unequal than Skelton. In the midſt of a page of the moſt wretched ribaldry, we ſometimes are ſurpriſed with three or four nervous and manly lines, like theſe:

> Ryot and Revell be in your court roules,
> Mayntenaunce and Miſchefe theſe be men of myght,
> Extorcyon is counted with you for a knyght.

Skelton's modulation in the octave ſtanza is rough and inharmonious. The following are the ſmootheſt lines in the poem before us: which yet do not equal the liquid melody of Lydgate, whom he here manifeſtly attempts to imitate:

> Lyke as the larke vpon the ſomers daye,
> Whan Titan radiant burniſhith his bemis bryght,
> Mountith on hy with her melodious lay,
> Of the ſoes hyne engladid with the lyght.

The following little ode deſerves notice; at leaſt as a ſpecimen of the ſtructure and phraſeology of a love-ſonnet about the cloſe of the fifteenth century:

To maiſtreſs Margary Wentworth.

With margerain[3] ientyll
The flowre of goodlyhede,[4]
Embrowdered the mantill
Is of your maydenhede.[5]
Plainly I can not gloſe;[6]
Ye be, as I deuyne,[7]

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pieces, Latin orations and poems, printed in 1495. The hiſtory of Skelton's quarrel with him is not known. But he was in England as ambaſſador from [Charles VIII] of France, in 1490. He was a particular friend of Dean Colet.

[1] Our author got the name of Piſander, a Greek poet, from Macrobius.

[2] In the *boke of Philip Sparow*, he ſays, *Gower's Engliſhe is old*, but that Chaucer's *Engliſhe is wel allowed*: he adds that Lydgate writes *after an hyer rate*, and that he has been cenſured for his elevation of phraſe; but acknowledges, "No man can amend thoſe matters that he hath pend." [Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 75.] In [*Terens in englyſh*, printed perhaps by J. Raſtell, but *ſine ullâ nota*, about 1510], theſe three are mentioned in the Prologue, which is in ſtanzas, as the only Engliſh poets.

[3] *Margelain*, the herb Marjoram. *Aſs. Lad.* 56:

"And upon that a potte of Margelain."

[4] goodlihed, goodneſs. [5] virginity.

[6] In truth I cannot flatter or deceive. Or *gloſe* may be, ſimply to *write*.

[7] As I imagine. So Morris's *Chaucer*, *Non. Pr. T.* vol. iii. p. 242, v. 446.

"I can noon harme of *no* woman *divine*."

The praty primroſe,
The goodly columbyne.
With margerain iantill, &c.

Benynge, corteiſe, and meke,
With wordes well deuyſid;
In you, who liſt to ſeke,
Be vertus well compryſid.
With margerain iantill,
The flowre of goodlyhede,
Embrawderid the mantill
Is of yowre maydenhede.

For the ſame reaſon this ſtanza in a ſonnet to *Maiſtreſs Margaret Huſſey* deſerves notice.

Mirry Margaret
As mydſomer flowre,
Ientyll as fawcoun,
Or hawke of the towre.[1]

As do the following flowery lyrics, in a ſonnet addreſſed to *Maiſtreſs Iſabell Pennel:*

Your colowre
Is lyke the daſy flowre,
After the Aprill ſhowre:
Sterre of the morow gray,
The bloſſom on the ſpray,
The freſheſt flowre of May:
Maydenly demure,
Of womanhode the lure, &c.

But Skelton moſt commonly appears to have miſtaken his genius, and to write in a forced character, except when he is indulging his native vein of ſatire and jocularity in the ſhort minſtrel metre above mentioned: which he mars by a multiplied repetition of rhymes, arbitrary abbreviations of the verſe, cant expreſſions, hard and ſounding words newly-coined, and patches of Latin and French. This anomalous and motley mode of verſification is, I believe, ſuppoſed to be peculiar to our author.[2] I am not, however, quite certain that it originated with Skelton.[3]

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[1] f. 41. In the king's mews in the tower.

[2] [" Skelton has been frequently termed a Macaronic poet, but it may be doubted, if with ſtrict propriety; for the paſſages, in which he introduces ſnatches of Latin and French, are thinly ſcattered through his works."—*Dyce.*]

I have given ſpecimens. But the following paſſage in the *Boke of Colin Clout* affords an appoſite example at one view:

" Of ſuche vagabundus
Speketh *totus mundus.*
Howe ſome ſynge lætabundus, &c.
Cum ipſis vel illis
Qui manent in villis,
Eſt uxor vel ancilla,
Welcome Jacke and Gilla,
My prety Petronilla,
And you wyll be ſtylla,
You ſhall haue your wylla:
Of ſuche paternoſter pekes
All the worlde ſpekes."

[3] [" He (Warton) ought to have been 'quite certain' that it did not."—*Dyce.*]

About the year 1512, [Merlinus Cocaus or Cocaius, of Mantua,] whoſe true name was Theophilo Folengo, a Benedictine monk of Caſino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled [*Macaronices Libri* xvii.] This is a burleſque Latin poem, in heroic metre, checkered with [Mantuan] words, and thoſe of the plebeian character, yet not deſtitute of proſodical harmony. It is totally ſatirical, and has ſome degree of drollery; but the ridicule is too frequently founded on obſcene or vulgar ideas. [One of the diviſions of the work (in the edition of 1521) is entitled] *Zanitonella, or the Amours of Tonellus and Zanina*;[1] [another, *Phantaſiæ Macaronicæ*, in twenty-five macaronics, "de geſtis magnanimi et prudentiſſimi Baldi;" a third, *Moſchææ facetus liber.*] The author[2] died in 1544.[3] Cocaus is often cited by Rabelais, a writer of a congenial caſt.[4] The three laſt books, containing a deſcription of hell, are a parody on part of Dante's *Inferno*. In the preface or *Apologetica*, our author gives an account of this new ſpecies of poetry, ſince called the *Macaronic*, which I muſt give in his own words.[5] Vavaſſor obſerves that Coccaus [or Folengo] in Italy, and Antonius de Arena in France, were the two firſt, at leaſt the chief authors of the ſemi-latin burleſque poetry.[6] As to Antonius de Arena, he was a civilian of Avignon, and wrote in 1519 a Latin poem in elegiac verſes, ridiculouſly interlarded with French words and phraſes. It is addreſſed to his fellow-ſtudents, or in his own words, "Ad ſuos compagnones ſtudiantes, qui ſunt de perſona friantes, baſſas danſas, in galanti ſtilo biſognatas, cum guerra Romana, totum ad longum ſine require, et cum guerra Neapolitana, et cum revoluta Genuenſi, et guerra Avenionenſi, et epiſtola ad falotiſſimam garſam pro paſſando lo tempos."[7] I have gone out of my way to mention theſe two obſcure writers with

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[1] Perhaps formed from Zanni or Giovanni, a fooliſh character on the Italian ſtage. See Riccoboni, *Theatr. Ital.* ch. ii. p. 14, *ſeq.*

[2] See his Life, Jac. Phil. Thomaſin's *Elog.* Patav. 1644, p. 71.

[3] [See Brunet, laſt edit. in v. Folengo. The firſt known edition appears to be that of 1517.] See De Bure's curious catalogue of *Poetes Latins modernes facetieux, vulgairement appelles Macaroniques, Bib. Inſtruct. Bel. Lett.* tom. i. § 6, p. 445, *ſeq.*

[4] See Liv. iv. c. 13, ii. 1, xi. 3.

[5] "Ars iſta poetica nuncupatur Ars Macaronica, a *Macaronibus* derivata: qui *Macarones* ſunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caſeo, butyro compaginatum, groſſum, rude, et ruſticanum. Ideo Macaronica nil niſi groſſedinem, ruditatem, et Vocabulazzos, debet in ſe continere." See Menag. *Diction. Etymol. Orig. Lang. Franc.* edit. 1694, p. 462, v. *Macarons;* and Oct. Ferrarius, *Orig. Italic.*

[6] *Dict. Ludr.* p. 453.

[7] I believe one of the moſt popular of Arena's Macaronic poems is his *Meygra entrepriſa Catoloqui Imperatoris*, printed at Avignon in 1537. It is an ingenious paſquinade on Charles V.'s expedition into France. The date of the Macaronic Miſcellany in various languages entitled, *Macharonea varia*, and printed in the Gothic character, without place, is not known. The authors are anonymous; and ſome of the pieces are little comedies intended for repreſentation. There is a Macaronic poem in hexameters, called *Polemo-Middinia*, by Drummond of Hawthornden, printed with notes and a preface on this ſpecies of poetry by Biſhop Gibſon, 1691.

ſo much particularity,[1] in order to obſerve that Skelton (their cotemporary) probably copied their manner: at leaſt to ſhow, that this ſingular mode of verſification [which, however, is not ſtrictly macaronic] was at this time faſhionable, not only in England, but alſo in France and Italy. Nor did it ceaſe to be remembered in England, and as a ſpecies of poetry thought to be founded by Skelton, till even ſo late as the cloſe of Queen Elizabeth's reign, as appears from the following poem on the Spaniſh Armada, which is filled with Latin words:

A Skeltonicall Salvtation,'
Or condigne gratvlation,
And iuſt vexation,
Of the Spaniſh nation;
That in a bravado
Spent many a cruſado
In ſetting forth an armado
England to invado.[2]

But I muſt not here forget, that Dunbar, a Scotiſh poet of Skelton's own age, already mentioned, wrote [ſomewhat] in this way. His *Teſtament of Maſter Andro Kennedy*, which repreſents [ſays Lord Hailes,] the character of an idle diſſolute ſcholar, and ridicules the funeral ceremonies of the Romiſh communion, has almoſt every alternate line compoſed of the formularies of a Latin will and ſhreds of the breviary, mixed with what the French call

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[1] Erythræus mentions Bernardinus Stephonius as writing in this way. *Pinacoth.* i. p. 160. See alſo ſome poems in Baudius, which have a mixture of the Greek and Latin languages, and which others have imitated, in German and Latin.

[2] Printed at Oxford, 1589. See alſo a doggrel piece of this kind, in imitation of Skelton, introduced into Browne's *Shepherd's Pipe*, 1614. [I have ſearched in vain for the doggrel mentioned by Warton, unleſs it be the lines at p. 196 of vol. ii. of Browne's Works, by Hazlitt. More probably it is in the portion of the volume not written by Browne.] Perhaps this way of writing is ridiculed by Shakeſpeare, *Merry Wives of Winds.* a. ii. ſc. i. Where Falſtaffe ſays, "I will not ſay, pity me, 'tis not a ſoldier-like phraſe, but I ſay, love me: by me

'Thine own true knight,
By day or night,
Or any kind of light,
With all his might,
With thee to fight.'"

[Dyce's edit. 1868, i. 360.] See alſo the Interlude of *Pyramus and Thiſbe*, in the *Midſummer Night's Dream*, [which was printed by Kirkman in his *Sport upon Sport*, a collection of drolls performed at Bartholomew Fair. Here it was called the *Merry Conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver.*] Skelton, however, ſeems to have retained his popularity till late. For [he is the chorus in Munday and Chettle's *Downfall of Robert Earle of Huntington*, 1601.] The ſecond part [*The Death of Robert Earle of Huntington*, 1601,] is introduced by Friar Tuck. Friar Tuck is mentioned in Skelton's *Magnificence*, f. 5, b.

"Another bade ſhave halfe my berde,
And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,
And wolde have made me Freer Tucke
To preche oute of the pylery hole."

Latin de cuiſine. There is ſome humour, ariſing from theſe burleſque applications, in the following ſtanzas :[1]

In die meæ ſepulturæ,
I will nane haif bot our awen gyng,
Et duos ruſticos de rure,
Berand a barrell on a ſtyng ;
Drynkand and playand cop out, evin
Sicut egomet ſolebam ;
Singand and gretand with hie ſtevin,[2]
Potum meum cum fletu miſcebam.

I will na prieſtis for me ſing,
Dies ille, dies iræ ;[3]
Na yit na bellis for me ring
Sicut ſemper ſolet fieri ;
But a bag pipe to play a ſpryng,
Et unum ail woſp ante me,
In ſtayd of baneris for to bring,
Quatuor lagenas cerviſiæ,
Within the graif to ſet ſic thing,
In modum crucis juxta me,
To fle the feyndis[4] than hardely ſing
De terra plaſmaſti me.[5]

We muſt, however, acknowledge that Skelton, notwithſtanding his ſcurrility, was a claſſical ſcholar ; and in that capacity he was tutor to Prince Henry,[6] afterwards Henry VIII., at whoſe acceſſion to the throne he was appointed the royal orator. He is ſtyled by

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[1] [Dunbar's Works, ed. Laing, i. 140-1. But Warton was miſtaken in ſuppoſing that either Skelton or Dunbar ought to have a place among Macaronic writers. The intermixture of Latin with Engliſh words does not conſtitute Macaronic poetry. It is the uſe of burleſque Latinity, or vernacular words (in whatever language), with Latin terminations.

[2] With that verſe or ſtanza in the Pſalms, "I have mingled my drink with weeping."

[3] A hymn on the reſurrection in the miſſal, ſung at funerals.

[4] Inſtead of a croſs on my grave to keep off the devil.

[5] A verſe in the Pſalms. In [the Bannatyne MS.] are many examples of this mixture : the impropriety of which was not perhaps perceived by our anceſtors. See a very ludicrous ſpecimen in Harſnet's [*Declaration*, 1603,] p. 156. Where he mentions a witch who has learned "of an old wife in a chimnies end *Pax, max, fax*, for a ſpell ; or can ſay Sir John of Grantam's curſe for the miller's eels that were ſtolen.

"All you that have ſtolen the millers eeles,
Laudate dominum de cœlis,
And all they that have conſented thereto,
Benedicamus domino."

[But this is one of the ſtories in *A C. Mery Talys*, 1526, and was copied by Scot into his *Diſcovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, whence perhaps Harſnet got it.]

See a poem on Becket's martyrdom, in Waſſe's *Bibl. Liter.* Num. i. p. 39. Lond. 1722. Hither we muſt refer the old Carol on the *Boar's Head*, Hearne's *Spicileg. ad Gul. Neubrig. Hiſt.* vol. iii. p. 740. Some of the metrical hymns in the French *Fete de l'Ane* are in Latin and French. See *Mercure de France*, Avril, 1725, p. 724 *ſuiv.*

[6] [Mr. Aſhby expreſſes his ſurpriſe that ſuch a man ſhould be choſen ; and he adds with appearance of probability, that Skelton's having conceived his diſappointment of preferment to be owing to Wolſey may have been the cauſe of his extreme irritation againſt that prelate.—*Park.*]

Eraſmus "Britannicarum literarum decus et lumen."[1] His Latin elegiacs are pure, are often unmixed with the monaſtic phraſeology; and they prove that, if his natural propenſity to the ridiculous had not more frequently ſeduced him to follow the [whimſical ſchool of poetry, which paſſes under the name of Walter Mapes, and which has derived its name of *Goliard* from Golias, an appellation beſtowed on an imaginary perſon, who was ſuppoſed to repreſent the eccleſiaſtics][2] than to copy the elegances of Ovid, he would have appeared among the firſt writers of Latin poetry in England at the general reſtoration of literature. Skelton could not avoid acting as a buffoon in any language or any character.

I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already ſaid, without reſtoring to the public notice a play or Morality, written by him, not recited in any [early] catalogue of his works or annals of Engliſh typography; and (I believe) totally unknown to the antiquarians in this ſort of literature. It is, The *Nigramanſir*, a morall *Enterlude* and a pithie written by Maiſter Skelton laureate, and plaid before the king and other eſtatys at Woodſtoke on Palme Sunday. It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504.[3] It muſt have been preſented before Henry VII. at the royal manor or palace at Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire, now deſtroyed. The characters are a Necromancer or conjuror, the devil, a notary public, Simony,[5] and Philargyria[4] or Avarice. It is partly a ſatire

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[1] See *Op.* pp. 1019, 1021.

[2] [Poems attributed to Walter Mapes, ed. Wright, Introd. ix.-x.]

[3] My lamented friend Mr. William Collins, whoſe *Odes* will be remembered while any taſte for true poetry remains, ſhewed me this piece at Chicheſter, not many months before his death: and he pointed it out as a very rare and valuable curioſity. He intended to write the *Hiſtory of the Reſtoration of Learning under Leo the Tenth*, and with a view to that deſign had collected many ſcarce books. Some few of theſe fell into my hands at his death. The reſt, among which, I ſuppoſe, was this *Interlude*, were diſperſed.

In the *Myſtery of Marie Magdalene*, written in 1512, a Heathen is introduced celebrating the ſervice of Mahound, who is called *Saracenorum fortiſſimus;* in the midſt of which he reads a Leſſon from the Alcoran, conſiſting of gibberiſh, much in the metre and manner of Skelton. MSS. Digb. 133. [Theſe *Myſteries* have ſince been publiſhed entire, and Mr. Park's deſcription of their contents in the *Additional Notes* to Warton did not therefore appear worth retaining.]

[4] Crowley [printed and perhaps] wrote "The Fable of *Philargyrie*, the great gigant of Great Britain, what houſes were builded, and lands appointed, for his proviſion," &c. 1551, [8vo.].

[5] Simony is introduced as a perſon in *Sir Penny*, an old Scotiſh poem, written in 1527 by Stewart of Lorne. See *Antient Scottiſh Poems*, 1770, p. 154:

"So wily can ſyr Peter wink,
And als ſir Symony his ſervand,
That now is *gydar of the kyrk*."

And again, in an ancient anonymous Scotiſh poem, *ibid.* p. 253. At a feaſt, to which many diſorderly perſons are invited, among the reſt are:

"And twa lerit men thairby,
Schir Ochir and ſchir Simony."

That is, Sir Uſury and Sir Simony. Simony is alſo a character in Langland's *Viſion.* Paſs. ſec. fol. viii. b, edit. 1550. Wickliffe, who flouriſhed about the year 1350,

on ſome abuſes in the church; yet not without a due regard to decency and an apparent reſpect for the dignity of the audience. The ſtory, or plot, is the trial of Simony and Avarice: the devil is the judge, and the notary public acts as an aſſeſſor or ſcribe. The priſoners, as we may ſuppoſe, are found guilty, and ordered into hell immediately. There is no ſort of propriety in calling this play the *Necromancer:* for the only buſineſs and uſe of this character is to open the ſubject in a long prologue, to evoke the devil, and ſummon the court. The devil kicks the necromancer for waking him ſo ſoon in the morning: a proof, that this drama was performed in the morning, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of meaſures, with ſhreds of Latin and French, is uſed: but the devil ſpeaks in the octave ſtanza. One of the ſtage-directions is, "Enter Balſebub with a Berde." To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the devil was moſt commonly introduced on the ſtage, wearing a viſard with an immenſe beard.[1] Philargyria quotes Seneca and St. Auſtin: and

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thus deſcribes the ſtate of ſimony in his time. "Some lords, to colouren their Symony, wole not take for themſelves but keverchiefs for the lady, or a palfry, or a tun of wine. And when ſome lords wolden preſent a good man and able, for love of god and criſten ſouls, then ſome ladies been means to have a dancer, a tripper on tapits, or hunter or hawker, or a wild player of ſummers gamenes," &c. MSS. C.C.C. Cant. O. 161, 148. There is an old poem on this ſubject, MSS. Bodl. 48.

[1] Thus in Turpin's *Hiſtory of Charlemagne*, the Saracens appear, "Habentes larvas barbatas, cornutas, Dæmonibus conſimiles." c. xviii. And in *Lewis the Eighth*, an old French romance of Philip Mouſkes:

"J ot apries lui une barboire,
Com diable cornu et noire."

There was a ſpecies of maſquerade celebrated by the eccleſiaſtics in France, called the *Shew of Beards*, entirely conſiſting of an exhibition of the moſt formidable beards. Gregory of Tours ſays, that the abbeſs of Poictou was accuſed for ſuffering one of theſe ſhews, called a *Barbatoria*, to be performed in her monaſtery. *Hiſt.* lib. x. c. vi. In the *Epiſtles* of Peter de Blois we have the following paſſage: "Regis curiam ſequuntur aſſidue hiſtriones, candidatrices, aleatores, dulcorarii, caupones, nebulatores, mimi, *Barbatores*, balatrones, et hoc genus omne." Epiſt. xiv. Where by Barbatores we are not to underſtand Barbers, but mimics or buffoons, diſguiſed in huge bearded maſks. In Don Quixote, the barber who perſonates the ſquire of the Princeſs Micomicona, wears one of theſe maſks, "una gran barba," &c. Part. prim. c. xxvi. l. 3. And the counteſs of Trifaldi's ſquire has "la mas larga, la mas horrida," &c. Part. ſec. c. xxxvi. l. 8. See *Obſervat. on Spenſer*, vol. i. Section ii.

About the eleventh century, and long before, beards were looked upon by the clergy as a ſecular vanity, and accordingly were worn by the laity only. Yet in England this diſtinction ſeems to have been more rigidly obſerved than in France. Malmeſbury ſays that King Harold, at the Norman invaſion, ſent ſpies into Duke William's camp; who reported that moſt of the French army were prieſts, becauſe their faces were ſhaven. *Hiſt.* lib. iii. p. 56, b, edit. Savil. 1596. The regulation remained among the Engliſh clergy at leaſt till the reign of Henry VIII.: for Longland biſhop of Lincoln, at a Viſitation of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1531, orders one of the fellows, a prieſt, to abſtain under pain of expulſion from wearing a beard and pinked ſhoes like a laic; and not to take the liberty, for the future, of inſulting and ridiculing the governor and fellows of the ſociety. *Ordinat.* Coll. Oriel. Oxon. *Append. ad Joh. Trokelowe*, p. 339. See Edicts of King John, in Prynne, *Libertat. Eccles. Angl.* tom. iii. p. 23. But among the religious, the Tem-

Simony offers the devil a bribe. The devil rejects her offer with much indignation: and swears by the "foule Eumenides," and the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and King Herod. The last scene is closed with a view of hell and a dance between the devil and the necromancer. The dance ended, the devil trips up the necromancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke.[1] Great must have been the edification and entertainment which Henry VII. and his court derived from the exhibition of so elegant and rational a drama! The royal taste for dramatic representation seems to have suffered a very rapid transition: for in [1528] a goodly comedy of Plautus [probably in Latin,] was played before Henry VIII. at Greenwich.[2] I have before mentioned Skelton's [interlude] of *Magnificence.* It contains sixty folio pages in the black letter, and must have taken up a very considerable time in the representation. The substance of the allegory is briefly this. Magnificence becomes a dupe to his servants and favourites, "Fansy, Counterfet Countenance, Crafty Conveyance, Clokyd Colusion, Courtly Abusion, and Foly." At length he is seized and robbed by "Adversyte," by whom he is given up as a prisoner to "Poverte." He is next delivered to Despare and Mischefe, who offer him a knife and a halter. He snatches the knife to end his miseries by stabbing himself; when "Good Hope" and "Redresse" appear, and persuade him to take the "rubarbe of repentance" with some "gostly gummes" and a few "drammes of devocyon." He becomes acquainted with "Circumspeccyon" and Perseverance, follows their directions, and seeks for happiness in a state of penitence and contrition. There is some humour here and there in the dialogue, but the allusions are commonly low. The poet hardly ever aims at allegorical painting, but the figure of Poverty is thus drawn:

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plars were permitted to wear long beards. In the year 1311, King Edward II. granted letters of safe conduct to his valet Peter Auger, who had made a vow not to shave his beard, and who, having resolved to visit some of the holy places abroad as a pilgrim, feared, on account of the length of his beard, that he might be mistaken for a knight-templar and insulted. Pat. iv. Edw. II. in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 704. Many orders about beards occur in the registers of Lincoln's-inn, cited by Dugdale. In the year 1542, it was ordered that no member, wearing a beard, should presume to dine in the hall. In 1553, says Dugdale, "such as had beards should pay twelve-pence for every meal they continued them; and every man to be shaven, upon pain of being put out of commons." *Orig. Jurid.* c. 64, p. 244. In 1559, no member is permitted to wear any beard above a fortnight's growth, under pain of expulsion for the third transgression. But the fashion of wearing beards beginning to spread, in 1560 it was agreed at a council, that "all orders before that time made, touching beards, should be void and repealed." Dugd. *ibid.* p. 245.

[1] In the *Mystery of Mary Magdalene*, just mentioned, one of the stage directions is, "Here enters the prynce of the devylls in a stage, with hell onderneth the stage." MSS. Digb. 133. [Another direction is, "With this word vii. dyvyls sall de woyde from the woman, and the bad angyll enter into hell with thondyr."—*Park.*]

[2] Holinsh. iii. 850, [and Stow's *Annales*, edit. 1615, p. 539.]

A, my bonys ake, my lymmys be ſore,
Alaſſe, I haue the cyatyca full euyll in my hyppe,
Alaſſe, where is youth that was wont for to ſkyppe!
I am lowſy, and vnlykynge, and full of ſcurffe,
My colour is tawny-colouryd as a turffe:
I am Pouerte, that all men doth hate,
I am baytyd with doggys at euery mannys gate:
I am raggyd and rent, as ye may ſe,
Full few but they haue envy at me.
Nowe muſt I this carcaſſe lyft up,
He dynyd with Delyte, with Pouerte he muſt ſup.[1]

The ſtage-direction then is, "Hic accedat ad levandum Magnyfycence." It is not impoſſible that "Deſpare," offering the knife and the halter, might give a diſtant hint to Spenſer. The whole piece is ſtrongly marked with Skelton's manner, and contains every ſpecies of his capricious verſification.[2] I have been prolix in deſcribing theſe two dramas, becauſe they place Skelton in a claſs in which he never has yet been viewed, that of a dramatic poet. And although many Moralities were now written, yet theſe are the firſt that bear the name of their author. There is often much real comedy in theſe ethic interludes, and their exemplifications of Virtue and Vice in the abſtract convey ſtrokes of character and pictures of life and manners. I take this opportunity of remarking that a Morality-maker was a profeſſed occupation at Paris. Pierre Gringoire is called, according to the ſtyle of his age, "Compoſiteur, Hiſtorien et Facteur de Myſteres ou Comedies," in which he was alſo a performer. [One of his numerous pieces,] written at the command of Louis XII., in conſequence of a quarrel with the pope and the ſtates of Venice, is entitled [*Le jeu du prince des ſotz*, to which (in a later edition) is added, *ioue aux halles de pis le mardy gras* (1511). This latter impreſſion purports to have been printed for the author.][3]

Moralities ſeem to have arrived at their height about the cloſe of the ſeventh Henry's reign. This ſort of ſpectacle was now ſo faſhionable, that John Raſtell, a learned typographer and brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had hitherto been confined either to moral allegory or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a deſign of making it the vehicle of ſcience and philoſophy. With this view he publiſhed *A new interlude and a mery, of the nature of the iiii Elements, declarynge many proper poynts of phyloſophy naturall and of dyuers ſtrange landys, &c.* [*circa* 1520, 8vo.][4] In the coſmographical part of the play, in

[1] [Skelton's Works, 1843, i. 290-1.]
[2] [*Counterfet Countenance* ſays:

"But nowe wyll I [that they be gone,]
In *baſtarde* ryme after the *dogrell* gyſe
Tell you where of my name doth ryſe."]

[3] See Goujet, *Bibl. Franc.* tom. xi. p. 212.
[4] ["Dr. Dibdin and others have ſuppoſed hence [the alluſion to the New World] that this interlude was written about 1510, as Columbus diſcovered the Weſt Indies in 1492, but the author ſays nothing of Columbus, and does not ſeem to

which the poet profeſſes to treat of "dyvers ſtraunge regyons, and of the new founde landys," the tracts of America recently diſcovered, and the manners of the natives, are deſcribed. The characters are, a Meſſenger who ſpeaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Deſire, Senſual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance. Raſtell appears to have been a ſcholar. He was educated at Oxford, and took up the employment of printing as a profeſſion, at that time eſteemed liberal and not unſuitable to the character of a learned and ingenious man. He wrote and printed many other pieces which I do not mention, as unconnected with the hiſtory of our poetry. I ſhall only obſerve further, in general that he was eminently ſkilled in mathematics, coſmography, hiſtory, our municipal law, and theology. He died in 1536.

I have before obſerved that the frequent and public exhibition of perſonifications in the pageants, which anciently accompanied every high feſtivity, greatly contributed to cheriſh the ſpirit of allegorical poetry, and even to enrich the imagination of Spenſer and of Shakeſpeare. There is a paſſage in *Antony and Cleopatra* where the metaphor is exceedingly beautiful, but where the beauty both of the expreſſion and the alluſion is loſt, unleſs we recollect the frequency and the nature of theſe ſhows in Shakeſpeare's age.[1] I muſt cite the whole of the context, for the ſake of the laſt hemiſtich:

> Sometime we ſee a cloud that's dragoniſh,
> A vapour ſometime like a bear or lion;
> A tower'd citadel, a pendent rock,
> A forked mountain, or blue promontory
> With trees upon't, that nod unto the world
> And mock our eyes with air: thou haſt ſeen theſe ſigns;
> They are black veſper's pageants.

The Moralities, which now began to acquire new celebrity, and in which the ſame groups of the imperſonated vices and virtues appeared, muſt have concurred in producing this effect; and hence, at the ſame time, we are led to account for the national reliſh for allegorical poetry, which ſo long prevailed among our anceſtors. By means of theſe ſpectacles, ideal beings became common and popular objects; and emblematic imagery, which at preſent is only contemplated by a few retired readers in the obſolete pages of our elder poets, grew familiar to the general eye.

[Hawkins, in the *Hiſtory of Muſic*, has printed a ſong written by Skelton, alluded to in the *Garlande of Lawrell*, and ſet to muſic by William Corniſh, a muſician of the chapel-royal under Henry VII. It begins:

> Ah, beſhrew you, by my fay,
> Theſe wanton clarkes are nice alway.

Corniſh ſeems to have been maſter of the children of the chapel in 1514-15, in the Chriſtmas of which year the interlude of the

have known of his exiſtence, attributing the finding of America to Americus Veſpucius, who did not ſail from Cadiz till 1497."—*Collier.*]

[1] Act iv. ſc. [xiv. edit. Dyce, 1868, vii. 576.]

Triumph of Love and Beauty was performed by the children before Henry VIII., at Richmond, on a very sumptuous scale, at the same time that Medwall's interlude of *Nature* was played by the king's players.[1]

A dull poem by this person is introduced improperly into the edition of Skelton's Works in 1568. He received 13*s.* 4*d.* from Elizabeth of York for a Christmas carol composed by him for Christmas, 1502. This appears to have been the usual payment for such a performance.

Cornish has also two songs in the Fairfax MS. (Add. MSS. B. M. 5465) for three voices; there he is described as "William Cornysh *junior*." In Harl. MS. 1709 there is a *Salve Regina* by the same hand.[2]]

SECTION XXXIII.

IN a work of this general and comprehensive nature, in which the fluctuations of genius are surveyed, and the dawnings or declensions of taste must alike be noticed, it is impossible that every part of the subject can prove equally splendid and interesting. We have, I fear, been toiling for some time through materials not perhaps of the most agreeable and edifying nature. But as the mention of that very rude species of our drama, called the *Morality*, has incidentally diverted our attention to the early state of the English stage, I cannot omit so fortunate and seasonable an opportunity of endeavouring to relieve the weariness of my reader, by [reverting to the drama, and] introducing an obvious digression on the probable causes of the rise of the *Mysteries* which, as I have before remarked, preceded, and at length produced, these allegorical fables. In this respect I shall imitate those map-makers mentioned by Swift, who

> O'er inhospitable downs,
> Place elephants for want of towns.

Nor shall I perhaps fail of being pardoned by my reader if, on the same principle, I should attempt to throw new light on the history of our theatre, by pursuing this enquiry through those deductions which it will naturally and more immediately suggest.

About the eighth century, trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France: as did William the Conqueror and his Norman successors in England. The merchants, who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies,

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[1] [Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 63-5.]
[2] [Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd Ser. ii. 50.]
[3] [See sect. vi.]

employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minſtrels, and buffoons, who were no leſs intereſted in giving their attendance, and exerting all their ſkill, on theſe occaſions. As now but few large towns exiſted, no public ſpectacles or popular amuſements were eſtabliſhed; and as the ſedentary pleaſures of domeſtic life and private ſociety were yet unknown, the fair-time was the ſeaſon for diverſion. In proportion as theſe ſhews were attended and encouraged, they began to be ſet off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery, being rendered ſtill more attractive by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy, obſerving that the entertainments of dancing, muſic, and mimicry, exhibited at theſe protracted annual celebrations, made the people leſs religious by promoting idleneſs and a love of feſtivity, proſcribed theſe ſports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their cenſures, they changed their plan, and determined to take theſe recreations into their own hands. They turned actors, and (inſtead of profane mummeries) preſented ſtories taken from Legends or the Bible. This was the origin of ſacred comedy. The death of Saint Catharine, acted by the Monks of Saint Denis, rivalled the popularity of the profeſſed players. Muſic was admitted into the churches, which ſerved as theatres for the repreſentation of holy farces. The feſtivals among the French, called *La fete de Foux, de l'Ane*,[1] and *des Innocens*, at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and abſurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. Theſe are the ideas of a judicious French writer, who has inveſtigated the hiſtory of human manners with great comprehenſion and ſagacity.

Voltaire's theory on this ſubject is alſo very ingenious, and quite new.[2] Religious plays, he ſuppoſes, came originally from Conſtan-

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[1] For a moſt full and comprehenſive account of theſe feaſts, ſee *Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de la Fete de Foux.* Par M. du Tilliot, 1741. Groſſeteſte, biſhop of Lincoln in the eleventh century, orders his dean and chapter to aboliſh the *Feſtum Aſinorum, cum ſit vanitate plenum, et voluptatibus ſpurcum*, which uſed to be annually celebrated in Lincoln Cathedral on the feaſt of the Circumciſion (Groſſeteſti *Epiſtol.* xxxii. *apud* Browne's *Faſcicul.* p. 331, edit. 1690, tom. ii. Append.) and p. 412. Alſo he forbids the archdeacons of his dioceſe to permit Scot-ales in their chapters and ſynods, (Spelm. *Gl.* p. 506) and other ludi on holidays. *Ibid. Epiſtol.* xxii. p. 314. See in the *Mercure Francois* for September, 1742, an account of a mummery celebrated in the city of Beſançon in France by the canons of the cathedral, conſiſting of dancing, ſinging, eating and drinking, in the cloiſters and church, on Eaſter-day, called *Bergeretta*, or the *Song of the Shepherds;* which remained unaboliſhed till the year 1738. [*Bergerette* was the title alſo of a ſpecies of paſtoral poetry.—*Park.*] From the *Ritual* of the church, p. 1930, *ad ann.* 1582. See Carpentier, *Suppl.* Du Cang. *Lat. Gloſs.* tom. i. p. 523, in v. And *ibid.* v. *Boclare*, p. 570.

[2] ["Warton, referring to both theſe conjectures, inclines to Voltaire without perceiving that they might be reconciled."—*Collier.* Mr. Collier imagines that Warton's "judicious French writer" may be Du Tilliot, author of *La Fete de Foux*, Lauſanne, 1741. "The reign of Charles V. (ſays Anderſon, from Paſquier

tinople, where the old Grecian ſtage continued to flouriſh in ſome degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were [ſtill] repreſented. [It may be worth while to offer a few illuſtrations of this poſition.[1] The Imperial edict of 399, which aboliſhed the feaſt of Majuma, gave free permiſſion for the continuance of all other public entertainments; and among theſe the theatre was of courſe included. The petition of the African biſhops, drawn up in the ſame year according to Godefroy, or in 401 according to Baronius, merely ſolicits the ſuppreſſion of plays upon Sundays, and other days obſerved as feſtivals in the Chriſtian church, and begs an exemption for all Chriſtians from being *compelled* to attend them. Nor was it till the year 425, that the prayer of this petition was confirmed by Theodoſius the Younger, and then reſtricted to the moſt important feaſts in the calendar. Four years after, the ſame emperor found it neceſſary to reſcind the law, which prohibited female Chriſtian proſelytes from appearing upon the ſtage; who were thus allowed to reſume their profeſſion without the fear of ſpiritual cenſure.[2] The capture of Carthage (439) was effected by Genſeric, whilſt the inhabitants were at the theatre; and the language of Theodoret upon this occaſion, unleſs we are to accept it as a mere rhetorical flouriſh, might be ſtrained to imply, that the dramas of Æſchylus and Sophocles were ſtill exhibited in the Empire, or at leaſt that they were generally known. An edict of Juſtinian only forbids deacons, prieſts, and biſhops, from attending any ſpecies of ſcenic repreſentation; and under the ſame emperor (588) Gregory Biſhop of Antioch was publicly defamed by the ſpectators at the theatre, and ridiculed by the actors on the ſtage. In the year 692 the council of Trullo prohibited all chriſtians, both clergy and laity, under pain of ſuſpenſion or excommunication, from following the occupation of a player, and from frequenting the games of the circus and the theatre (Can. 51). Laſtly, the canons of Nicephorus and of Photius, both framed in the ninth century, only re-echo the edict of Theodoſius, that the theatre ought to be cloſed upon Sundays and days of ſolemn feſtival. The hiſtory of the Weſt will afford us nearly ſimilar notices. The theatres of France and Italy,

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and Brantome) gave riſe to the French drama and theatre. The actors, being erected into a company by letters patent, repreſented the *Myſteries of Chriſt's Paſſion* which, with ſome additional pieces called *Moralities*, continued to be the theatrical entertainment for more than 130 years. Though in the time of Louis XII. ſome farces or comedies were written, the French drama received no ſort of improvement, but continued in the reign of Francis I. under the direction of the Fraternity of the Paſſion, who only added ſome burleſque pieces to their Moralities. Under Henry II., Francis II., and Charles IX., Jodella was the dramatic poet, and produced two tragedies and two comedies. His *Cleopatra* together with a comedy, being acted at Paris, he is ſaid to have been rewarded for this new entertainment by his monarch with 500 crowns. But the genius and the reliſh for ſuch compoſitions remained ſuſpended for a conſiderable time after this exhibition of them." *Hiſt. of France, temp. Francis I. and Charles IX.* vol. ii. p. 427.—*Park.*]

[1] [Mr. Price's addition.]

[2] Mimas diverſis adnotationibus liberatas ad proprium officium ſumma inſtantiâ revocari decernimus. L. xv. Cod. Th. Tit. 7, L. 13.

eſpecially thoſe of Rome and Marſeilles, continued in high celebrity long after the firſt incurſions of the barbarians; and the policy of Theodoric found it expedient to tolerate a paſtime which he ſecretly condemned, and to encourage an abuſe he could neither chaſten nor correct.[1] For a period indeed theſe amuſements appear to have been ſuſpended by the ravages of Attila in Italy and of the Franks in France. But, in the time of Charlemagne, the *Mimi* and *Hiſtriones* are ſpoken of in much the ſame terms of invective, caſt upon their profeſſion by the early Chriſtian teachers; nor does the language of Agobard warrant a belief, that he was characterizing a different order of men from thoſe who fell under the denunciations of his predeceſſors.[2]]

About the fourth century, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbiſhop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, baniſhed pagan plays from the ſtage at Conſtantinople, and introduced ſelect ſtories from the Old and New Teſtament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious ſpectacle, a tranſition was made on the ſame plan; and the choruſes were turned into Chriſtian hymns. Gregory wrote many ſacred dramas for this purpoſe, which have not ſurvived thoſe inimitable compoſitions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called Χριστος πασχων, or *Chriſt's Paſſion*, is ſtill extant.[3] In the prologue it is ſaid to be in imitation of Euripides,[4] and that this is the firſt time the Virgin Mary has been produced on the ſtage. The faſhion of acting ſpiritual dramas, in which at firſt a due degree of method and decorum was preſerved, was at length adopted from Conſtantinople by the Italians, who framed in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous ſpecies of theatrical repreſentation called *Myſteries* or ſacred comedies, which were ſoon afterwards received in France.[5] This opinion will acquire probability, if we conſider the early commercial intercourſe between Italy and Conſtantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be ſuppoſed to have imported plays of this nature, did not underſtand the Greek language, yet they could underſtand, and conſequently could imitate, what they ſaw.

In defence of Voltaire's hypotheſis it may be further obſerved, that the *Feaſt of Fools* and of the *Aſs*, with other religious farces of that ſort ſo common in Europe, originated at Conſtantinople. They

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[1] Hæc nos fovemus neceſſitate populorum. Expedit interdum deſipere, ut poſſumus populi deſiderata gaudia continere.

[2] [Satiat præterea et inebriat Hiſtriones, Mimos, turpiſſimoſque et vaniſſimos Joculares, cum pauperes Eccleſiæ fame diſcruciati intereant. Agobard, (*de Diſpens.* p. 299). See *Diſcours ſur la Comedie par Pierre Le Brun.* Paris, 1731.—*Price.*]

[3] *Greg. Nazianz.* tom. ii. p. 253. In a MS. cited by Lambeccius, it is called Δραμα κατ' Ευριπιδην. iv. 22. It ſeems to have been falſely attributed to Apollinaris, an Alexandrian, biſhop of Laodicea. It is, however, written with leſs elegance and judgment than moſt of Gregory's poetical pieces. Apollinaris lived about the year 370.

[4] [Such an imitation Mr. Aſhby thinks as probable as Otway and Dryden's imitations of Shakſpeare.—*Park.*]

[5] *Hiſt. Gen. Addit.* p. 138.

were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek church about the year 990 by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists: that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, particularly the Bacchanalian and calendary solemnities, by the substitution of Christian spectacles, partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness. The fact is, however, recorded by Cedrenus, one of the Byzantine historians, who flourished about the year 1050, in the words below.[1] "Theophylact introduced the practice, which prevails even to this day, of scandalising God and the memory of his saints, on the most splendid and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous shoutings, even in the midst of those sacred hymns, which we ought to offer to the divine grace with compunction of heart, for the salvation of our souls. But he, having collected a company of base fellows, and placing over them one Euthymius, surnamed Casnes, whom he also appointed the superintendent of his church, admitted into the sacred service diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the streets and brothels. [Perhaps Theophylact was only the first who admitted these buffooneries within the walls of a church, and thus prepared the way for their reception among the Christians of the West. Their origin may with more probability be referred to an earlier period, when the Iconoclast Emperors sought to degrade the Roman Pontiffs by an absurd mockery of the papal election, the ceremonies of the Western Church, and all its observances both civil and spiritual. Gibbon has detailed in part the conduct taken by the Emperor Michael III. in such a scene, and has noticed the sources whence the curious reader may derive a confirmation, or rather a strong corroboration, of this opinion.[2]] This practice was subsisting in the Greek church two hundred years afterwards; for Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, complains of the gross abominations committed by the priests at Christmas and other festivals, even in the great church at Constantinople; and that the clergy, on certain holidays, personated a variety of feigned characters, and even entered the choir in a military habit and other enormous disguises.[3]

In return, he forbids the professed players to appear on the stage in the habit of monks. Saint Austin, who lived in the sixth century, reproves the paganising Christians of his age for their indecent sports

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[1] "Εργον εκεινου, και το νυν κρατουν εθος, εν ταις λαμπραις και δημοτελεσιν εορταις ὑβριζεσθαι τον θεον, και τας των ἁγιων μνημας, δια λογισματων απρεπων και γελωτων, και παραφορων κραυγων, τελουμενων των θειων ὑμνων· οὐς εδει, μετα καταλυξεως και συντριμμου καρδιας, ὑπερ της ἡμων σωτηριας, προσφερειν τῳ θεῳ. Πληθος γαρ συστησαμενος επιῤῥητων ανδρων, και εξαρχον αυτοις επιστησας Ευθυμιον τινα Κασνην λεγουμενον, ὁν αυτος Δομεστικον της εκκλησιας προυβαλλετο· και τας σατανικας ορχησεις, και τας ασημους κραυγας, και τα εκ τριοδων και χαμαιτυπειων ηρανισμενα ἁσματα τελεισθαι εδιδαξεν."

Cedren. *Compend. Hist.* p. 639, B. edit. 1647. Compare Baron. *Annal.* sub ann. 956, tom. x. p. 752, C. edit. Antw. 1603.

[2] [Mr. Price's addition. *Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp.* cap. 49, n. 18.—*Price.*]

[3] *Comment. ad Canon.* lxii. *Synod.* vi. in Trullo. Beverigii *Synodic.* tom. i. 1672, pp. 230, 231.

on holidays; but it does not appear that theſe ſports were celebrated within the churches.[1]

I muſt however obſerve here, what perhaps did not immediately occur to our lively philoſopher on this occaſion, that in the fourth century it was cuſtomary to make Chriſtian parodies and imitations in Greek of the beſt Greek claſſics for the uſe of the Chriſtian ſchools. This practice prevailed much under the Emperor Julian, who forbade the pagan poets, orators, and philoſophers to be taught in the Chriſtian ſeminaries. Apollinaris, biſhop of Laodicea, above mentioned, wrote Greek tragedies adapted to the ſtage on moſt of the grand events recorded in the Old Teſtament, after the manner of Euripides. On ſome of the familiar and domeſtic ſtories of ſcripture he compoſed comedies in imitation of Menander. He wrote Chriſtian odes on the plan of Pindar. In imitation of Homer, he wrote an heroic poem on the Hiſtory of the Bible, as far as the reign of Saul, in twenty-four books. Sozomen ſays that he compiled a ſyſtem of grammar, (Χριστιανικῳ τυπῳ,) on the Chriſtian model, and that his imitative compoſitions (now loſt) rivalled their great originals in genius, expreſſion, and conduct. His ſon, a biſhop alſo of Laodicea, reduced the four goſpels and all the apoſtolical books into Greek dialogues, reſembling thoſe of Plato.[2]

But I muſt not omit a much earlier and more ſingular ſpecimen of a theatrical repreſentation of ſacred hiſtory than this mentioned by Voltaire. Some fragments of an ancient Jewiſh play on the Exodus or Departure of the Iſraelites from Egypt under their leader and prophet Moſes are yet preſerved in Greek iambics.[3] The principal characters of this drama are Moſes, Sapphora, and God from the Buſh, or God ſpeaking from the burning buſh. Moſes delivers the prologue or introduction in a ſpeech of ſixty lines, and his rod is turned into a ſerpent on the ſtage. The author of this piece is Ezekiel, a Jew, who is called Ὁ των Ιουδαικων τραγωδιων ποιητης, or the tragic poet of the Jews.[4] The learned Huet endeavours to prove that Ezekiel wrote at leaſt before the Chriſtian Era.[5] Some ſuppoſe that he was one of the ſeventy or Septuagint interpreters of the Bible under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. I am of opinion that Ezekiel compoſed this play after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and even in the time of Barocbas, as a political ſpectacle, with a view to animate his dejected countrymen with the hopes of a future deliverance from their captivity under the conduct of a new Moſes,

[1] "In ſanctis feſtivitatibus choros ducendo, cantica luxurioſa et turpia, &c. Iſti enim infelices ac miſeri homines, qui balationes ac ſaltationes ante ipſas baſilicas ſanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubeſcunt." S. Auguſt. *Opera*, edit. 1529, x. fol. 763, b (*Serm.* ccxv.) See alſo *Serm.* cxcvii. cxcviii. *opp.* edit. Benedictin. v. p. 904, *et ſeq.*

[2] Socrates, iii. 16, ii. 46. Sozomen, v. 18, vi. 26. Niceph. x. 25.

[3] Clemens Alexandrin. lib. i. *Strom.* p. 344, *ſeq.* Euſebius, *Præparat. Evang.* c. xxviii. xxix. Euſtathius *ad Hex.* p. 25. They are collected, and tranſlated into Latin, with emendations, by Fr. Morellus (Paris, 1580). See alſo *Corpus Poetar. Gr. Tragicor. et Comicor.* Genev. 1614. And *Poetæ Chriſtian. Græci*, 1609.

[4] See Scaliger, *ad Euſeb.* p. 401. *Demonſtrat. Evangelic.* p. 99.

like that from the Egyptian ſervitude.[1] The author of this Jewiſh tragedy ſeems to have belonged to that claſs of Helleniſtico-Judaic writers of Alexandria, of which was the author of the apocryphal *Book of Wiſdom*, a work originally written in Greek, perhaps in metre, full of alluſions to the Greek poets and cuſtoms, and containing many leſſons of inſtruction and conſolation peculiarly applicable to the diſtreſſes and ſituation of the Jews after their diſperſion.

Whether a theatre ſubſiſted among the Jews, who by their peculiar ſituation and circumſtances were prevented from keeping pace with their neighbours in the culture of the ſocial and elegant arts, is a curious ſpeculation. It ſeems moſt probable, on the whole, that this drama was compoſed in imitation of the Grecian ſtage, at the cloſe of the ſecond century, after the Jews had been diſperſed, and intermixed with other nations.

Boileau ſeems to think, that the ancient Pilgrimages introduced theſe ſacred exhibitions into France:

> Chez nos devots ayeux le théatre abhorré
> Fut long-tems dans la France une plaiſir ignore.
> De Pelerins, dit on, une troupe groſſiere
> En public à Paris y monta la prémiere;
> Et ſotement zélee en ſa ſimplicité,
> Iöua les Saints, la Vierge et Dieu par piété.
> Le Savoir, a la fin diſſipant l'Ignorance,
> Fit voir de ce projet la devote imprudence:
> On chaſſa ces docteurs prêchant ſans miſſion;
> On vit renaitre Hector, Andromaque, Ilion.[2]

The authority to which Boileau alludes in theſe nervous and elegant verſes is Meneſtrier, an intelligent French antiquary.[3] The pilgrims who returned from Jeruſalem, Saint James of Compoſtella, Saint Baume of Provence, Saint Reine, Mount Saint Michael, Notre Dame du Puy, and other places eſteemed holy, compoſed ſongs on their adventures: intermixing recitals of paſſages in the life of Chriſt, deſcriptions of his crucifixion, of the day of judgment, of miracles, and martyrdoms. To theſe tales, which were recommended by a pathetic chant and a variety of geſticulations, the credulity of the multitude gave the name of *Viſions*. Theſe pious itinerants travelled in companies; and taking their ſtations in the moſt public ſtreets, and ſinging with their ſtaves in their hands, and their hats and mantles fantaſtically adorned with ſhells and emblems painted in various colours, formed a ſort of theatrical ſpectacle. At length their performances excited the charity and compaſſion of ſome citizens of Paris, who erected a theatre in which they might exhibit their religious ſtories in a more commodious and advantageous manner, with the addition of ſcenery and other decorations. At length profeſſed practitioners in the hiſtrionic art were hired to perform theſe ſolemn mockeries of religion, which ſoon became the principal public amuſement of a devout but undiſcerning people.

To thoſe who are accuſtomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies which the unpoliſhed ages of Europe hold up to our

[1] See Le Moyne, *Obs. ad Var. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 336.
[2] *Art. Poet.* cant. iii. 81.
[3] *Des Repreſent. en Muſique*, p. 153, *ſeq.*

view, it will not appear ſurpriſing that the people, who were forbidden to read the events of the Sacred Hiſtory in the Bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, ſhould at the ſame time be permitted to ſee them repreſented on the ſtage, diſgraced with the groſſeſt improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the moſt ridiculous kind, ſullied with impurities, and expreſſed in the language and geſticulations of the loweſt farce.

On the whole, the *Myſteries* appear to have originated among the eccleſiaſtics, and were moſt probably firſt acted, at leaſt with any degree of form, by the monks. This was certainly the caſe in the Engliſh monaſteries. I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine, performed at Dunſtable Abbey by the novices in the eleventh century under the ſuperintendence of Geoffry, a Pariſian eccleſiaſtic: and the exhibition of the *Paſſion* by the mendicant friars of Coventry and other places. Inſtances have been given of the like practice among the French. The only perſons who could read were in the religious ſocieties: and various other circumſtances, peculiarly ariſing from their ſituation, profeſſion, and inſtitution, enabled the monks to be the ſole performers of theſe repreſentations.[1]

As learning increaſed and was more widely diſſeminated from the monaſteries, by a natural and eaſy tranſition the practice migrated to

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[1] We are ſure that religious plays were preſented in our churches long after the reformation. Not to repeat or multiply inſtances, ſee *Second and Third Blaſt of Retrait from Plaies*, 1580, p. 77, and Goſſon's *Schoole of Abuſe*, p. 24, b. As to the exhibition of plays on Sundays after the reformation, we are told by John Field, in his *Declaration of Gods Judgement at Paris Garden*, that in the year 1580, "The Magiſtrates of the citty of London obteined from queene Elizabeth, that all heatheniſh playes and enterludes ſhould be baniſhed upon ſabbath dayes." fol. ix. It appears from this pamphlet, that a prodigious concourſe of people were aſſembled at Paris Garden, to ſee plays and a bear-baiting, on Sunday Jan. 13, 1583, when the whole theatre fell to the ground, by which accident many of the ſpectators were killed. [As this accident happened three years after the above order was iſſued, Dr. Aſhby ſuppoſes that the order extended only to the city, and that Paris Garden was out of that juriſdiction.—*Park.*] (See alſo Henry [Carre's] *Narration of the Fall of Paris Garden*, 1588, and Beard's *Theater of Gods Judgements*, 1631, lib. i. c. 35, p. 212. Alſo *Refutation of* [Heywood's] *Apologie for Actors*, p. 43, by J[ohn] G[reen], 1615. And Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuſes*, pp. 134, 135, edit. 1595.) We learn from Richard R[aw]lidges's *Monſter lately found out and diſcovered*, or *the Scourging of Tiplers*, a circumſtance not generally known in our dramatic hiſtory, and perhaps occaſioned by theſe profanations of the ſabbath, that "Many godly citizens and wel-diſpoſed gentlemen of London, conſidering that play-houſes and dicing-houſes were traps for yong gentlemen and others,—made humble ſuite to queene Elizabeth and her Privy-councell, and obtained leave from her Majeſty, to thruſt the Players out of the citty; and to pull downe all Play-houſes and Dicing-houſes within their liberties: which accordingly was effected, and the Play-houſes, in Gracious [Grace-church] ſtreet, Biſhops gate ſtreet, that nigh Paules, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White-friers, were quite put downe and ſuppreſſed, by the care of theſe religious ſenators." 1628, pp. 2, 3, 4. Compare Whetſtone's *Mirrour for Magiſtrates of Citties*, 1586, fol. 24. But notwithſtanding theſe preciſe meaſures of the city magiſtrates and the privy-council, the queen appears to have been a conſtant attendant at plays, eſpecially thoſe preſented by the children of her chapel. [So, alſo, ſhe retained ſome relics of popery, as tapers on the altar, &c. which greatly offended the puritans.—*Aſhby.*]

ſchools and univerſities, which were formed on the monaſtic plan, and in many reſpects reſembled the eccleſiaſtical bodies. Hence a paſſage in Shakeſpeare's *Hamlet* is to be explained: where Hamlet ſays to Polonius, "My lord, you played once i' the Univerſity, you ſay." Polonius anſwers, "That did I, my Lord, and was accounted a good *actor*.—I did *enact* Julius Ceſar, I was killed i' the capitol."[1] Boulay obſerves that it was a cuſtom, not only ſtill ſubſiſting, but of very high antiquity (*vetuſtiſſima conſuetudo*) to act tragedies and comedies in the univerſity of Paris.[2] He cites a ſtatute of the College of Navarre at Paris, dated 1315, prohibiting the ſcholars from performing any immodeſt play on the feſtivals of Saint Nicholas and Saint Catharine.[3] Saint Nicholas was the patron of ſcholars. Hence at Eton college Saint Nicholas has a double feaſt. The celebration of the Boy-biſhop began on St. Nicholas's day.[4] Carpentier mentions an indecent ſport, called *Le Vireli*, celebrated in the ſtreets on the feaſt of St. Nicholas, by the vicar and other choral officers of a collegiate church.[5] The tragedy called *Julius Ceſar*, and two comedies, of Jaques Grevin, a learned phyſician and an elegant poet of France, were firſt acted in the college of Beauvais at Paris in 1558 and 1560.[6] Reuchlin, one of the German claſſics at the reſtoration of ancient literature, was the firſt writer and actor of Latin plays in the academies of Germany. He is ſaid to have opened a theatre at Heidelberg, in which he brought ingenuous youths or boys on the ſtage, in the year 1498.[7] In the prologue to one of his comedies, written in trimeter iambics, and printed in 1516, are the following lines:

Optans poeta placere paucis verſibus,
Sat eſſe adeptum gloriæ arbitratus eſt,
Si autore ſe Germaniæ Schola luſerit
Græcanicis et Romuleis luſibus.

The firſt of Reuchlin's Latin plays ſeems to be one entitled *Sergius, capitis caput*, *Comoedia*, a ſatire on bad kings or bad miniſters, and printed in 1507;[8] [but this had been preceded by the ſame writer's *Scenica Progymnaſtica*, publiſhed nine years earlier]. He calls the *Sergius*, however, his *primiciæ*. It conſiſts of three acts, and is profeſſedly written in imitation of Terence. But the author promiſes,

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[1] Act iii. ſc. [2, edit. *ut ſupr.* vii. 155.]

[2] *Hiſt. Univ. Paris*, tom. ii. 226. See alſo his Hiſtory *De Patronis quatuor Nationum*, edit. 1662.

[3] "In feſtis ſancti Nicolai et beatæ Catharinæ nullum ludum inhoneſtum faciant." *Hiſt. Univ. Paris*, tom. iv. 93.

[4] In a fragment of the Cellarer's *Computus*, of Hyde Abbey, near Wincheſter, A.D. 1397: "Pro epulis Pueri celebrantis in feſto S. Nicholai." That is the Choriſter celebrating maſs. MSS. Wulves. Winton.

[5] *Suppl.* Du Cang. *Lat. Gloſs.* in v. tom. iii. p. 1178.

[6] Verdier, ut ſupra, ii. 284. La Croix du Maine, i. p. 415, *ſeq.*

[7] "Nunquam ante ipſius ætatem Comœdia in Germanorum ſcholis acta fuit," &c. Lizelius, *Hiſtor. Poetar. German.* 1730, p. 11.

[8] It is publiſhed with a gloſs by Simlerus his ſcholar. [See Brunet, laſt edit. art. *Reuchlin.*]

if this attempt ſhould pleaſe, that he will write *integras Comedias*, that is, comedies of five acts.[1]

An old biographer affirms, that Conradus Celtes [or Celtis] was the firſt who introduced into Germany the faſhion of acting tragedies and comedies in public halls, after the manner of the ancients.[2] Not to enter into a controverſy concerning the priority of theſe two obſcure theatrical authors, which may be ſufficiently decided for our preſent ſatisfaction by obſerving, that they were certainly contemporaries: about the year 1500, Celtes wrote a play or maſque, called the *Play of Diana*, preſented by a literary ſociety or ſeminary of ſcholars before the Emperor Maximilian and his court.[3] It conſiſts of the iambic, hexameter and elegiac meaſures, and has five acts, but is contained in eight quarto pages. The plot, if any, is entirely a compliment to the emperor; and the perſonages, twenty-four in number (among which was the poet), are Mercury, Diana, Bacchus, Silenus drunk on his aſs, Satyrs, Nymphs, and Bacchanalians. Mercury, ſent by Diana, ſpeaks the Prologue. In the middle of the third act, the emperor places a crown of laurel on the poet's head: at the concluſion of which ceremony the chorus ſings a panegyric in verſe to the emperor. At the cloſe of the fourth act, in the true ſpirit of a German ſhew, the imperial butlers refreſh the performers with wine out of golden goblets, with a ſymphony of horns and drums: and at the end of the play they are invited by his majeſty to a ſumptuous banquet.[4]

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[1] I give a few lines from the Prologue:

"Si unquam tuliſtis ad jocum veſtros pedes,
Aut ſi rei aures præbuiſtis ludicræ,
In hac nova, obſecro, poetæ fabula,
Dignemini attentiores eſſe quam antea;
Non hic erit laſciviæ aut libidini
Meretriciæ, aut triſti ſenum curæ locus,
Sed hiſtrionum exercitus et ſcommata."

[2] "Primus comœdias et tragœdias in publicis aulis veterum more egit."—*Viror. Illuſtr. Vitæ*, &c. publiſhed by Fiſchardus, Francof, 1536, 4to. p. 8, b. Celtes himſelf ſays, in his *Deſcriptio Urbis Norinbergæ*, written about 1500, that in the city there was an "Aula prætoria, ubi publica nuptiarum et chorearum ſpectacula celebrantur, hyſtoriis et ymaginibus imperatorum et regum noſtrorum depicta." Cap. x.

[3] It was printed in 1502, at Nuremberg, with this title, *Incipit Ludus Dyanæ, coram Maximiliano rege, per Sodalitatem Litterariam Damulianam in Linzio.* See Conradi Celtis *Amores*, Noringb. 1502, ad calc. ſign. q. There is alſo a work [edited by] Conradus Celtes, containing ſix Latin plays in imitation of Terence, under this title, *Hroſvite, illuſtris virginis et Monialis Germanæ, Opera: nempe, Comoediæ ſex in æmulationem Terentii, Octo Sacræ Hiſtoriæ verſibus compoſitæ, necnon Panegyricus*, &c. 1501.

[4] In the Colleges of the Jeſuits in Italy this was a conſtant practice in modern times. Denina ſays, that father Granelli's three beſt tragedies were written, for this purpoſe, between 1729 and 1731, (ch. v. § 9). The tragedies of Petavius, Bernardinus and Stephonius, all Jeſuits, ſeem intended for this uſe. See Morhoff, *Polyhiſt. Literar.* lib. vii. cap. iii. tom. i. 15, pag. 1069, edit. Fabric. Riccoboni relates that he ſaw in the Jeſuits' college at Prague a Latin play acted by the ſtudents on the ſubject of Luther's hereſy; and the ridicule conſiſted in bringing Luther on

It is more generally known that the practice of acting Latin plays in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge continued to Cromwell's uſurpation. The oldeſt notice I can recover of this ſort of ſpectacle in an Engliſh univerſity is in the fragment of an ancient accompt-roll of the diſſolved college of Michael Houſe in Cambridge: in which, under 1386, the following expenſe is entered: "Pro ly pallio bruſdato et pro ſex larvis et barbis in comedia," that is, for an embroidered pall or cloak, and ſix viſors and ſix beards, for the comedy.[1] In 1544 a Latin comedy, called *Pammachius*, was acted at Chriſt's college in Cambridge, which was laid before the privy council by Biſhop Gardiner, chancellor of the univerſity, as a dangerous libel, containing many offenſive reflections on the papiſtic ceremonies yet unabroliſhed.[2] This mode of attack was ſeldom returned by the oppoſite party; the catholic worſhip, founded on ſenſible repreſentations, afforded a much better hold for ridicule than the religion of ſome of the ſects of the reformers, which was of a more ſimple and ſpiritual nature. But I ſay this of the infancy of our ſtage. In the next century, fanaticiſm was brought upon the Engliſh ſtage with great ſucceſs, when poliſhed manners had introduced humour into comedy, and character had taken place of ſpectacle. There are, however, two Engliſh interludes, one of the reign of Henry VIII. called *Every Man*, the other of that of Edward VI. called *Luſty Juventus*, and written by R. Weever: the former defends, and the latter attacks, the church of Rome.[3]

The comedy of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was acted in the ſame ſociety [according to Malone, in 1566; but Udall's *Ralph Roiſter Doiſter*, as appears from a paſſage in Wilſon's *Rule of Reaſon*, printed in 1551, had been performed before the latter date, and was probably printed about 1566.][4] In an original draught of the ſtatutes of Trinity College, at Cambridge, founded in 1546, one of the chapters is entitled, *De Præfecto Ludorum qui Imperator dicitur*, under whoſe direction and authority Latin comedies and tragedies are to be exhibited in the hall at Chriſtmas, as alſo *Sex ſpectacula* or as many dialogues. Another title to this ſtatute, which ſeems to be ſubſtituted by another and a more modern hand, is, *De Comediis ludiſque in natali Chriſti exhibendis*. With regard to the peculiar buſineſs and office of Imperator, it is ordered that one of the Maſters of Arts ſhall be placed over the juniors every Chriſtmas for the regulation of their games and diverſions at that ſeaſon of feſtivity. At the ſame time he is to govern the whole ſociety in the hall and chapel, as a republic committed to his ſpecial charge, by a ſet of laws which he is to frame in Latin or Greek verſe. His ſovereignty is to laſt during the twelve days of Chriſtmas, and he is to exerciſe the ſame power on Candle-

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the ſtage, with a Bible in his hand, quoting chapter and verſe in defence of the Reformation.

[1] MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

[2] MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. (*Catal. Naſmith.* p. 92.)

[3] [Both theſe pieces will be found in Mr. Hawkins's *Origin of the Engliſh Drama*, vol. i.—*Price.*]

[4] [*Ralph Roiſter Doiſter* was reprinted in 1818 and 1847.]

mas-day. During this period, he is to ſee that ſix ſpectacles or dialogues be preſented. His fee is forty ſhillings.[1] Probably the conſtitution of this officer (in other words, a Maſter of the Revels) gave a latitude to ſome licentious enormities, incompatible with the decorum of a houſe of learning and religion; and it was found neceſſary to reſtrain theſe Chriſtmas celebrations to a more rational and ſober plan. The ſpectacula alſo and dialogues (originally appointed) were growing obſolete, when the ſubſtitution was made, and were giving way to more regular repreſentations. I believe theſe ſtatutes were reformed by Queen Elizabeth's viſitors of the Univerſity of Cambridge under the conduct of Archbiſhop Parker in 1573. John Dee, the famous occult philoſopher, one of the firſt fellows of this noble ſociety, acquaints us that by his advice and endeavours, both here and in other colleges at Cambridge, this maſter of the Chriſtmas plays was firſt named and confirmed emperor. "The firſt was Mr. John Dun, a very goodly man of perſon, habit, and complexion, and well learned alſo."[2] He alſo further informs us, little thinking how important his boyiſh attempts and exploits ſcholaſtical would appear to future ages, that in the refectory of the college, in the character of Greek lecturer, he exhibited before the whole univerſity the Εἰρήνη or Pax of Ariſtophanes, accompanied by a piece of machinery, for which he was taken for a conjuror: "with the performance of the ſcarabeus his flying up to Jupiter's palace, with a man and his baſket of victuals on her back: whereat was great wondering, and many vain reports ſpread abroad, of the means how that was effected."[3] The tragedy of *Jephtha*, dedicated to Henry VIII. by a very grave and learned divine, John Chriſtopherſon, another of the firſt Fellows (and afterwards Maſter) of Trinity College, Cambridge, ſubſequently Dean of Norwich and Biſhop of Chicheſter, was written about 1546, in Latin and Greek, being taken from the eleventh chapter of the Book of Judges; it was moſt probably compoſed as a Chriſtmas-play for the ſame ſociety. It is to be noted, that this play is on a religious ſubject.[4] Roger Aſcham, while on his travels in Flanders, ſays in one of his *Epiſtles*, written about 1550, that the city of Antwerp as much exceeds all other

[1] This article is ſtruck out from cap. xxiv. p. 85. MSS. Rawlins. Num. 233. Only that part of the ſtatute is retained in which comedies and tragedies are ordered to be acted. Theſe are to be written, or rather exhibited, by the nine lecturers. The ſenior lecturer is to produce one: the eight others are charged with four more. A fine of ten ſhillings is impoſed for the omiſſion of each interlude. Another clauſe is then ſtruck out, which limits the number of the plays to three, if five "commode exponi non queant."

[2] *Compendious Rehearſall of John Dee*, &c. written by himſelf, A.D. 1592, ch. i. pp. 501, 502. *Append. J. Glaſtonienſis Chron.* edit. Hearne.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 502.

[4] Buchanan has a tragedy on this ſubject, written in 1554. [In *Hamlet*, 1603, is quoted a ballad of *Jephthah Judge of Iſrael.* See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Jephthah.*] There is an Italian tragedy on this ſubject by Benedict Capuano, a monk of Caſino. Florent. 1587, 4to. [Reſpecting Buchanan, ſee Ellis, *Or-Let.* 3rd S. iii. 373, and Harvey's *Foure Letters*, &c. 1592, repr. Collier, 52.]

cities, as the refectory of St. John's College in Cambridge, exceeds itself, when furnished at Christmas with its theatrical apparatus for acting plays.[1] [Grimoald's *Archi-Propheta*, 1548, has been noticed elsewhere.[2]] This play coincided with the author's plan of a rhetoric lecture which he had set up in the college. In an audit-book of Trinity College, Oxford, I think for the year 1559, I find the following disbursements relating to this subject. "Pro apparatu in comoedia Andriæ, viil. ixs. ivd. Pro prandio Principis Natalicii eodem tempore, xiiis. ixd. Pro refectione præfectorum et doctorum magis illustrium cum Bursariis prandentium tempore comoediæ, ivl. viid." That is, for dresses and scenes in acting Terence's *Andria*, for the dinner of the Christmas Prince, and for the entertainment of the Heads of the Colleges and the most eminent doctors dining with the bursars or treasurers, at the time of acting the comedy, 12l. 3s. 8d. A Christmas Prince, or Lord of Misrule, corresponding to the Imperator at Cambridge just mentioned, was a common temporary magistrate in the colleges at Oxford, [and in the Inns of Court;] but at Cambridge they were censured in the sermons of the Puritans in the reign of James I. as a relic of the pagan ritual.[3] The last article of this disbursement shows, that the most respectable company in the university were invited on these occasions. In some great families, this officer was called the "Abbot of Misrule." In Scotland, where the Reformation took a more severe and gloomy turn, these and other festive characters were thought worthy to be suppressed by the legislature;[4] and this under very severe penalties, viz.: In burghs, to the choosers of such characters, loss of freedom, with other punishments at the queen's grace's will, and those who accepted such offices, to be banished the realm. In the country, the choosers forfeited ten pounds, with an arbitrary imprisonment. "And gif onie women or uther about summer hees [hies, goes,] singand [singing] . . . thorow Burrowes and uthers Landward tounes, the women . . . sall be taken, handled, and put upon the cuck-stules," &c.[5] Voltaire says that, since the Reformation, for two hundred years there had not been a fiddle heard in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

In the French towns there was *L'Abbe de Liesse*, who in many towns was elected from the burgesses by the magistrates, and was the director of all their public shews. Among his numerous mock-officers were a herald and a *Maitre d'Hotel*. In the city of Auxerre

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[1] Or, in his own words, "Quemadmodum aula Johannis, theatrali more ornata, seipsam post Natalem superat."—*Epistol.* 1581, p. 126, b.

[2] [*Infra*, sect. 39 (vol. iv. p. 49.)]

[3] Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* (Hist. of Cambridge, p. 159, edit. 1655.) See *Observat. on Spenser*, ii. 211, [and present work, sect. 48.]

[4] See *Parl.* vi. of Queen Mary of Scotland, 1555. "It is statute and ordained, that in all times cumming, na maner of person be chosen Robert Hude nor Little John, Abbot of Un-reason, Queenis of May, nor utherwise, nother in burgh, nor to landwart, [in the country,] in onie time to cum." [See Dr. Jamieson's *Dictionary*, in voc. Abbot of Un-reassoun.]

[5] See Notes to the *Northumberland Houshold Book*, 1827, p. 441.

he was eſpecially concerned to ſuperintend the play which was acted on Quinquageſima Sunday.[1]

At length our univerſities adopted the repreſentation of plays, in which the ſcholars by frequent exerciſe had undoubtedly attained a conſiderable degree of ſkill and addreſs, as a part of the entertainment at the reception of princes and other eminent perſonages. In the year 1566, Queen Elizabeth viſited the Univerſity of Oxford. In the magnificent hall of the College of Chriſt Church, ſhe was entertained with a Latin comedy called *Marcus Geminus*, the Latin tragedy of *Progne*, and an Engliſh comedy [by Richard Edwards] on the ſtory of Chaucer's *Palamon and Arcite*, all acted by the ſtudents of the Univerſity. The Queen's obſervations on the perſons of the laſt-mentioned piece deſerve notice, as they are at once a curious picture of the romantic pedantry of the times, and of the characteriſtical turn and predominant propenſities of the Queen's mind. When the play was over ſhe ſummoned into her preſence the poet, whom ſhe loaded with thanks and compliments; and at the ſame time (turning to her levee) remarked that Palamon was ſo juſtly drawn as a lover, that he certainly muſt have been in love indeed: that Arcite was a right martial knight, having a ſwart and manly countenance, yet with the aſpect of a Venus clad in armour: that the lovely Emilia was a virgin of uncorrupted purity and unblemiſhed ſimplicity, and that although ſhe ſang ſo ſweetly, and gathered flowers alone in the garden, ſhe preſerved her chaſtity undeflowered. The part of Emilia, the only female part in the play, was acted by a boy of fourteen years of age, a ſon of the Dean of Chriſt Church, habited like a young princeſs, whoſe performance ſo captivated her majeſty, that ſhe gave him a preſent of eight guineas. This youth had before been introduced to the Queen's notice, in her privy chamber at her lodgings at Chriſt Church, where he ſaluted her in a ſhort Latin oration with ſome Greek verſes, with which ſhe was ſo pleaſed that ſhe called in Secretary Cecil, and (encouraging the boy's modeſty with many compliments and kind ſpeeches) begged him to repeat his elegant performance. By Wood he is called *ſummæ ſpei puer*.[2] During the exhibition a cry of hounds, belonging to Theſeus, was counterfeited without, in the great ſquare of the college: the young ſtudents thought it a real chaſe, and were ſeized with a ſudden tranſport to join the hunters: at which the Queen cried out from her box, "O excellent! Theſe boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows to follow the hounds!"[3] In the year 1564, Queen Eliz-

[1] Carpentier, *Suppl. Gloſs. Lat. Du Cange*, tom. i. p. 7, v. *Abbas Lætitiæ*. See alſo, *ibid.* v. *Charavaritum*, p. 923.

[2] *Hiſt. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. i. p. 287, col. 2. See alſo *Athen. Oxon.* i. 152, and Peck's *Deſid. Curios.* vol. ii. lib. vii. Num. xviii. p. 46, *ſeq.* [For a detailed account of this and ſubſequent exhibitions of the ſame kind ſee Nichols's *Progreſſes of Queen Elizabeth.*—Price.]

[3] Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupr.

abeth had honoured the Univerſity of Cambridge with a royal viſit.[1] Here ſhe was preſent at the exhibition of the *Aulularia* of Plautus and the tragedies of *Dido* [by John Rightwiſe,] and *Hezekiah* [all in Latin,] which were played in the body or nave of the chapel[2] of King's College, on a ſtage extended from ſide to ſide, by a ſelect company of ſcholars, choſen from different colleges at the diſcretion of five doctors, "eſpecially appointed to ſet forth ſuch plays as ſhould be exhibited before her grace."[3] The chapel on this occaſion was lighted by the royal guards, each of whom bore a ſtaff-torch in his hand.[4] Her majeſty's patience was ſo fatigued by the ſumptuous parade of ſhows and ſpeeches, with which every moment was occupied, that ſhe could not ſtay to ſee the *Ajax* of Sophocles, [alſo] in Latin, which was prepared. Having been praiſed both in Latin and Greek, and in proſe and verſe, for her learning and her chaſtity, and having received more compliments than are paid to any of the paſtoral princeſſes in Sydney's *Arcadia*, ſhe was happy to return to the houſes of ſome of her nobility in the neighbourhood. In the year 1583, Albertus de Alaſco, a Poliſh prince Palatine, arrived at Oxford.[5] In the midſt of a medley of pithy orations, tedious ſermons, degrees, dinners, diſputations, philoſophy, and fire-works, he was invited to the comedy of the *Rivales* and the tragedy of *Dido*, which were preſented in Chriſt Church Hall by ſome of the ſcholars of that ſociety and of St. John's College. [Both were in Latin. The firſt was] written by William Gager, admitted a ſtudent of Chriſt Church in 1572. By the way, he is ſtyled by Wood the beſt comedian of his time, that is dramatic poet. But he wrote only Latin plays. His Latin *Meleager* was acted at Chriſt Church before Lord Leiceſter, Sir Philip Sydney, and other diſtinguiſhed perſons, in 1581.[6] Gager had a controverſy with Dr. Rainolds, preſident of Corpus at Oxford, concerning the lawfulneſs of plays, which produced from the latter a book, called *The Overthrow of Stage-plays*, &c., printed in 1599. Gager's letter, in defence of his plays and of the ſtudents who acted in them, is extant.[7] It appears by a pamphlet written by one W. Heale, and printed at Oxford in 1609, that Gager held it lawful, in a public Act of the Univerſity, for huſbands to beat their wives. In the latter play, Dido's ſupper and the deſtruction of Troy were repreſented in a marchpane or rich cake; and the tempeſt which drove Dido and Eneas to the ſame cave was counterfeited by a ſnow of ſugar, a hailſtorm of comfits, and a ſhower of roſe-water.[8] In the

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[1] For a minute account of which ſee Peck's *Deſid. Curios.* Num. xv, and [MSS. Baker, vol. x. 7037, p. 109, Brit. Mus.]

[2] [Mr. Aſhby conceived that the anti-chapel muſt be here meant; though the whole, he adds, is one plain room of uniform dimenſions, and no ſeparation of any kind except the organ; but the anti-chapel is more ſuperbly fitted up than the chapel, *i. e.* with roſes and ſhields of arms in alto-relievo.—*Park.*]

[3] Peck, *ut ſupr.* pp. 36, 39.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 36.

[5] Suppoſed to be the perſon whom Shakeſpeare, in the *Merchant of Venice*, called the Count Palatine, act i. ſc. i.

[6] *Ath. Oxon.* i. p. 366.

[7] Bibl. Coll. Univ. MSS. J. 18.

[8] Holinſh. *Chron.* iii. 1355.

year 1605, James I. gratified his pedantry by a visit to the same university.[1] He was present in Christ Church hall at three plays, which he seems to have regarded as childish amusements in comparison with the more solid delights of scholastic argumentation. Indeed, if we consider this monarch's insatiable thirst for profound erudition, we shall not be surprised to find that he slept at these theatrical performances, and that he sat four hours every morning and afternoon with infinite satisfaction to hear syllogisms in jurisprudence and theology. The first play during this solemnity was a pastoral comedy called *Alba*, in which five men almost naked, appearing on the stage as part of the representation, gave great offence to the queen and the maids of honour; while the king, whose delicacy was not easily shocked at other times, concurred with the ladies, and availing himself of this lucky circumstance, peevishly expressed his wish to depart, before the piece was half finished.[2] The second play was *Vertumnus* which, although learnedly penned in Latin and by a doctor in divinity, [Matthew Gwinne,] could not keep the king awake; he was wearied in consequence of having executed the office of moderator all that day at the disputations in St. Mary's church. The queen was not present; but next morning, with her ladies, the young prince, and gallants attending the court, she saw an English pastoral by Daniel, called *Arcadia Reformed*.[3] Although the anecdote is foreign to our purpose, I cannot help mentioning the reason why the queen, during this visit to Oxford, was more pleased to hear the oration of the professor of Greek than the king. "The king heard him willingly, and the queen much more, because, she sayd, she 'never had heard Greek.'"[4] The third drama was the *Ajax* of Sophocles in Latin, at which the stage was varied three times. "The king was very wearie before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike."[5] But I must not omit that, as the king entered the city from Woodstock, he was saluted at the gate of St. John's College with a short interlude, which probably suggested a hint to Shakespeare to write a tragedy on the subject of Macbeth. Three youths of the college, habited like witches, advancing towards the king, declared they were the same who once met the two chiefs of Scotland, Macbeth and Banquo, prophesying a kingdom to the one, and to the other a generation of monarchs: that they now appeared a second time to his majesty, who was descended from the stock of Banquo, to show the confirmation of that prediction.[6] Immediately afterwards, "Three young youths, in habit and attire like Nymphs, confronted him, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland; and talking dialogue-wise (each to the other) of their state,

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[1] See *Preparations at Oxford*, &c., *Append. Lelandi Coll.* vol. ii. p. 626, *seq.* edit. 1774. [MSS. Baker, *ut supr.* Brit. Mus.] They were written by one present.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 637.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 642. [This was the piece printed in 1606 under the title of *The Queenes Arcadia.*]

[4] *Ibid.* p. 636.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 639.

[6] *Rex Platonicus, sive Musæ Regnantes*, 1607, p. 18.

at laſt concluded, yielding themſelves up to his gracious government."[1] Towards the end of the hall was a ſcene like a wall, "painted and adorned with ſtately pillars, which pillars would turn about, by reaſon whereof, with the help of other painted clothes, their ſtage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy."[2] "The machinery of theſe plays, and the temporary ſtages in St. Mary's church, were chiefly conducted by one Mr. Jones, a great traveller, who undertook to further them much, and furniſh them with rare devices, but performed little to what was expected."[3] Notwithſtanding theſe ſlighting expreſſions, [there is no doubt whatever] that this was Inigo Jones, afterwards the famous architect. He was now but thirty-three years of age, and had recently returned into England. He was the principal contriver for the maſques at Whitehall.[4] Gerard, deſcribing Queen Henrietta's popiſh chapel, ſays [under 1635]: "Such a glorious ſcene built over the altar! Inigo Jones never preſented a more curious piece in any of the maſks at Whitehall."[5]

It would be unneceſſary to trace this practice in our univerſities to later periods. The poſition advanced is beſt illuſtrated by proofs moſt remote in point of time which, on that account, are alſo leſs obvious and more curious. I could have added other ancient proofs; but I choſe to ſelect thoſe which ſeemed, from concomitant circumſtances, moſt likely to amuſe.

Many inſtances of this practice in ſchools, or in ſeminaries of an inferior nature, may be enumerated. I have before mentioned the play of *Robin and Marian* performed, according to an annual cuſtom, by the ſchool-boys of Angiers in France in the year 1392. But I do not mean to go abroad for illuſtrations of this part of our preſent inquiry. Among the writings of Udall, a celebrated maſter of Eton about the year 1540, are recited *Plures Comediæ*[6] and a tragedy *de Papatu*, on the papacy: written probably to be acted by his ſcholars. [His *Ralph Roiſter Doiſter* has already been mentioned.] In the ancient *Conſuetudinary*, as it is called, of Eton School,[7] it is ſaid that about the Feaſt of Saint Andrew, November 30, the maſter is accuſtomed to chooſe, according to his own diſcretion, ſuch Latin ſtage-plays as are moſt excellent and convenient; which the boys are to act in the following Chriſtmas holidays before a public audience, and with all the elegance of ſcenery and ornaments uſual at the performance of a play. Yet he may ſometimes order Engliſh plays; ſuch, at leaſt, as are ſmart and witty. In the year 1538,

[1] Lel. *Append.* ut ſupr. p. 636. [2] *Ibid.* p. 631.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 646.
[4] [See Peter Cunningham's *Life of Inigo Jones*, 1848, p. 5, *et ſeq.*]
[5] Strafford's *Letters*, i. 505. [6] [See Royal MS. 18. A. lxiv.]
[7] [Theſe rules are] ſuppoſed to have been drawn up about the year 1560. But containing all the ancient and original cuſtoms of the ſchool. MSS. Rawlins, Bibl. Bodl. The following is the original paſſage: "Circa feſtum divi Andreæ, ludimagiſter eligere ſolet, pro ſuo arbitrio, ſcenicas fabulas optimas et accommodatiſſimas, quas Pueri feriis Natalitiis ſubſequentibus, non ſine ludorum Elegantia, populo ſpectante, publice aliquando peragant. Interdum etiam exhibet Anglico ſermone contextas fabulas, ſiquæ habeant acumen et leporem."

Ralph Radcliffe, a polite ſcholar and a lover of graceful elocution, opening a ſchool at Hitchin in Hertfordſhire, obtained a grant of the diſſolved Friary of the Carmelites in that town: and converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote ſeveral plays, both in Latin and Engliſh, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccaccio's *Patient Griſilde*, *Titus and Geſippus*, and Chaucer's *Melibeus:* his tragedies were, the *Delivery of Suſannah*, the *Burning of John Huſs*, *Job's Sufferings*, the *Burning of Sodom*, *Jonas*, and *The Fortitude of Judith*. Theſe pieces were ſeen by the biographer Bale in the author's library, but are now loſt.[1] It is ſcarcely neceſſary to remind the reader, that this very liberal exerciſe is yet preſerved, and in the ſpirit of true claſſical purity, at Weſtminſter School.[2] I believe, the frequency of theſe ſchool-plays ſuggeſted to Shakeſpeare the names of Seneca and Plautus as dramatic authors, where Hamlet, ſpeaking of a variety of theatrical performances, ſays, "Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light."[3] Jonſon, in *The Staple of Newes*, has a ſatirical alluſion to this practice (yet ironically applied), where Cenſure ſays: "For my part, I beleeve it, and there were no wiſer than I, I would have neer a cunning ſchoole-maſter in England: I mean a Cunning-man a ſchoole-maſter; that is, a conjurour, or a poet, or that had any acquaintance with a poet. They make all their ſchollers Play-boyes! Is't not a fine ſight to ſee all our children made Enterluders? Doe we pay our money for this? Wee ſend them to learne their grammar and their Terence, and they learne their play-bookes. Well, they talk we ſhall have no more parliaments, god bleſſe us! But an wee have, I hope *Zeale of the Land Buzzy*, and my goſſip *Rabby Trouble-*

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[1] Bale, viii. 98. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 73. I have ſeen an anonymous comedy, [by William Hawkins,] *Apollo Shroving*, compoſed by the Maſter of Hadleigh School, in Suffolk, and acted by his ſcholars, on Shrove Tueſday, Feb. 7, 1626, printed 1627, 8vo. Publiſhed, as it ſeems, by E. W. Shrove Tueſday, as the day immediately preceding Lent, was always a day of extraordinary ſport and feaſting. So in the ſong of [Maſter] Silence in [the ſecond part of *Henry IV.* act v. ſc. 3:]

"'Tis merry in hall when beards wag all,
And welcome merry Shrovetide."

[The firſt line is in the metrical *Life of Alexander*, attributed to Adam Davie, *circa* 1312.] In the Romiſh church there was anciently a feaſt immediately preceding Lent, which laſted many days, called Carniſcapium. See Carpentier, in v. *Suppl. Lat. Gl.* Du Cang. tom. i. p. 831. In the *Northumberland Houſehold-book*, 1512, it appears that the clergy and officers of Lord [Northumberland's] chapel performed a play "before his lordſhip upon Shrowfteweſday at night," p. 345, [edit. 1770 or 1827].

[2] It appears anciently to have been an exerciſe for youth, not only to act but to write interludes. Eraſmus ſays that Sir Thomas More, "adoleſcens Comoediolas et ſcripſit et egit." *Epiſtol.* 447. But ſee what I have ſaid of More's *Pageants*, *Obſervat. on Spens.* ii. 47, [and *infra*, ſection xliii.] We are told that More, while he lived a page with Archbiſhop Morton, as the plays were going on in the palace during the Chriſtmas holidays, would often ſtep upon the ſtage without previous notice, and exhibit a part of his own, which gave much more ſatisfaction than the whole performance beſides. Roper's *Life and Death of More*, p. 27, edit. 1731.

[3] Act ii. ſc. 7.

truth, will ſtart up, and ſee we have painfull good miniſters to keepe ſchoole, and catechiſe our youth; and not teach em to ſpeake Playes, and act fables of falſe newes," &c.[1]

In tracing the hiſtory of our ſtage, this early practice of performing plays in ſchools and univerſities has never been conſidered as a circumſtance inſtrumental to the growth and improvement of the drama. While the people were amuſed with Skelton's [*Nigramanſir*],[2] Bale's *God's Promiſes*, and *Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell*, [the laſt-named, an anonymous miracle-play preſented before Henry VII. in 1487 by the choir-boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory at Wincheſter Caſtle on a Sunday], the ſcholars of the times were compoſing and acting plays on hiſtorical ſubjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of a legitimate fable muſt have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama; and we may add, while no ſettled or public theatres were known, and plays were chiefly acted by itinerant minſtrels in the halls of the nobility at Chriſtmas, theſe literary ſocieties ſupported ſome idea of a ſtage: they afforded the beſt accommodations for theatrical exhibition, and were almoſt the only, certainly the moſt rational, companies of players that exiſted. But I mean yet to treſpaſs on my reader's patience by purſuing ſtill further this inquiry which, for the ſake of comprehenſion and connection, has already exceeded the limits of a digreſſion.

It is perhaps on this principle, that we are to account for plays being acted by ſinging-boys: although they perhaps acquired a turn for theatrical repreſentation and the ſpectacular arts from their annual exhibition of the ceremonies of the boy-biſhop; which ſeem to have been common in almoſt every religious community that was capable of ſupporting a choir. In a ſmall college, for only one provoſt, five fellows, and ſix choriſters, founded by Archbiſhop Rotherham in 1481, in the obſcure village of Rotherham in Yorkſhire, this piece of mummery was not omitted. The founder leaves by will, among other bequeſts to the college, "A Myter for the 'barne-biſhop' of cloth of gold, with two knoppes of ſilver, gilt and enamelled."[3] This eſtabliſhment, but with a far greater degree of buffoonery, was common in the collegiate churches of France.[4] A part of the ceremony in the church of Noyon was, that the children of the choir ſhould celebrate the whole ſervice on Innocents' Day.[5] This privilege, as I have before obſerved, is permitted to the children of the choir of Wincheſter College, on that feſtival, by the founder's

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[1] Act iii. p. 50, edit. fol. 1631, [or edit. 1816, v. 262]. This play was firſt acted in the year 1625.

[2] [Warton, in his original text, ſpeaks of this as *The Trial of Simonie*, which according to him (and there is no doubt he ſaw a copy of this now loſt drama,) formed part of the groundwork of Skelton's production.]

[3] Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scacc. Append.* pp. 674, 686.

[4] See Dom. Marlot, *Hiſtoire de la Metropole de Rheims*, tom. ii. p. 769.

[5] Brillon, *Dictionnaire des Arrets*, Artic. *Noyon* edit. 1727.

ſtatutes given in 1380.[1] Yet in the ſtatutes of Eton College, given in 1441, and altogether tranſcribed from thoſe of Wincheſter, the choriſter-biſhop of the chapel is permitted to celebrate the holy offices on the feaſt of St. Nicholas, but by no means on that of the Innocents.[2] The ſame clauſe is in the ſtatutes of King's College at Cambridge.[3] The parade of the mock-biſhop is evidently akin to the "Fete des Foux," in which they had a biſhop, an abbot, and a precentor, of the fools. One of the pieces of humour in this laſt-mentioned ſhow, was to ſhave the precentor in public on a ſtage erected at the weſt door of the church.[4] It is ſurpriſing that Colet, Dean of Saint Paul's, a friend to the purity of religion, and who had the good ſenſe and reſolution to cenſure the ſuperſtitions and fopperies of popery in his public ſermons, ſhould countenance this idle farce of the boy-biſhop in the ſtatutes of his ſchool at St. Paul's; which he founded with a view of eſtabliſhing the education of youth on a more rational and liberal plan than had yet been known, in 1512. He expreſſly orders that his ſcholars "ſhall every Childermas [Innocents'] daye come to Paulis churche, and hear the childe-byſhops [of S. Paul's cathedral] ſermon. And after be at the hygh maſſe; and each of them offer a penny to the childe-byſhop, and with them the maiſters and ſurveyors of the ſcole."[5] I take this opportunity of obſerving, that the anniverſary cuſtom at Eton of going "ad Montem," originated from the ancient and popular practice of theſe theatrical proceſſions in collegiate bodies.

In the ſtatutes of New College in Oxford, founded about 1380, there is the ſubjoined remarkable paſſage.[6] Hearne endeavours to explain this injunction, by ſuppoſing that it was made in oppoſition to the Wickliffites, who diſregarded the laws of Scripture, and (in this particular inſtance) violated the text in *Leviticus*, where this cuſtom is expreſſly forbidden:[7] "Neither ſhalt thou mar the corners of thy beard."[8] Nothing can be more unfortunate than this elucida-

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[1] [See *ſupr.* vol. ii.]

[2] "In feſto ſancti Nicolai, in quo et nullatenus in feſto ſanctorum Innocentium, divina officia (præter Miſſæ Secreta) exequi et dici permittimus per Epiſcopum Puerorum, ad hoc de eiſdem [pueris choriſtis] annis ſingulis eligendum." *Statut. Coll. Etonens.* cap. xxxi.

[3] Cap. xlii.

[4] Tilliot, *Mem. de la Fete des Foux, ut ſupr.* p. 13. In the Council of Sens, A.D. 1485, we have this prohibition: "Turpem etiam illum abuſum in quibuſdam frequentatum eccleſiis quo, certis annis, nonnulli cum mitra, baculo, ac veſtibus pontificalibus, more epiſcoporum benedicunt, alii ut reges et duces induti, quod Feſtum Fatuorum, vel Innocentium, ſeu Puerorum, in quibuſdam regionibus nuncupatur," &c. *Concil. Senon.* cap. iii. Harduin. *Act. Concil.* 1714, tom. ix. p. 1525, E. See alſo *ibid. Concil. Baſil.* Seſs. xxi. p. 1122, E; and 1296, D. p. 1344, A.

[5] Knight's *Life of Colet* (*Miſcell.* Num. v. *Append.*), p. 362. [See alſo Mr. Strutt's *Sports and Paſtimes of the People of England.—Price.*]

[6] "Ac etiam illum ludum viliſſimum et horribilem radendi barbas, qui fieri ſolet in nocte præcedente Inceptionis Magiſtradorum in Artibus, infra collegium noſtrum prædictum, vel alibi in Univerſitate prædicta, ubicunque, ipſis [ſociis et ſcolaribus] penitus interdicimus, ac etiam prohibemus expreſſe." *Rubr.* xxv.

[7] xix. 27.

[8] *Not. ad. Joh. Trokelowe*, p. 393.

tion of our antiquary. The direct contrary was the caſe: for the Wickliffites entirely grounded their ideas of reformation both in morals and doctrine on Scriptural proofs, and often committed abſurdities in too preciſe and literal an acceptation of texts; and (to ſay no more) the cuſtom, from the words of the ſtatute, ſeems to have been long preſerved in the univerſity, as a mock ceremony on the night preceding the ſolemn Act of Magiſtration. It is ſtyled *Ludus*, a play: and I am of opinion that it is to be ranked among the other eccleſiaſtic mummeries of that age; and that it has ſome connection with the exhibition mentioned above of ſhaving the precentor in public.

I have juſt given an inſtance of ſinging-boys performing a Morality on a Sunday in 1487. In the accompts of Maxtoke Priory near Coventry in 1430, it appears that the eleemoſynary boys or choriſters of that monaſtery acted a play (perhaps every year) on the Feaſt of the Purification in the hall of the neighbouring caſtle belonging to Lord Clinton: and it is ſpecified that the cellarer ſhould take no money for their attendance, becauſe his lordſhip's minſtrels had often aſſiſted this year at ſeveral feſtivals in the refectory of the convent, and in the hall of the prior, without fee or gratuity.[1] The charge for the extraordinary breakfaſt of the children of the almonry, or ſinging-boys of the convent, when they went to the hall in the caſtle to perform the Play on the Feaſt-day, was fourteenpence.

So early as 1378, the ſcholars or choriſters of St. Paul's cathedral in London preſented a petition to Richard II. that his majeſty would prohibit ſome ignorant and inexperienced perſons from acting the *Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament* to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended conſiderable ſums for preparing a public preſentation of that play at the enſuing Chriſtmas.[2] From Myſteries this young fraternity proceeded to more regular dramas; and at the commencement of a Theatre, they were the beſt and almoſt only comedians. They became at length ſo favourite a ſet of players, as often to act at Court, and on particular occaſions of feſtivity were frequently removed from London, for this purpoſe only, to the royal houſes at ſome diſtance from town. In 1554, while the Princeſs Elizabeth reſided at Hatfield Houſe, in Hertfordſhire, under the cuſtody of Sir Thomas Pope, ſhe was viſited by Queen Mary. The next morning, after maſs, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which their highneſſes were right well content. In the evening the great chamber was adorned with a ſumptuous ſuit of tapeſtry, called *The Hanging of*

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[1] [This is the original Latin:] "Pro jentaculis puerorum eleemoſynæ exeuntium ad aulam in caſtro ut ibi ludum peragerent in die Purificationis, xiv*d*. Unde nihil a domini [Clinton] theſaurario, quia ſæpius hoc anno miniſtralli caſtri fecerunt miniſtralſiam in aula conventus et Prioris ad feſta plurima ſine ullo regardo."

[2] See *Riſe and Progreſs*, &c. *Life of Colley Cibber*, vol. ii. p. 118.

Antioch: and after ſupper, a play was preſented by the children of Paul's.[1] After the play, and the next morning, one of the children, named Maximilian Poines, ſang to the princeſs, while ſhe "plaid at the virginalls."[2] Strype, perhaps from the ſame manuſcript chronicle, thus deſcribes a magnificent entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth in the year 1559 at Nonſuch in Surrey by [Henry, Earl of Arundel, who had acquired it from the crown by exchange[3] in Queen Mary's reign]. I chooſe to give the deſcription in the words of this ſimple but pictureſque compiler. "There the queen had great entertainment, with banquets, eſpecially on Sunday night, made by the ſaid earl; together with a Maſk, and the warlike ſounds of drums and flutes, and all kinds of muſick, till midnight. On Monday was a great ſupper made for her: but before night, ſhe ſtood at her ſtanding in the further park, and there ſhe ſaw a courſe. At night was a Play by the *Children of Paul's*, and their [muſic] maſter Sebaſtian. After that, a coſtly banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. This entertainment laſted till three in the morning. And the earl preſented her majeſty a cupboard of plate."[4] In the year 1562, when the Society of Pariſh-Clerks in London celebrated one of their annual feaſts, after morning ſervice in Guildhall chapel, they retired to their hall where, after dinner, a goodly play was performed by the choriſters of Weſtminſter Abbey with waits and regals and ſinging.[5] The children of the chapel-royal were alſo famous actors, and were formed into a company of players by Queen Elizabeth under the conduct of Richard Edwards, a muſician and a writer of Interludes already mentioned, and of whom more will be ſaid hereafter. All Lyly's plays and [ſome] of Jonſon's were originally performed by theſe boys:[6] and it ſeems probable that the title given by Jonſon to one of his comedies, called [*The Fountaine of Self-Love, or Cynthia's revels*, privately acted at the Blackfriars theatre by the Children of the Chapel, and firſt printed in 1601,] was an alluſion to

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[1] Who perhaps performed the play of *Holophernes* the ſame year, after "a greate and rich maſkinge and banquet" given by Sir Thomas Pope to the princeſs, in the "grete hall at Hatfelde." *Life of Sir Tho. Pope*, ſect. iii. p. 85.

[2] *Annales of Q. Maries Reigne* (MSS. Cotton. Vitell. F. 5). There is a curious anecdote in Melville's *Memoirs*, 1752, concerning Elizabeth, when Queen, being ſurpriſed from behind the tapeſtry by Lord Hunſdon, while ſhe was playing on her virginals. Her majeſty, I know not whether in a fit of royal prudery or of royal coquetry, ſuddenly roſe from the inſtrument and offered to ſtrike his lordſhip: declaring, "that ſhe was not uſed to play before men, but when ſhe was ſolitary to ſhun melancholy." *Mem.* pag. 99. Leland applauds the ſkill of Elizabeth both in playing and ſinging. *Encom.* fol. 59, p. 125, edit. Hearn:

> "Aut quid commemorem, quos tu, teſtudine ſumpta,
> Concentus referas mellifluoſque modos?"

[3] [Lyſons' *Environs of London*, firſt edit. i. 155-6. The palace is long ſince deſtroyed.]

[4] *Ann. Ref.* vol. i. ch. xv. p. 194, edit. 1725.

[5] Stow's *Surv.* edit. 1720, B. v. p. 231.

[6] Six of Lyly's nine comedies were reprinted together in 1632, 12mo. [under the title of *Court Comedies*]. His laſt play is dated [1601].

this eſtabliſhment of Queen Elizabeth, one of whoſe romantic names was Cynthia.[1] The general reputation which they gained, and the particular encouragement and countenance which they received from the queen, excited the jealouſy of the grown actors at the theatres: and Shakeſpeare, in *Hamlet*, endeavours to extenuate the applauſe which was idly indulged of their performance, perhaps not always very juſt, in the following ſpeeches of Roſencrantz and Hamlet:—"There is, ſir, an aery of children, little eyaſes,[2] that cry out on the top of queſtion, and are moſt tyrannically clapped for't: theſe are now the faſhion, and ſo berattle the common ſtages, ſo they call them, that many wearing rapiers are afraid of gooſe quills, and dare ſcarce come thither.—*Ham.* What, are they children? Who maintains 'em? How are they eſcoted?[3] Will they purſue the quality no longer than they can ſing,"[4] &c. This was about the year 1599. The latter clauſe means, "Will they follow the profeſſion of players, no longer than they keep the voices of boys, and ſing in the choir?" So Hamlet afterwards ſays to the player, "Come, give us a taſte of your quality: come, a paſſionate ſpeech."[5] And perhaps he glances at the ſame ſet of actors in *Romeo and Juliet*, when a play or maſque is propoſed:

> We'll have no Cupid, hood-wink'd with a ſcarf,
> Bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath.—
> Nor a without-book prologue faintly ſpoke
> After the prompter.[6]

Some of theſe, however, were diſtinguiſhed for their propriety of action, and became admirable comedians at the theatre of Blackfriars. There is a paſſage in Strafford's *Letters*, which ſeems to ſhow, that the diſpoſitions and accommodations at the theatre of Blackfriars were much better than we now ſuppoſe. "A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a box at a new play in the Black-friers, of which the duke had got the key." The diſpute was ſettled by the king.[7]

[There is, by the way, a] curious account of an order of the Privy

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[1] They very frequently were joined by the choriſters of Saint Paul's. It is a miſtake that theſe were rival companies; and that becauſe Jonſon's *Poetaſter* was acted in 1601 by the boys of the chapel, his antagoniſt Decker got his *Satiromaſtix*, an anſwer to Jonſon's play, to be performed (out of oppoſition) by thoſe of St. Paul's. Lyly's comedies, and many others, were acted by the children of both choirs in conjunction. It is certain that Decker ſneers at Jonſon's intereſt with the Maſter of the Revels, in procuring his plays to be acted ſo often at court. "*Sir Vaughan.* I have ſome coſſen-germans at court ſhall beget you the reverſion of the maſter of the king's revels, or elſe to be his lord of miſrule nowe at Chriſtmas." Sign. G 3, Decker's *Satiromaſtix*, 1602. Again, ſign. M. "When your playes are miſſelikt at court, you ſhall not crie mew like a puſſe-cat, and ſay you are glad you write out of the courtier's element." On the ſame idea the ſatire is founded of ſending Horace (or Jonſon) to court, to be dubbed a poet, and of bringing "the quivering bride to court in a maſke," &c. *Ibid.* ſignat. I 3.

[2] neſt of young hawks.

[3] paid.

[4] Act ii. ſc. [2, edit. *ut ſupr.* vii. 140.]

[5] Ibid. [p. 143.]

[6] Act i. ſc. [4, edit. *ut ſupr.* vi. 401.]

[7] G. Garrard to the Lord Deputy, Jan. 25, 1635, vol. i. p. 511, edit. 1739.

Council, in 1633, "hung up in a table near Paules and Black-fryars, to command all that reſort to the play-houſe there, to ſend away their coaches, and to diſperſe abroad in Paules Church-yard, carter-lane, the conduit in fleet-ſtreet."[1] Another of Garrard's letters, dated 1637, mentions a play at this theatre, which "coſt three or four hundred pounds ſetting out; eight or ten ſuits of new cloaths he [the author] gave the players, an unheard of prodigality!"[2]

It appears by the Prologue of Chapman's *All Fools*, a comedy preſented at Blackfriars, and printed in 1605, that only the ſpectators of rank and quality ſat on the ſtage:

To fair attire the ſtage
Helps much; for if our other audience ſee
You on the ſtage depart before we end,
Our wits go with you all, &c.

Among the children of Queen Elizabeth's chapel, was one Salvadore Pavy, who acted in Jonſon's two dramas *Poetaſter* and *Cynthia's Revels*, and was inimitable in his repreſentation of the character of an old man. He died about thirteen years of age, and is thus elegantly celebrated in one of Jonſon's epigrams:

An Epitaph on S. P. a child of queene Elizabeth's chapell.

Weep with me, all you that read
This little ſtory:
And know, for whom a teare you ſhed
Deaths ſelfe is ſorry.
Twas a child, that ſo did thrive
In grace and feature,
As Heaven and Nature ſeem'd to ſtrive
Which own'd the creature.
Yeares he numbred ſcarce thirteene,
When Fates turn'd cruell;
Yet three fill'd zodiackes had he beene
The Stages Jewell:
And did acte, what now we moane,
Old men ſo duely;
As, ſooth, the Parcæ thought him one,
He plaid ſo truely.
So, by errour, to his fate
They all conſented;
But viewing him ſince, alas, too late,
They have repented:
And have ſought, to give new birthe,
In bathes to ſteep him:
But, being ſo much too good for earthe,
Heaven vowes to keep him.[3]

To this eccleſiaſtical origin of the drama we muſt refer the plays acted by the Society of the Pariſh Clerks of London for eight days ſucceſſively at Clerkenwell (which thence took its name) in the preſence of moſt of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, in the years 1390 and 1409. In the ignorant ages, the Pariſh Clerks of London might juſtly be conſidered as a literary ſociety. It was an eſſential

[1] *Ibid.* p. 175. [2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. 150.
[3] *Epigrammes*, Epig. cxx. [edit. 1816 of Works, viii. 229-30.]

part of their profeſſion not only to ſing but to read: [the latter] an accompliſhment almoſt ſolely confined to the clergy: and on the whole they ſeem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowſhip by Henry III. about 1240 under the patronage of St. Nicholas. It was anciently cuſtomary for men and women of the firſt quality, eccleſiaſtics and others, who were lovers of church-muſic, to be admitted into this corporation: and they gave large gratuities for the ſupport or education of many perſons in the practice of that ſcience. Their public feaſts, which I have already mentioned, were frequent, and celebrated with ſinging and muſic; moſt commonly at Guildhall Chapel or College.[1] Before the Reformation, this ſociety was conſtantly hired to aſſiſt as a choir, at the magnificent funerals of the nobility or other diſtinguiſhed perſonages, celebrated within the city of London or in its neighbourhood. The ſplendid ceremonies of their anniverſary proceſſion and maſs in 1554 are thus related by Strype, from an old chronicle. "May the ſixth, was a goodly evenſong at Guildhall college by the Maſters of the Clarks and their Fellowſhip, with ſinging and playing; and the morrow after was a great maſs at the ſame place, and by the ſame fraternity: when every clark offered an halfpenny. The maſs was ſung by diverſe of the queen's [Mary's] chapel and children. And after maſs done every clark went their proceſſion, two and two together; each having on a ſurplice and a rich cope, and a garland. And then, fourſcore ſtandards, ſtreamers, and banners; and each one that bare them had an albe or a ſurplice. Then came in order the waits playing: and then thirty clarkes, ſinging *Feſta dies*. There were four of theſe choirs. Then came a canopy, borne over the Sacrament by four of the maſters of the clarkes, with ſtaffe torches burning,"[2] &c. Their profeſſion, employment and character naturally dictated to this ſpiritual brotherhood the repreſentation of plays, eſpecially thoſe of the ſcriptural kind: and their conſtant practice in ſhews, proceſſions and vocal muſic eaſily accounts for their addreſs in detaining the beſt company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce for more than a week.

Before I conclude this inquiry, a great part of which has been taken up in endeavouring to ſhew the connection between places of education and the ſtage, it ought to be remarked that the ancient faſhion of acting plays in the Inns of Court, which may be ranked among ſeminaries of inſtruction, although for a ſeparate profeſſion, is deducible from this ſource. The firſt repreſentation of this ſort which occurs on record, and is mentioned with any particular circumſtances, was at Gray's-inn. John Roos or Roo, ſtudent at Gray's-Inn, and created a ſerjeant at law in the year 1511, wrote a comedy which was acted at Chriſtmas in the hall of that ſociety in the year 1527. This piece, [although written many years before, when the cardinal was unknown, was conſtrued perſonally by] Wolſey, and the

[1] Stow's *Surv. Lond.* [edit. 1720,] lib. v. p. 231.
[2] *Eccles. Mem.* vol. iii. ch. xiii. p. 121.

author was degraded and impriſoned.[1] In 1550, under the reign of Edward VI., an order was made in the ſame ſociety that no comedies, commonly called Interludes, ſhould be acted in the refectory in the intervals of vacation, except at the celebration of Chriſtmas: and that then the whole body of ſtudents ſhould jointly contribute towards the dreſſes, ſcenes, and decorations.[2] In 1561, Sackville's tragedy of *Ferrex and Porrex* was preſented before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple.[3] In 1566, the *Suppoſes*, a comedy, [a proſe paraphraſe of the *Suppoſiti* of Arioſto by George Gaſcoigne, and *Jocaſta*,[4] a dramatic adaptation of the *Phœniſſæ* of Euripides, the joint work of Gaſcoigne, Francis Kinwelmerſh, and Chriſtopher Yelverton, were produced at Gray's-Inn.] Decker, in his *Satiromaſtix*, 1602, accuſes Jonſon of having ſtolen ſome jokes from the Chriſtmas plays of the lawyers. "You ſhall ſweare not to bumbaſt out a new play with the old lyning of jeſtes ſtolne from the Temple-revells."[5] In the year 1632 it was ordered in the Inner Temple, that no play ſhould be continued after twelve at night, not even on Chriſtmas-Eve.[6]

But theſe ſocieties ſeem to have ſhone moſt in the repreſentation of Maſques, a branch of the old drama. So early as the year 1431, it was ordered that the ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn ſhould celebrate four revels on four grand feſtivals every year, which I conceive to have conſiſted in great meaſure of this ſpecies of imperſonation. It is not, however, exactly known whether theſe revels were not ſimply Dances: for Dugdale ſays that the ſtudents of this inn "anciently had dancings for their recreation and delight;[7] and he adds that in 1610 the under barriſters, for example's ſake, were put out of commons by decimation, becauſe they offended in not dancing on Candlemas-day, when the Judges were preſent, according to an antient order of the ſociety. In an old comedy, called *Cupid's Whirligig*, acted in 1616 by the children of his majeſty's revels, a law ſtudent, one of the perſons of the drama, ſays to a lady, "Faith, lady, I remember the firſt time I ſaw you was in quadrageſſimo-ſexto of the queene, in a michaelmas tearme, and I think it was the morrow upon *menſe Michaelis* or *craſtino Animarum*, I cannot tell which. And the next time I ſaw you was at our Revells, where it pleaſed your ladyſhip to grace me with a galliard; and I ſhall never forget it, for my velvet pantables [pantofles]

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[1] [Collier's *Hiſt. of Dram. Poetry*, 1831, i. 104.]

[2] Dugdale, *Orig. Jurid.* cap. 67, p. 285.

[3] [Printed in 1565, 8vo., and 1590, 4to.; but both theſe impreſſions are ſpurious. The genuine edition, printed by John Day (*circa* 1570, 8vo.), purports to be "ſet forth, without addition or alteration, but altogether as the ſame was ſhewed on ſtage before the queenes maieſtie."]

[4] [A copy of this drama, apparently the MS. preſented in 1568 by Gaſcoigne, to Roger, Lord North, was ſold among the Guilford MSS. It is a folio of 38 leaves, beautifully written, and contains the autograph ſignature of Gaſcoigne to thoſe portions which he contributed.]

[5] *Satiromaſtix*, edit. 1602, *ut ſupr.* ſignat. M.

[6] Dugd. *ut ſupr.* cap. 57, p. 140, *ſeq.* alſo c. 61, 205.

[7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.* col. 2.

were ſtolne away the whilſt." But this may alſo allude to their maſques and plays.[1]

[On the 15th February, 1612-13,] the Inns preſented at Whitehall a maſque before James I. in honour of the marriage of his daughter the Princeſs Elizabeth with the Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, at the coſt of more than 1,080*l.*[2] The poetry was by Chapman and the machinery by [Inigo] Jones.[3] But the moſt ſplendid and ſumptuous performance of this kind, played by theſe ſocieties, was the maſque which they exhibited at Candlemas-day, in the year 1633, at the expenſe of [upwards of 21,000*l.*] before Charles I., which ſo pleaſed the king and probably the queen, that he invited one hundred and twenty gentlemen of the law to a ſimilar entertainment at Whitehall on Shrove Tueſday following.[4] It was called the *Triumph of Peace*, and written by Shirley [a member] of Gray's-Inn. The ſcenery was the invention of Jones, and the muſic was compoſed by William Lawes and Simon Ives.[5]

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[1] Sign. H 2, edit. 1616.

[2] Dugdale, *ibid.* p. 246. The other ſocieties ſeem to have joined. *Ibid.* cap. 67, p. 286. See alſo Finett's *Philoxenis*, pp. 8, 11, edit. 1656, and *ibid.* p. 73.

[3] "With a deſcription of the whole ſhew, in the manner of their march on horſeback to the court from the Maſter of the Rolls his houſe," &c. It is dedicated to Sir E. Philipps, Maſter of the Rolls. But we find a maſque on the very ſame occaſion [exhibited on the 20th February, 1612-13] at Whitehall before the king and queen, called *The Maſque of* [*the Inner Temple and Grayes-Inne*] by Beaumont in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, [edit. Dyce, ii.]

[4] Dugd. *ibid.* p. 346.

[5] It was printed [three times in 1633. "The third impreſſion has conſiderable variations from the others both in the deſcription and in the performances of the anti-maſks."—*Collier.* Mr. Dyce ſeems unable to decide which appeared firſt. As to the coſt of the maſque, compare Shirley's works, edit. 1833, i. xxvii.-viii.] The author ſays, that it exceeded in variety and richneſs of decoration, anything ever exhibited at Whitehall. There is a little piece called *The Inns of Court Anagrammatiſt*, or *The Maſquers Maſqued in Anagrams*, written by Francis Lenton, [who calls himſelf] the queen's poet, 1634. In this piece, the names and reſpective houſes of each maſquer are ſpecified; and in commendation of each there is an epigram. The maſque with which his majeſty returned this compliment on the Shrove-Tueſday following [Feb. 18, 1633-4], at Whitehall was Carew's *Cœlum Britannicum*, written by the king's command, and played by his majeſty, with many of the nobility and their ſons who were boys. The machinery by Jones, and the muſic by H. Lawes. [It is alluded to in Strafford's Letters, 360. The liſt of the maſquers is on the laſt page of the 4to edit. of 1634. See Carew's Works, by Hazlitt, 1870, p. 235.] Middleton [wrote the] *Inner Temple Maſque, or the Maſque of Heroes*, preſented as an entertainment for many worthy ladies, by the members of that ſociety, [and printed in 1619]. I have alſo ſeen the *Maſque of Flowers*, acted by the ſtudents of Gray's-inn, in the Banquetting-houſe at Whitehall, on Twelfth Night in 1613. It is dedicated to Sir F. Bacon, and was printed in 1614. It was the laſt of the court-ſolemnities exhibited in honour of Carr, Earl of Somerſet. [In the library of the Muſic School at Oxford, are two large volumes in the hand-writing of W. Lawes, one of which contains ſome fragments of the muſic which he wrote for the celebrated maſque, *The Triumph of Peace.* W. Lawes, as well as his brother Henry, whoſe character and attainments procured him the proud diſtinction of Milton's friendſhip, was rather diſtinguiſhed as a compoſer by the ſimplicity and eaſy flow of his melodies, than by any diſplay of thoſe maſterly combinations of harmony which adorn the church and chamber muſic of the preceding age.—*Edgar Taylor.*]

Some curious anecdotes of this exhibition are preſerved by a contemporary, a diligent and critical obſerver of thoſe ſeemingly inſignificant occurrences, which acquire importance in the eyes of poſterity, and are often of more value than events of greater dignity. "On Monday after Candlemas-day, the gentlemen of the inns of court performed their *Maſque* at Court. They were ſixteen in number, who rode through the ſtreets,[1] in four chariots, and two others to carry their pages and muſicians; attended by an hundred gentlemen on great horſes, as well clad as ever I ſaw any. They far exceeded in bravery [ſplendour] any Maſque that had formerly been preſented by thoſe ſocieties, and performed the dancing part with much applauſe. In their company was one Mr. Read of Gray's-inn, whom all the women and ſome men cried up for as handſome a man as the duke of Buckingham. They were well uſed at court by the king and queen. No diſguſt given them, only this one accident fell: Mr. May, of Gray's-inn, a fine poet, he who tranſlated Lucan, came athwart my lord chamberlain in the banquetting-houſe,[2] and he broke his ſtaff over his ſhoulders, not knowing who he was; the king was preſent, who knew him, for he calls him his poet, and told the chamberlain of it, who ſent for him the next morning, and fairly excuſed himſelf to him, and gave him fifty pounds in pieces. This riding-ſhew took ſo well, that both king and queen deſired to ſee it again, ſo that they invited themſelves to ſupper to my lord mayor's within a week after; and the Maſquers came in a more glorious ſhow with all the riders, which were increaſed twenty, to Merchant-taylor's hall, and there performed again."[3] It is added, "On Shrove-Tueſday at night, the king and the lords performed their Maſque. The templars were all invited, and well pleaſed," &c.[4] It ſeems the queen and her ladies were experienced actreſſes: for the ſame writer ſays (Jan. 9, 1633-4): "I never knew a duller Chriſtmas than we had at Court this year; but one play all the time at Whitehall! . . . . The queen had ſome little infirmity, which made her keep in: only on Twelfth-night, ſhe feaſted the king at Somerſet-houſe, and preſented him with a play, newly ſtudied, long ſince printed, the *Faithful Sheperdeſs* [of Fletcher] which the king's players acted in the robes ſhe and her ladies acted their *Paſtoral* in the laſt year."[5] Again, Nov. 9, 1637, "Here are to be two maſkes this winter; one at Chriſtmaſs, which the king and the young nobleſſe do make; the other at Shrovetide, which the queen and her ladies do preſent to the king. A great room is now building only for this uſe betwixt the guard chamber and the banquetting-houſe, and of fir"[6] . . . . Finett obſerves:

[1] They went from Ely houſe. [2] at Whitehall.

[3] *Strafford's Letters*, Garrard to the Lord Deputy, dat. Feb. 27, 1633, vol. i. p. 207.

[4] See alſo p. 177, and Fr. Oſborn's *Tradit. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 134 (Works, edit. 1722).

[5] *Ibid.* p. 177.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 130. See alſo p. 140, *Philoxenis*, p. 198.

"There being a maſke in practice of the queen in perſon, with other great ladies."[1] . . . . She was [alſo] an actreſs in Davenant's maſque of the *Temple of Love*, with many of the nobility of both ſexes. We have Jonſon's *Chloridia* at Shrovetide, 1630: his Maſque called *Love freed from Ignorance and Folly*, printed [1616: the Honourable Walter] Montagu's *Shepheard's* [*Paradiſe*], a Paſtoral, printed in [1659]: *Albion's Triumph*, the Sunday after Twelfth-night, 1631 [by Aurelian Townſhend]: *Luminalia, or The Feſtival of Light*, a maſque on Shrove-Tueſday in 1637: *Salmacida Spolia*, at Whitehall in 1639, the words by Davenant, and the muſic by Lewis Richard, maſter of her majeſty's muſic. *Tempe reſtored* was performed by fourteen ladies on Shrove-Tueſday at Whitehall, 1631. The words were by Aurelian Townſend. The king acted in ſome of theſe pieces. In the preceding reign, Queen Anne had given countenance to this practice; and (I believe) ſhe was the firſt of our queens that appeared perſonally in this moſt elegant and rational amuſement of a court. She acted in Daniel's maſque of *The Viſion of the twelve Goddeſſes*, with eleven other ladies, at Hampton-court, in 1604; in Jonſon's *Maſque of Queens*, at Whitehall, in 1609; in Daniel's *Tethys Feſtival* [or the *Queens Wake*],[2] a maſque at the creation of Prince Henry, Jun. 5, 1610. Daniel dedicates to this queen a paſtoral tragi-comedy, in which ſhe perhaps performed, called *Hymen's Triumph*. It was preſented at Somerſet-houſe, where ſhe magnificently entertained the king on occaſion of the marriage of Lord Roxburgh. Many others, I preſume, might be added. Among the entertainments at Rutland-houſe, compoſed in the reign of Charles I. there [are two pieces by Davenant, deſcribed elſewhere, and ſaid to have been performed by declamation and muſic.

After the Reſtoration, when the dignity of the old monarchical manners had ſuffered a long eclipſe from a Calviniſtic uſurpation, a feeble effort was made to revive theſe liberal and elegant amuſements at Whitehall. For, about the year 1675, Queen Catherine ordered Crowne to write a Paſtoral called *Caliſto*, which was acted at court by the ladies Mary and Anne daughters of the duke of York, and the young nobility. About the ſame time Lady Anne, afterwards queen, played the part of Semandra in Lee's *Mithridates*. The young noblemen were inſtructed by Betterton, and the princeſſes by his wife; who perhaps conceived Shakeſpeare more fully than any female that ever appeared on the ſtage. In remembrance of her theatrical inſtructions, Anne, when queen, aſſigned Mrs. Betterton an annual penſion of one hundred pounds.[3]

This was an early practice in France. In 1540, Margaret de Valois, Queen of Navarre, wrote Moralities which ſhe called *Paſtorals*, to be acted by the ladies of her court.

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[1] Whitelock, *ſub an.* 1632.
[2] Winwood, iii. 180. [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Davenant.*]
[3] Langb. *Dram. P.* p. 92, edit. 1691. Cibber's *Apol.* p. 134.

But it was not only by the parade of proceſſions and the decorations of ſcenery, that theſe ſpectacles were recommended. Some of them, in point of poetical compoſition, were eminently beautiful and elegant. Among theſe may be mentioned a maſque on the ſtory of Circe and Ulyſſes, called the *Inner Temple Maſque*, written by William Browne, a ſtudent of that ſociety, [and preſented by the members on the 13th January, 1614-15.][1] From this piece, as a ſpecimen of the temple-maſques in this view, I make no apology for my anticipation in tranſcribing the following ode, which Circe ſings as a charm to drive away ſleep from Ulyſſes, who is diſcovered repoſing under a large tree. It is addreſſed to Sleep:

THE CHARME.

Sonne of Erebus & Nighte,
Hye away, and aime thy flighte,
Where conſorte none other fowle
Than the batte & ſullen owle:
Where, upon the lymber graſſe,
Poppy & Mandragoras,
W^th^ like ſimples not a few,
Hange for euer droppes of dew:
Where flowes Lethe, w^th^out coyle
Softly like a ſtreame of oyle.
Hye thee hither, gentle Sleepe,
W^th^ this Greeke no longer keepe.
Thrice I charge thee by my wand,
Thrice wth moly from my hand
Doe I touch Vlyſſes eyes,
And wth the Jaſpis. Then ariſe,
Sageſt Greeke.[2]

In praiſe of this ſong it will be ſufficient to ſay, that it reminds us of ſome favourite touches in Milton's *Comus*, to which it perhaps gave birth. Indeed one cannot help obſerving here in general, although the obſervation more properly belongs to another place, that a maſque thus recently exhibited on the ſtory of Circe, which there is reaſon to think had acquired ſome popularity, ſuggeſted to Milton the hint of a maſque on the ſtory of Comus. It would be ſuperfluous to point out minutely the abſolute ſimilarity of the two characters: they both deal in incantations conducted by the ſame mode of operation, and producing effects exactly parallel.

When the ſocieties of the law performed theſe ſhows within their own reſpective refectories at Chriſtmas or any other feſtival, a Chriſtmas-prince or revel-maſter was conſtantly appointed. At a Chriſtmas celebrated in the hall of the Middle-temple in the year 1635, the juriſdiction, privileges, and parade, of this mock-monarch

[1] [The original MS. is ſtill in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It was printed, not very correctly, by Davies in his edition of Browne, 1772. A complete edition of Browne's works has been included by the preſent writer in the *Roxburghe Library* Series, 1869-70, 2 vols. 4to. where it is thought that the reader will find all that we can ever hope to learn of Browne's life or to recover of his poetry.]

[2] [Collated with the orig. MS.]

are thus circumſtantially deſcribed.[1] He was attended by his lord keeper, lord treaſurer, by eight white ſtaves, a captain of his band of penſioners and of his guard; and by two chaplains, who were ſo ſeriouſly impreſſed with an idea of his regal dignity, that when they preached before him on the preceding Sunday in the Temple church, on aſcending the pulpit, they ſaluted him with three low bows.[2] He dined, both in the hall and in his privy-chamber, under a cloth of eſtate. The pole-axes for his gentlemen penſioners were borrowed of Lord Saliſbury. Lord Holland, his temporary juſtice in Eyre, ſupplied him with veniſon on demand, and the lord mayor and ſheriffs of London with wine. On Twelfth-day, at going to church, he received many petitions, which he gave to his maſter of requeſts; and, like other kings, he had a favourite whom with others, gentlemen of high quality, he knighted at returning from church. His expenſes, all from his own purſe, amounted to 2000*l.*[3] We are alſo told that in the year 1635, "On Shrovetide at night, the Lady Hatton feaſted the king, queen, and princes, at her houſe in Holborn. The Wedneſday before the *Prince of the Temple* invited the Prince Elector and his brother to a maſque at the Temple,[4] which was very completely fitted for the variety of the ſcenes, and excellently well performed. Thither came the queen with three of her ladies diſguiſed, all clad in the attire of citizens. This done, the prince was depoſed, but ſince the king knighted him at Whitehall."[5]

But theſe ſpectacles and entertainments in our law ſocieties, not ſo much becauſe they were romantic and ridiculous in their mode of exhibition as that they were inſtitutions celebrated for the purpoſes of merriment and feſtivity, were ſuppreſſed or ſuſpended under the falſe and illiberal ideas of reformation and religion which prevailed in the fanatical court of Cromwell. The countenance afforded by a polite court to ſuch entertainments became the leading topic of animadverſion and abuſe in the miſerable declamations of the Puritan theologiſts, who attempted the buſineſs of national reformation without any knowledge of the nature of ſociety, and whoſe cenſures

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[1] See alſo Dugd. *Orig. Jurid.* p. 151, where many of the circumſtances of this officer are deſcribed at large; he alſo mentions, at Lincoln's-inn, a *King of the Cockneys* on Childermas-day, cap. 64, p. 247. [This has been preceded in the former edits. of Warton by a long argument reſpecting a paſſage in Hen. IV., part 2, iii. 3, where there is a converſation touching on Shallow and Falſtaff's old recollections of the archery meetings on Mile-End Green, miſtaken by Warton for dramatic entertainments.]

[2] This ceremonial, to the honour and pious memory of George III. was laid aſide in his reign.

[3] Strafford's *Letters*, ut ſupra, vol. i. p. 507. The writer adds, "All this is done to make them fit to give the prince elector a royal entertainment, with maſks, dancings, and ſome other exerciſes of wit in orations or arraignments, that day they invite him."

[4] This was Davenant's *Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*, written at their requeſt, for the purpoſe, in three days. The muſic by H. and W. Lawes. The names of the performers are at the end. [Compare Hazlitt's *Popular Antiquities of Gr. Britain*, i. 275-6.]

[5] *Ibid.* p. 525. The writer adds, "Mrs. Baſſet, the great lace-woman of Cheapſide, went foremoſt, and led the queen by the hand," &c. See *ibid.* p. 506.

proceeded not ſo much from principles of a purer morality as from a narrowneſs of mind, and from that ignorance of human affairs which neceſſarily accompanies the operations of enthuſiaſm.

SECTION XXXIV.

WE have now arrived at the commencement of the ſixteenth century. But before I proceed to a formal and particular examination of the poetry of that century, ſome preliminary conſiderations of a more general nature which will have a reference to all the remaining part of our hiſtory, for the purpoſe of preparing the reader and facilitating our future inquiries, appear to be neceſſary.

On a retroſpect of the fifteenth century, we find much poetry written during the latter part of that period. It is certain that the recent introduction into England of the art of typography, to which our countrymen afforded the moſt liberal encouragement, and which for many years was almoſt ſolely confined to the impreſſion of Engliſh books, the faſhion of tranſlating the claſſics from French verſions, the growing improvements of the Engliſh language, and the diffuſion of learning among the laity, greatly contributed to multiply Engliſh compoſition, both in proſe and verſe. Theſe cauſes, however, were yet immature, nor had they gathered a ſufficient degree of power and ſtability to operate on our literature with any vigorous effects.

But there is a circumſtance which, among ſome others already ſuggeſted, impeded that progreſſion in our poetry which might yet have been expected under all theſe advantages. A revolution, the moſt fortunate and important in moſt other reſpects, and the moſt intereſting that occurs in the hiſtory of the migration of letters, now began to take place; this, by diverting the attention of ingenious men to new modes of thinking and the culture of new languages, introduced a new courſe of ſtudy, and gave a temporary check to vernacular compoſition. I mean the revival of claſſical learning.

In the courſe of theſe Annals we muſt have frequently remarked, from time to time, ſtriking ſymptoms of a reſtleſs diſpoſition in the human mind to rouſe itſelf from its lethargic ſtate, and to break the bonds of barbariſm. After many imperfect and interrupted efforts this mighty deliverance, in which the mouldering Gothic fabrics of falſe religion and falſe philoſophy fell together, was not effectually completed till the cloſe of the fifteenth century. An event, almoſt fortuitous and unexpected, gave a direction to that ſpirit of curioſity and diſcovery, which had not yet appeared in its full force and extent for want of an object. About the year 1453 the diſperſion of the Greeks, after Conſtantinople had been occupied by the Turks, became the means of gratifying that natural love of novelty which has ſo frequently led the way to the nobleſt improvements, by the

introduction of a new language and new books, and totally changed the ſtate of letters in Europe. But it ſhould be remembered that ſome learned Grecians, foreſeeing the perſecutions impending over their country, frequented Italy, and taught their language there before the taking of Conſtantinople. Some Greeks who attended the Florentine council, and never returned for fear of the Turks, founded the preſent royal library in the city of Turin. In 1401 the Greek emperor, unable to reſiſt the frequent inſults of theſe barbarians, came into England to ſeek redreſs or protection from Henry IV. He landed at Dover attended by many learned Greeks, and the next day was honourably received at Chriſt Church priory at Canterbury by the Prior, Thomas Chyllenden.[1]

This great change commenced in Italy, a country (from many circumſtances) above all others peculiarly qualified and prepared to adopt ſuch a deviation. Italy, during the darkeſt periods of monaſtic ignorance, had always maintained a greater degree of refinement and knowledge than any other European country. In the thirteenth century, when the manners of Europe appear to have been overwhelmed with every ſpecies of abſurdity, its luxuries were leſs ſavage and its public ſpectacles more rational than thoſe of France, England and Germany. Its inhabitants were not only enriched but enlightened by that flouriſhing ſtate of commerce which its commodious ſituation, aided by the combination of other concomitant advantages, contributed to ſupport. Even from the time of the irruptions of the northern barbarians, ſome glimmerings of the ancient erudition ſtill remained in this country; and in the midſt of ſuperſtition and falſe philoſophy, repeated efforts were made in Italy to reſtore the Roman claſſics. To mention no other inſtances, Alberto [or Albertino] Muſſato[2] of Padua, a commander in the Paduan army againſt the Veroneſe, wrote two Latin tragedies: *Ecerrinis*[3] (or the fate of the tyrant Ecerinus of Verona) and *Achilleis*, on the plan of the Greek drama and in imitation of Seneca, before the year 1320. The many monuments of legitimate ſculpture and architecture, preſerved in Italy, had there kept alive ideas of elegance and grace; and the Italians, from their familiarity with thoſe precious remains of antiquity ſo early as the cloſe of the fourteenth century, had laid the rudiments of their perfection in the

[1] In a manuſcript called *Speculum Parvulorum*, lib. 5, c. 30. MSS. Bibl. Lambeth.

[2] He was honoured with the laurel, and died 1329.

[3] Printed at Venice, 1636, fol. with his *Epiſtolæ*, *Elegi*, *Soliloquia*, *Eclogæ*, *Cento Ovidianus*, *Latin Hiſtory of Italy*, and *Bavarus ad Filium*. And in Muratori's *Rer. Ital. Scriptor.* tom. x. Mediolan. 1727, pp. 1, 123, 569, 769, 785. See alſo in *Theſaur. Ital.* tom. vi. part ii. Lugd. Bat. 1722. Among his inedited works are mentioned, *Liber de Lite Naturæ et Fortunæ*, on natural cauſes and fate, and three books in heroic verſe, on the war againſt the Veroneſe above mentioned. The name and writings of Muſſato were hardly known, till they were brought forward to the public notice in the *Eſſay on Pope* [by Dr. Joſeph Warton], which I ſhall not be accuſed of partiality (as I only join the voice of the world) in calling the moſt agreeable and judicious piece of criticiſm produced by the age.

ancient arts. Another circumſtance which had a conſiderable ſhare in clearing the way for this change, and which deſerves particular attention, was the innovation introduced into the Italian poetry by Petrarch who, inſpired with the moſt elegant of paſſions, and clothing his exalted feelings on that delicate ſubject in the moſt melodious and brilliant Italian verſification, had totally eclipſed the barbarous beauties of the Provençal troubadours; and by this new and powerful magic had in an eminent degree contributed to reclaim, at leaſt for a time, the public taſte from a love of Gothic manners and romantic imagery.

In this country, ſo happily calculated for their favourable reception, the learned fugitives of Greece, when their empire was deſtroyed, found ſhelter and protection. Hither they imported, and here they interpreted, their ancient writers whoſe works had been preſerved entire at Conſtantinople. Theſe, being eagerly ſtudied by the beſt Italian ſcholars, communicated a taſte for the graces of genuine poetry and eloquence, and at the ſame time were inſtrumental in propagating a more juſt and general reliſh for the Roman poets, orators, and hiſtorians. In the meantime a more elegant and ſublime philoſophy was adopted: a philoſophy more friendly to works of taſte and imagination, and more agreeable to the ſort of reading which was now gaining ground. For the ſcholaſtic ſubtleties and the captious logic of Ariſtotle were ſubſtituted the mild and divine wiſdom of Plato.

It was a circumſtance, which gave the greateſt ſplendour and importance to this new mode of erudition, that it was encouraged by the popes, who, conſidering the encouragement of literature as a new expedient to eſtabliſh their authority over the minds of men, and enjoying an opulent and peaceable dominion in the voluptuous region of Italy, extended their patronage on this occaſion with a liberality ſo generous and unreſerved, that the court of Rome on a ſudden loſt its auſtere character, and became the ſeat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas V., about 1440, eſtabliſhed public rewards at Rome for compoſition in the learned languages, appointed profeſſors in humanity, and employed intelligent perſons to traverſe all parts of Europe in ſearch of claſſic manuſcripts buried in the monaſteries.[1] It was by means of the munificent ſupport of Pope Nicholas, that Cyriac of Ancona, who may be conſidered as the firſt antiquary in Europe, was enabled to introduce a taſte for gems, medals, inſcriptions, and other curious remains of claſſical antiquity, which he collected with indefatigable labour in various parts of Italy and Greece.[2]

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[1] See Dominici Georgii *Diſſertatio de Nich. quinti erga Lit. et Literat. Viros Patrocinio*, Rom. 1742. Added to his *Life*.

[2] See Fr. Burmanni *Præfat. ad Inſcription. Gruterian.* Amſtel. 1707, Baluz. *Miſcell.* tom. vi. p. 539. Ant. Auguſtini *Dialog. de Numiſmat.* ix. xi. Voſs. *De Hiſtor. Lat.* p. 809. His *Itinerarium* was printed at Florence, 1742. See Leon. Aretini *Epiſtol.* tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149. And *Giornal. de' Letterati d' Italia*, tom. xxi. p. 428. See the *Inſcriptiones*, [many of which, however, are fabrications,] by P. Apianus and B. Amantius, Ingoldſtat. 1634, at the *Monum. Gaditan.*

He allowed Francis Philelphus, an elegant Latin poet of Italy about 1450, a ſtipend for tranſlating Homer into Latin.[1] Leo X., not leſs conſpicuous for his munificence in reſtoring letters, deſcended ſo far from his apoſtolical dignity as to be a ſpectator of the *Poenulus* of Plautus, which was performed in a temporary theatre in the court of the Capitol by the flower of the Roman youth, with the addition of the moſt coſtly decorations:[2] and Leo, while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas againſt the heretical doctrines of Martin Luther, [iſſued a licence for the publication of the poems of Arioſto, couched in the uſual denunciatory terms againſt piracy].[3] It was under the pontificate of Leo, that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a monaſtery, which poſſeſſed a manuſcript of Tacitus.[4] It is obvious to obſerve how little conformable this juſt taſte, theſe elegant arts, and theſe new amuſements proved in their conſequences to the ſpirit of the papal ſyſtem: and it is remarkable that the court of Rome, whoſe ſole deſign and intereſt it had been for ſo many centuries to enſlave the minds of men, ſhould be the firſt to reſtore the religious and intellectual liberties of Europe. The apoſtolical fathers, aiming at a fatal and ill-timed popularity, did not reflect that they were ſhaking the throne, which they thus adorned.

Among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the exerciſe of theſe ſtudies, the firſt and moſt numerous were the Italian eccleſiaſtics. If not from principles of inclination and a natural impulſe to follow the paſſion of the times, it was at leaſt their intereſt to concur in forwarding thoſe improvements, which were commended, countenanced and authoriſed by their ſpiritual ſovereign: they abandoned the pedantries of a barbarous theology, and cultivated the pureſt models of antiquity. The cardinals and biſhops of Italy compoſed Latin verſes (and with a ſucceſs attained by few in more recent times) in imitation of Lucretius, Catullus and Virgil. Nor would the encouragement of any other European potentate have availed ſo much in this great work of reſtoring literature: as no other patronage could have operated with ſo powerful and immediate an influence

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[1] Philelph. *Epiſt.* xxiv. 1, xxxvi. 1. In the *Epiſtles* of Philelphus and in his ten books of *Satires* in Latin verſe, are many curious particulars relating to the literary hiſtory of thoſe times. Venet. fol. 1502. His *Nicolaus*, or two books of Lyrics, is a panegyric on the life and acts of Nicholas V.

[2] It was in 1513, on occaſion of Juliano de Medicis, Leo's brother, being made free of Rome. P. Jovius, *Hiſt.* lib. xi. *ad calc.* and *Vit. Leon.* lib. iii. p. 145. Jovius ſays, that the actors were *Romanæ juventutis lepidiſſimi*, and that ſeveral pieces of poetry were recited at the ſame time. Leo was alſo preſent at an Italian comedy, written by Cardinal Bibiena, called *Calander*, in honour of the Ducheſs of Mantua. It was acted by noble youths in the ſpacious apartments of the Vatican, and Leo was placed in a ſort of throne. Jov. in *Vit.* p. 189.

[3] [See Roſcoe's *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv.—*Price.*]

[4] Paulus Jovius relates an anecdote of Leo X. which ſhows that ſome paſſages in the claſſics were ſtudied at the court of Rome to very bad purpoſes. I muſt give it in his own words: "Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeſte nonnullos e cubicularis ſuis (erant enim e tota Italia nobiliſſimi) adamare, et cum his tenerius atque libere jocari videretur." *Vita Leonis X.* p. 192.

on that order of men who, from the nature of their education and profeſſion, muſt always be the principal inſtruments in ſupporting every ſpecies of liberal erudition.

[Not only on the *terra-ferma*, but at Venice, about this time in the zenith of her power and proſperity, rapid progreſs had been made in the cultivation of all liberal arts. The Venetians, not content with reading contemporary hiſtory, with maſtering the intricacies of diplomacy, or with attaining the higheſt honours in the military profeſſion, ſtudied the language which Cicero ſpoke, the language of the *Anabaſis*, and the language of Holy Writ. They applied themſelves to the liberal, mechanical and occult ſciences, and to the fine arts. They became diligent ſcholiaſts. They ſearched for MSS. with an avidity eclipſing that of De Bure. They formed libraries, ſome of which were far larger than the public collections at Oxford or Paris. Some gave gratuitous inſtruction in the *Elements of Euclid;* others lectured on *Ethics* or *Metaphyſics*. A Treviſano devoted ten years to the compoſition of a ſingle treatiſe, which he never lived to finiſh. A Giorgio naturalized among his countrymen the literature of the troubadours and the ſongs of Provence. To a Polo ſcientific men were indebted for the firſt book of travels in China, Kamtſchatka, and Japan.][1]

Here we cannot but obſerve the neceſſary connection between literary compoſition and the arts of deſign. No ſooner had Italy baniſhed the Gothic ſtyle in eloquence and poetry, than painting, ſculpture and architecture, at the ſame time and in the ſame country, arrived at maturity, and appeared in all their original ſplendour. The beautiful or ſublime ideas, which the Italian artiſts had conceived from the contemplation of ancient ſtatues and ancient temples, were invigorated by the deſcriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch was crowned in the Capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal.

Theſe improvements were ſoon received in other countries. Laſcaris, one of the moſt learned of the Conſtantinopolitan exiles, was invited into France by Louis XII. and Francis I.: and it was under the latter of theſe monarchs that he was employed to form a library at Fontainebleau, and to introduce Greek profeſſors into the Univerſity of Paris.[2] Yet we find Gregory Typhernas teaching Greek at Paris ſo early as 1472.[3] About the ſame time, Antonius Eparchus of Corſica ſold one hundred Greek books to the Emperor Charles V. and to Francis I.,[4] thoſe great rivals who agreed in nothing but in promoting the cauſe of literature. Francis I. maintained even a Greek ſecretary, the learned Angelus Vergerius, to whom he aſſigned in 1541 a penſion of four hundred livres from his exche-

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[1] [*Hiſtory of the Venetian Republic*, 1860, iv. 198.]

[2] Du Breul, *Antiquitez de Paris*, 1639, liv. ii. p. 563. Bembi *Hiſt. Venet.* part ii. p. 76; and R. Simon, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles.* par du Pin, tom. i. pp. 502, 512.

[3] Hody, p. 233.

[4] Morhoff, *Polyhiſt.* iv. 6.

quer.[1] He employed Julius Camillus to teach him to ſpeak fluently the language of Cicero and Demoſthenes in the ſpace of a month; but ſo chimerical an attempt neceſſarily proved abortive: yet it ſhewed his paſſion for letters.[2] In 1474 the parliament of Paris which, like other public bodies eminent for their wiſdom, could proceed on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and cuſtoms, and was alarmed at the appearance of an innovation, commanded a cargo of books (ſome of the earlieſt ſpecimens of typography) which were imported into Paris by a factor of the city of Mentz, to be ſeized and deſtroyed. Francis I. would not ſuffer ſo great a diſhonour to remain on the French nation; and although he interpoſed his authority too late for a revocation of the decree, he ordered the full price to be paid for the books. This was the ſame parliament that oppoſed the reformation of the calendar and the admiſſion of any other philoſophy than that of Ariſtotle. Such was Francis's ſolicitude to encourage the graces of a claſſical ſtyle, that he aboliſhed the Latin tongue from all public acts of juſtice, becauſe the firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris had uſed a barbarous term in pronouncing ſentence;[3] and becauſe the Latin code and judicial proceſſes, hitherto adopted in France, familiariſed the people with a baſe Latinity. At the ſame time, he ordered theſe formularies to be turned, not into good Latin which would have been abſurd or impoſſible, but into pure French:[4] a reformation which promoted the culture of the vernacular tongue. He was the firſt of the kings of France, who encouraged brilliant aſſemblies of ladies to frequent the French court: a circumſtance, which not only introduced new ſplendour and refinement into the parties and carouſals of the court of that monarchy, but gave a new turn to the manners of the French eccleſiaſtics (who of courſe attended the king), and deſtroyed much of their monkiſh pedantry.[5]

When we mention the ſhare which Germany took in the reſtitution of letters, ſhe needs no greater panegyric than that her mechanical genius added, at a lucky moment, to all theſe fortunate contingencies in favour of ſcience an admirable invention, which was of the moſt ſingular utility in facilitating the diffuſion of the ancient writers over every part of Europe: I mean the art of printing. By this obſervation, I do not mean to inſinuate that Germany kept no pace with her neighbours in the production of philological ſcholars. Rodolphus Langius, a canon of Munſter and a tolerable Latin poet, after many ſtruggles with the inveterate prejudices and authoritative threats of German biſhops and German univerſities, opened a ſchool

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[1] Du Breul, *ibid.* p. 568. It is a juſt remark of P. Victorius, that Francis I., by founding beautiful Greek and Roman types at his own coſt, invited many ſtudents, who were caught by the elegance of the impreſſion, to read the ancient books. *Præfat. ad Comment. in octo libr. Ariſtotelis de Opt. Statu Civitat.*

[2] Alciati *Epiſtol.* xxiii. inter *Gudianas*, p. 109.

[3] Matagonis de Matagonibus *adverſus Italogalliam Antonii Matharelli*, p. 226.

[4] Varillas, *Hiſt. de François I.* livr. ix. p. 381.

[5] Brantome, *Mem.* tom. i. p. 227. Mezerai, *Hiſt. France, sous Hen. III.* tom. iii. pp. 446, 447.

of humanity at Munſter which ſupplied his countrymen with every ſpecies of elegant learning, till it was overthrown by the fury of fanaticiſm and the revolutions introduced by the barbarous reformations of the anabaptiſtic zealots in 1534.[1] Reuchlin, [dictus] Capnio, co-operated with the laudable endeavours of Langius by profeſſing Greek before 1490 at Baſle.[2] Soon afterwards he tranſlated Homer, Ariſtophanes, Plato, Xenophon, Æſchines and Lucian, into Latin, and Demoſthenes into German. At Heidelberg he founded a library, which he ſtored with the choiceſt Greek MSS. It is worthy of remark, that the firſt public inſtitution in any European univerſity for promoting polite literature, by which I underſtand theſe improvements in erudition, appears to have been eſtabliſhed at Vienna. In 1501, Maximilian I. who, like Julius Cæſar, had compoſed a commentary on his own illuſtrious military achievements, founded in the Univerſity of Vienna a College of Poetry. This ſociety conſiſted of four profeſſors: one for poetry, a ſecond for oratory, and two others for mathematics. The profeſſor of poetry was ſo ſtyled, becauſe he preſided over all the reſt: and the firſt perſon appointed to this office was Conradus Celtes [already mentioned,] one of the reſtorers of the Greek language in Germany, an elegant Latin poet, a critic on the art of Latin verſification, the firſt poet-laureat of his country, and the firſt who introduced the practice of acting Latin tragedies and comedies in public after the manner of Terence.[3] It was the buſineſs of this profeſſor to examine candidates in philology, and to reward thoſe who appeared to have made a diſtinguiſhed proficiency in claſſical ſtudies with a crown of laurel. Maximilian's chief and general deſign in this inſtitution was to reſtore the languages and the eloquence of Greece and Rome.[4]

Among the chief reſtorers of literature in Spain (about 1490), was Antonio de Lebrixa, one of the profeſſors in the Univerſity of Alcala, founded by the magnificent Cardinal Ximenes, archbiſhop of

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[1] D. Chytræus, *Saxonia*, l. iii. p. 80. Trithem. p. 993, *De S. E. Et de Luminarib. German.* p. 239.

[2] See *Epiſtol. Claror. Viror. ad Reuchlin.* p. m. 4. 17. Maius, *Vita Reuchlini*, &c.

[3] Celtes dedicates his *Amores* or Latin Elegies to Maximilian in a Latin panegyric prefixed; in which he compliments the emperor thus: "You who have this year endowed moſt liberally the muſes long wandering, and baniſhed from Germany by the calumnies of certain unſkilful men, with a college and a perpetual ſtipend: having, moreover, according to a cuſtom practiſed in my time at Rome, delegated to me and my ſucceſſors, in your ſtead, the authority of creating and laureating poets in the ſaid college," &c. *Paneg. Prim. ad Maximilian. Imp.* ſignat. a ii. *Amores*, &c. Noringb. 1502, 4to. The ſame author, in his *Deſcription of the City of Nuremburgh*, written in 1501, mentions it as a circumſtance of importance and a ſingularity, that a perſon ſkilled in the Roman literature had juſt begun to give lectures in a public building to the ingenuous youth of that city in poetry and oratory, with a ſalary of one hundred aurei, as was the practice in the cities of Italy. *Deſcript. Urb. Noringb.* cap. xii.

[4] See the imperial patent for erecting this college, in Freherus *German. Rerum Scriptor. Var.* &c. tom. ii. fol. Francof. 1602, p. 237, and by Van Seelen, Lubec, 1723; and in his *Select. Literar.* p. 488. In this patent, the purpoſe of the foundation is declared to be, "reſtituere abolitam priſci ſæculi eloquentiam."

Toledo. It was to the patronage of Ximenes that Lebrixa owed his celebrity.[1] Profoundly verſed in every ſpecies of ſacred and profane learning, and appointed to the reſpectable office of royal hiſtorian, he choſe to be diſtinguiſhed only by the name of the grammarian,[2] that is, a teacher of polite letters. In this department he enriched the ſeminaries of Spain with new ſyſtems of grammar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and with a view to reduce his native tongue to ſome critical laws he wrote comparative lexicons in the Latin, Caſtilian, and Spaniſh languages. Theſe, at this time, were plans of a moſt extraordinary nature in Spain, and placed the literature of his country which, from the phlegmatic temper of the inhabitants was tenacious of ancient forms, on a much wider baſis than before. To theſe he added a manual of rhetoric, compiled from Ariſtotle, Tully and Quintilian: together with commentaries on Terence, Virgil, Juvenal, Perſius, and other claſſics. He was deputed by Ximenes, with other learned linguiſts, to ſuperintend the grand complutenſian edition of the Bible: and in the conduct of that laborious work, he did not eſcape the cenſure of heretical impiety for exerciſing his critical ſkill on the ſacred text (according to the ideas of the Holy Inquiſition) with too great a degree of preciſion and accuracy.[3]

Even Hungary, a country by no means advanced uniformly with other parts of Europe in the common arts of civilization, was illuminated with the diſtant dawning of ſcience. Mattheus Corvinus, king of Hungary and Bohemia in the fifteenth century, and who died in 1490, was a lover and a guardian of literature.[4] He purchaſed innumerable volumes of Greek and Hebrew writers at Conſtantinople and other Grecian cities, when they were ſacked by the Turks: and (as the operations of typography were now but imperfect) he employed at Florence many learned librarians to multiply copies of claſſics, both Greek and Latin, which he could not procure in Greece.[5] Theſe, to the number of 50,000, he placed in a tower which he had erected in the metropolis of Buda;[6] and in this library he eſtabliſhed thirty amanuenſes, ſkilled in painting, illuminating and writing: who, under the conduct of Felix Raguſinus, a Dalmatian, conſummately learned in the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages, and an elegant deſigner and painter of ornaments on vellum, attended inceſſantly to the buſineſs of tranſcription and decoration.[7] The librarian was Bartholomew Fontius, a learned Floren-

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[1] See Nic. Anton. *Bibl. Nov. Hiſpan.* tom. i. pp. 104-9.

[2] L. Vives, *De Cauſis Corruptarum Art.* ii. p. 72.

[3] See Alvarus Gomeſius *De Vita Ximenis*, lib. ii. p. 43. Nic. Anton. *ut ſupr.* p. 109. Imbonatus, *Bibl. Latino-Hebr.* p. 315.

[4] See *Notit. Biblioth. Thorunienſis*, p. 32, by Petrus Jaenichiis, who has written a Diſſertation *De meritis Matthiæ Corvini in rem literariam.*

[5] See Joh. Alex. Braſſicani *Præfat. ad Salvianum*, Baſil. 1530; and *Maderus de Bibliothecis*, pp. 145, 149.

[6] Anton. Bonfinii *Rer. Hungar.* Decad. iv. lib. 7, p. 460, edit. 1690.

[7] Belius, *Apparat. ad Hiſtor. Hungar.* Dec. i. cap. 5.

tine, the writer of many philological works,[1] and a profeſſor of Greek and oratory at Florence. When Buda was taken by the Turks in 1526, Cardinal Bozmanni offered for the redemption of this ineſtimable collection 200,000 pieces of the imperial money, yet without effect; for the barbarous beſiegers defaced or deſtroyed moſt of the books, in the violence of ſeizing the ſplendid covers and the ſilver boſſes and claſps with which they were enriched.[2] The learned Obſopaeus relates, that a book was brought him by an Hungarian ſoldier, which he had picked up (with many others) in the pillage of the library of Corvinus, and had preſerved as a prize, merely becauſe the covering retained ſome marks of gold and rich workmanſhip. This proved to be a MS. of the *Ethiopics* of Heliodorus; and from it, in 1534, Obſopaeus printed at Baſle the firſt edition of that elegant Greek romance.[3]

But as this incidental ſketch of the hiſtory of the revival of modern learning is intended to be applicable to the general ſubject of my work, I haſten to give a detail of the riſe and progreſs of theſe improvements in England: nor ſhall I ſcruple, for the ſake of producing a full and uniform view, to extend the enquiry to a diſtant period.

Efforts were made in our Engliſh univerſities for the revival of critical ſtudies much ſooner than is commonly imagined. So early as the year 1439, William Byngham, rector of St. John Zachary in London, petitioned Henry VI. in favour of his grammar ſcholars, for whom he had erected a commodious manſion at Cambridge, called God's Houſe, which he had given to the College of Clare-hall: to the end that twenty-four youths, under the direction and government of a learned prieſt, might be there perpetually educated, and be thence tranſmitted (in a conſtant ſucceſſion) to different parts of England, to thoſe places where grammar ſchools had fallen into a ſtate of deſolation.[4] In the year 1498, Alcock, Biſhop of Ely, founded Jeſus College in Cambridge, partly for a certain number of ſcholars to be educated in grammar.[5] Yet there is

[1] Among other things, he wrote Commentaries on Perſius, Juvenal, Livy, and Ariſtotle's Poetics. He tranſlated the *Epiſtles of Phalaris* into the Tuſcan language; and this verſion was publiſhed in [1471]. Creſcimbeni has placed him among the Italian poets. Lambeccius ſays, that in the year 1665, he was ſent to Buda by the Emperor Leopold, to examine what remained in this library. After repeated delays and difficulties, he was at length permitted by the Turks to enter the room: where he ſaw about four hundred books, printed and of no value, diſperſed on the floor, and covered with duſt and filth. Lambeccius ſuppoſes, that the Turks, knowing the condition of the books, were aſhamed to give him admittance. *Comment. de Bibl. Vindobon.* lib. ii. c. ix. p. 993.

[2] *Collectio Madero-Schmidiana, Acceſs.* 1, p. 310, *ſeq.* Belius, *ut ſupr.* tom. iii. p. 225.

[3] In the Preface. See Neandri *Præfat. ad Gnomolog. Stobæi*, p. 27.

[4] "Ubi ſcholæ grammaticales exiſtunt deſolatæ." Pat. Hen. VI. ann. reg. xvii. p. 2, memb. 16.

[5] Rymer, *Fœder.* xii. 653. We find early eſtabliſhments of this ſort in the Colleges of Paris. In the year 1304, Queen Jeanne founded the college of Navarre at Paris for thirty theologiſts, thirty artiſts, and twenty grammarians, who are alſo

reaſon to apprehend, that theſe academical pupils in grammar (with which the art of rhetoric was commonly joined), inſtead of ſtudying the real models of ſtyle, were chiefly trained in ſyſtematic manuals of theſe ſciences, filled with unprofitable definitions and unneceſſary diſtinctions: and that, in learning the arts of elegance, they acquired the barbarous improprieties of diction which thoſe arts were intended to remove and reform. That the foundations I have mentioned did not produce any laſting beneficial effects, and that the technical phraſeology of metaphyſics and caſuiſtry ſtill continued to prevail at Cambridge, appears from the following anecdote. In the reign of Henry VII. that univerſity was ſo deſtitute of ſkill in latinity, that it was obliged to hire an Italian, one Caius Auberinus, for compoſing the public orations and epiſtles, whoſe fee was at the rate of twenty-pence for an epiſtle.[1] The ſame perſon was employed to explain Terence in the public ſchools.[2] Undoubtedly the ſame attention to a futile philoſophy, to unintelligible elucidations of Scotus and Aquinas, notwithſtanding the acceſſions accruing to ſcience from the eſtabliſhment of the Humfredian library, had given the ſame tincture to the ordinary courſe of ſtudies at Oxford. For, about the year 1468, the univerſity of Oxford complimented Chadworth, biſhop of Lincoln, for his care and endeavours in reſtoring grammatical literature which, as they repreſent, had long decayed and been forgotten in that ſeminary.[3]

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called "Enfans eſcholiers en grammaire." They are ordered to hear "lectiones, [readings], materias, et verſus, prout in ſcholis grammaticalibus conſuevit." Boul. *Hiſt. Acad. Paris.* vol. iv. p. 74. But the college of Ave Maria at Paris, founded in 1339, is for a Maſter and ſix boys only, from nine to ſixteen years. Boul. *ibid.* p. 261. The ſociety of Merton college in Oxford, founded in 1272, originally maintained in the univerſity ſuch boys as claimed kindred to the founder, Biſhop Walter de Merton, in grammar learning and all neceſſaries, ſometimes till they were capable of taking a degree. They were placed in Nunhall, adjoining to the college on the eaſt. "Expens. factæ per Thomam de Herlyngton, pro pueris de genere fundatoris a feſt. Epiph. uſque ad feſt. S. Petri ad vincula, 21 Edw. III. A.D. 1347."—*Item*, in filo albo et viridi, et ceteris pertinenciis, ad reparationem veſtium tam artiſtarum quam grammaticarum, vi d. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubienſi pro ſalario ſcholæ, in tertio quadrageſimali. x d. Et hoſtiario [uſher] ſuo, ii d. ob. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubienſi pro tertio eſtivali. x d. Et hoſtiario ſuo, ii d. ob." A. Wood, *MS. Coll. Merton Collectan.* [Cod. MSS. Ballard. Bibl. Bodl. 46.]

[1] MSS. Bibl. C.C.C. Camb. *Miſcell.* P. p. 194. *Officium magiſtri Glomeriæ.* I obſerve here, that Giles du Vadis, or Ægidius Dewes [or Du Wes,] ſucceſſively royal librarian at Weſtminſter to Henry VII. and VIII. was a Frenchman [?]. The laſt king granted him a ſalary for that office, of ten pounds, in the year 1522. *Priv. Sig.* 13 *Henr. VIII. Offic. Pell.* He was preceptor in French to Henry VIII. Prince Arthur, Princeſs Mary, the kings of France and Scotland, and the Marquis of Exeter. Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 230. He wrote at the command of Henry, *An Introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to ſpeak French trewly compyled for the* [&c.] *princeſs Mary* [firſt printed about 1525.] See Pref. Palſgrave's *Leſclairciſſment.*] He died in 1535 [and was buried at St. Olaves, Southwark. His *Introductory* is reprinted in the Paris edition of the *Eclairciſſement*, 1852.]

[2] "Quod fecit admodum frigide, ut ea erant tempora." *Lib. Matt. Archiep. Parker.* (MSS. Baker), MSS. Harl. 7046, f. 125, 6.

[3] *Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon.* FF. [*Epiſtol. Acad.*] fol. 254. The Epiſtles in this Regiſter contain many local anecdotes of the reſtoration of learning at Oxford.

But although theſe gleams of ſcience long ſtruggled with the ſcholaſtic cloud which enveloped our univerſities, we find the culture of the claſſics embraced in England much ſooner than is ſuppoſed. Before the year 1490, many of our countrymen appear to have turned their thoughts to the revival of the ſtudy of claſſics: yet, chiefly in conſequence of their communications with Italy, and (as moſt of them were clergymen) of the encouragements they received from the liberality of the Roman pontiffs. Such of our countrymen as wrote in Latin at this period, and were entirely educated at home without any connection with Italy, wrote a ſtyle not more claſſical than that of the monkiſh Latin annaliſts who flouriſhed two or three centuries before. I will inſtance only Roſs of Warwick, author of the *Hiſtoria Regum Angliæ*, educated at Oxford, an eccleſiaſtic, and eſteemed an eminent ſcholar. Nor is the plan of Roſs's *Hiſtory*, which was finiſhed ſo late as the year 1483, leſs barbarous than his latinity; for in writing a chronicle of the kings of England he begins, according to the conſtant practice of the monks, with the creation and the firſt ages of the world, and adopts all their legends and fables. His motives for undertaking this work are exceedingly curious. He is ſpeaking of the method of perpetuating the memories of famous men by ſtatues: "Alſo in our churches, tabernacles in ſtone-work, or niches, are wrought for containing images of this kind. For inſtance, in the new work of the College of Windſor [i.e. St. George's Chapel,] ſuch tabernacles abound, both within and without the building. Wherefore, being requeſted, about the latter end of the reign of King Edward IV. by the venerable maſter Edward Seymor, Maſter of the Works there, and at the deſire of the ſaid king, to compile a hiſtory of thoſe kings and princes who have founded churches and cities, that the images placed in thoſe niches might appear to greater advantage, and more effectually preſerve the names of the perſons repreſented; at the inſtance of this my brother-ſtudent at Oxford, and eſpecially at the deſire of the ſaid moſt noble monarch, as alſo to exhilarate the minds of his royal ſucceſſours, I have undertaken this work," &c.[1]

Millyng, Abbot of Weſtminſter about 1480, underſtood the Greek language, which yet is mentioned as a ſingular accompliſhment in one, although a prelate, of the monaſtic profeſſion.[2] Adam Eſton, educated at Oxford, a Benedictine monk of Norwich, and who lived at Rome the greateſt part of his life, is ſaid to have written many pieces in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He died at Rome in 1397.[3] Leland mentions John Bate, a Carmelite of York about 1429, as a Greek ſcholar.[4] Robert Flemmyng ſtudied the Greek and Latin languages under Battiſta Guarini at Ferrara,[5] and, at his return into England, was preferred to the deanery of Lincoln [on the

[1] Edit. Hearne, p. 120.
[2] Leland, *Scriptores*, in v.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* v. *Batus.*
[5] Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* p. 266.

21ſt January, 1451-2.][1] During the reign of Edward IV. he was at Rome, where he wrote an elegant Latin poem in heroic verſe, entitled *Lucubrationes Tiburtinæ*, which he inſcribed to Pope Sixtus, his ſingular patron.[2] It has theſe three chaſte and ſtrong hexameters, in which he deſcribes the perſon of that illuſtrious pontiff:

> Sane, quiſquis in hunc oculos converterit acreis,
> In facie vultuque viri ſublime videbit
> Elucere aliquid, majeſtatemque verendam.

He was prothonotary to Pope Sixtus. In this poem he mentions Baptiſta Platina, the librarian at Rome who, together with moſt of the Italian ſcholars, was his familiar friend.[3] I know not whether one John Opicius, our countryman as it ſeems, and a Latin poet, improved his taſte in Italy about this time: but he has left ſome copies of elegant Latin verſes.[4]

Leland aſſures us, that he ſaw in the libraries of Oxford a Greco-Latin lexicon, compiled by Flemmyng, which has eſcaped my ſearches. He left many volumes beautifully written and richly illuminated to Lincoln College in Oxford, where he had received his academical education.[5] [Not long after] the ſame period, John Gunthorpe, [elected in 1472] Dean of Wells, keeper of the privy ſeal, and Maſter of King's Hall in Cambridge, alſo attended the philological lectures of Guarini: and for the poliſhed latinity with which he wrote *Epiſtles* and *Orations*, compoſitions at that time much in uſe and requeſt, was appointed by Edward IV. Latin Secretary to [his conſort Anne] in the year 1487.[6] The MSS. collected in Italy, which he gave to both the univerſities of England, were of much more real value than the ſumptuous ſilver image of the Virgin Mary, weighing 143 ounces, which he preſented to his Cathedral of Wells.[7] William Grey imbibed under the ſame preceptors a knowledge of the beſt Greek and Roman writers: and in 1454 was advanced by Nicholas V. equally a judge and a protector of ſcholars, to the biſhopric of Ely.[8] This prelate employed at Venice and Florence many ſcribes and illuminators[9] in preparing

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[1] Wood, *Hiſt. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 62. Wharton, *Append.* p. 155. Bale, viii. 21. [Le Neve, *Faſti*, edit. Hardy, ii. 33.]

[2] Printed at Ferrara, 1477, in two books.

[3] See Carbo's Funeral Oration on Guarini.

[4] MSS. Cotton. Veſpas. B. iv. One is, *De regis Henrici Septimi in Galliam progreſſu.* It begins: "Bella canant alii Trojæ, proſtrataque dicant." Another is, *De ejuſdem laudibus ſub prætextu roſæ purpureæ*, a dialogue between Mopſus and Melibeus. One of the poems, *On Chriſtmas*, has the date 1497.

[5] Lel. *ibid.*

[6] Pat. 7. Edw. IV. m. 2. Five of his *Orations* before illuſtrious perſonages are extant, MSS. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In the ſame MSS. are his *Annotationes quædam Criticæ in verba quædam apud poetas citata.* He gave many books (collected in Italy) to Jeſus College at Cambridge. Lel. *Coll.* iii. 13. He was ambaſſador to the king of Caſtile, in 1466 and 1470. Rymer, *Fœd.* xi. 572, 653. Bale mentions his *Diverſi generis Carmina* (viii. 42) and a book on rhetoric.

[7] *Regiſtr. Eccles. Wellens.*

[8] Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i 672. [Le Neve, edit. 1854, i. 339.]

[9] One of thoſe was Antonius Marius. In Baliol College library, one of Biſhop

copies of the claſſics and other uſeful books, which he gave to the library of Baliol College in Oxford,[1] at that time eſteemed the beſt in the univerſity. John Phreas, or Free, an eccleſiaſtic of Briſtol, [and provoſt of Baliol College, Oxford,] receiving information from the Italian merchants who trafficked at Briſtol, that multitudes of ſtrangers were conſtantly crowding to the capitals of Italy for inſtruction in the learned languages, paſſed over to Ferrara, where he became a fellow-ſtudent with the prelate laſt mentioned, by whoſe patronage and aſſiſtance his ſtudies were ſupported.[2] He tranſlated Diodorus Siculus and many pieces of Xenophon into Latin.[3] On account of the former work, he was nominated Biſhop of Bath and Wells by Paul II., but died before conſecration in the year 1464,[4] [" non ſine veneni ſuſpicione."] His Latin Epiſtles, five of which are addreſſed to his patron the Biſhop of Ely, diſcover an uncommon terſeneſs and facility of expreſſion. It was no inconſiderable teſtimony of the taſte of Phreas, that he was requeſted by ſome of his elegant Italian friends to compoſe a new epitaph in Latin elegiacs for Petrarch's tomb: the original inſcription in monkiſh rhymes not agreeing with the new and improved ideas of Latin verſification.[5] William Sellynge, a fellow of All Souls College in Oxford, diſguſted with the barren and contracted circle of philoſophy taught by the irrefragable profeſſors of that ample ſeminary, acquired a familiarity with the moſt excellent ancient authors, and cultivated the converſation of Politian at Bologna,[6] to whom he introduced the learned Linacer.[7] About 1460, he returned into England; and being elected prior of Chriſt Church at Canterbury, enriched the library of that fraternity with an ineſtimable collection of Greek and Roman MSS. which he had amaſſed in Italy.[8] It has been already ſtated

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Gray's MSS. has this entry: "Antonius Marii filius Florentinus civis tranſcripſi ab originalibus exemplaribus, 2 Jul. 1448," &c. MSS. lxviii. [*Apud* MSS. Langb. Bal. p. 81.] See Leland. *Coll.* iii. p. 21.

[1] Leland. *Coll.* ut ſupr. p. 61.

[2] Among Phreas's *Epiſtles* in Baliol library, one is *Preceptori ſuo Guarino*, whoſe epiſtles are full of encomiums on Phreas, MSS. Bal. Coll. Oxon. G. 9. See ten of his epiſtles, five of which are written from Italy to Biſhop Grey, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In one of theſe he complains, that the biſhop's remittances of money had failed, and that he was obliged to pawn his books and clothes to Jews at Ferrara.

[3] He alſo tranſlated into Latin the *Panegyric on Baldneſs* of Syneſius. Printed, Baſil. 1521, 8vo. [Whence Abraham Fleming made his Engliſh tranſlation, 1579. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. *Fleming*.] Leland mentions ſome flowing Latin heroics, which he addreſſed to his patron Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter, in which Bacchus expoſtulates with a goat gnawing a vine. *Coll.* iii. 13; and *Scriptor.* v. *Phreas.* His *Coſmographia Mundi* is a collection from Pliny. Leland, *Coll.* iii. p. 58. See MSS. Br. Twyne, 8, p. 285.

[4] See Leland, *Coll.* iii. 58. Wood, *Hiſt. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 76. [Le Neve, edit. 1854, i. 141.]

[5] See Leland, *Coll.* iii. 13, 63. Leland ſays that he had the new epitaph, "Novum ac elegans." *Scriptor.* v. Phreas. "Tuſcia me genuit," &c.

[6] Leland, v. *Cellingus*. [7] Id. *Itin.* vi. f. 5.

[8] Wood, *Hiſt. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 177. In a monaſtic *Obituary*, cited by Wharton, he is ſaid to be "Latina quoque et Græca lingua apprime inſtitutus." It is added,

that among theſe books, which were all ſoon afterwards accidentally conſumed by fire, there is ſaid to have been a complete copy of Cicero's Platonic ſyſtem of politics *De Republica*.[1] Cardinal Pole expended two thouſand crowns in ſearching for Tully's Six Books *de Republica* in Poland, but without ſucceſs.[2] Sturmius, in a letter to Aſcham [dat. 30 Jan. 1552] ſays that a perſon in his neighbourhood had flattered him with a promiſe of this ineſtimable treaſure. Barthius reports, that they were in the monaſtery of Fulda on vellum, but deſtroyed by the ſoldiers in a pillage of that convent.[3] Iſaac Bullart relates that in 1576, during the ſiege of Moſcow, ſome noble Poliſh officers, accompanied by one Voinuſkius, a man profoundly ſkilled in the learned languages, made an excurſion into the interior parts of Muſcovy, where they found, among other valuable monuments of ancient literature, Tully's *Republic*, written in golden letters.[4] It is to be wiſhed, that the ſame good fortune which may diſcover this work of Cicero, will alſo reſtore the remainder of Ovid's *Faſti*, the loſt *Decads* of Livy, the *Anticatones* of Cæſar, and an entire copy of Petronius. Henry VII. ſent Sellynge in the quality of an envoy to the king of France, before whom he ſpoke a moſt elegant Latin oration.[5] It is mentioned on his monument, now remaining in Canterbury Cathedral, that he underſtood Greek.[6]

Doctor theologus Selling, Græca atque Latina
Lingua perdoctus.

This is an uncommon topic of praiſe in an abbot's epitaph. William Grocyn, a fellow at New College at Oxford, purſued the ſame path about the year 1488: and having perfected his knowledge of the Greek tongue, with which he had been before tinctured, at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondylas and Politian, and at Rome under Hermolaus Barbarus, became the firſt voluntary lecturer of that language at Oxford, before the year 1490.[7] Yet Polydore Vergil, perhaps only from a natural partiality to his country, affirms that Cornelius Vitellus, an Italian of noble birth and of the moſt accompliſhed learning, was the firſt who taught the Greek and Roman claſſics at Oxford.[8] Nor muſt I forget John Tiptoft, the

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that he adorned the library over the prior's chapel with exquiſite ſculptures, and furniſhed it with books, and that he glazed the ſouth ſide of the cloiſters of his monaſtery for the uſe of his ſtudious brethren, placing on the walls new texts or inſcriptions, called *Caroli* or carols. *Angl. Sacr.* i. p. 145, ſeq.

[1] This is aſſerted on the authority of Leland. *Scriptor.* ut ſupr. [See *ſupr.* i. 214, note [4].]

[2] *Epiſtol. Aſchami ad Sturm.* dat. 14 Sept. 1555, lib. i. p. 99.

[3] Chriſtiani Fueſtell. *Miſcellan.* p. 47. Compare Mabillon. *Mus. Italic.* tom. i. p. 79.

[4] *Acad. Art. Scient.* tom. p. 87.

[5] From his *Epitaph.*

[6] [In the library of the Earl of Leiceſter at Holkham is a MS. copy of a Homily of St. Chryſoſtom tranſlated in 1488 from the Greek into Latin by Sellyng. A ſecond copy is in the Britiſh Muſeum among the Additional MSS.—*Madden.*]

[7] Wood, *Hiſt. Univ. Oxon.* i. 246. See Fiddes's *Wolſey*, p. 201.

[8] *Angl. Hiſtor.* lib. xxvi. p. 610. 30, edit. Baſil, 1534. But he ſeems to have

unfortunate Earl of Worceſter who, in the reign of Henry VI. rivalled the moſt learned eccleſiaſtics of his age in the diligence and felicity with which he proſecuted the politer ſtudies. At Padua, his ſingular ſkill in refined Latinity endeared him to Pius II. and to the moſt capital ornaments of the Italian ſchool.[1] His Latin Letters ſtill remain, and abundantly prove his abilities and connections. In this correſpondence, four letters are written by the earl, viz. To Laurence More, John Fre or Phreas, William Atteclyff, and Magiſter Vincent. To the earl are letters of Galeotus Martius, Baptiſta Guarini, and other anonymous friends.[2] He tranſlated Cicero's dialogue on *Friendſhip* into Engliſh,[3] [and alſo the Commentaries of Cæſar *De Bello Gallico*, which were publiſhed about 1530. There is, moreover, from his pen *Ordinances for Juſtes of Peace Royal*, prepared in 1466 in the Earl's official capacity as Lord High Conſtable of England. Theſe are printed in the *Antiquarian Repertory*]. He was the common patron of all his ingenious countrymen, who about this period were making rapid advances in a more rational and ample plan of ſtudy; and, among other inſtances of his unwearied liberality to true literature, he prepared a preſent of choſen MSS. books, valued at 500 marks, for the increaſe of the Humphredian library at Oxford, then recently inſtituted.[4] Theſe books appear to have been purchaſed in Italy, at that time the grand and general mart of ancient authors, eſpecially the Greek claſſics; for the Turkiſh emperors now ſeated at Conſtantinople, particularly Bajazet II., freely imparted theſe treaſures to the Italian emiſſaries who, availing themſelves of the faſhionable enthuſiaſm, traded in the cities of Greece for the purpoſe of purchaſing books, which they ſold in Italy: and it was chiefly by means of this literary traffic, that Coſmo and Lorenzo de Medici, and their munificent ſucceſſors the dukes of Florence, compoſed the famous Florentine library.[5]

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only been a ſchoolmaſter of Magdalen or New College. See Nic. Harpsfield, *Hiſt. Eccles.* p. 651, who ſays that this Vitellius ſpoke his firſt oration at New College. "Qui primam ſuam orationem in collegio Wiccamenſi habuit."

[1] See Ware, *Script. Hibern.* ii. 133; Camd. *Brit.* p. 436; and the Funeral Oration of Ludovico Carbo on Guarini. [Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter, occupied one of the profeſſorſhips at Padua for ſome time. See *Hiſt. of the Venet. Rep.* iii. 426.]

[2] MSS. Eccles. Cathedr. Lincoln.

[3] See *ſupra*, iii. 110-11, note. See MSS. Harl. 4329. 2. 3. [It may be added here that Tiptoft is ſaid by Caxton to be alſo the tranſlator of the Declamation (attached) of Bonacurſus de Montemagno (the younger). See Blades, ii. 92.] He has left other pieces.

[4] Epiſt. Acad. Oxon. 259. Regiſtr. F. F. f. 121. I ſuſpect that, on the Earl's execution in 1470, they were never received by the univerſity. Wood, *Antiq. Un. Oxon.* ii. 50. Wood adds, that the Earl meditated a benefaction of the ſame kind to Cambridge.

[5] Many of them were ſent into Italy by Lorenzo de Medicis, particularly John Laſcaris. Varillas ſays, that Bajazet II. underſtood Averroes' commentaries on Ariſtotle. *Anecdot. de Florence*, p. 183. P. Jovii *Elog.* c. xxxi. p. 74. Laſcaris alſo made a voyage into Greece by command of Leo X. and brought with him ſome Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on

As the Greek language became fashionable in the course of erudition, we find the petty scholars affecting to understand Greek. This appears from the following passage in Barclay's *Ship of Fools* written, as we have seen, about the [beginning of the sixteenth century]:

> Another boasteth himself that hath bene
> In Greece at scholes, and many other lande;
> But if that he were apposed[1] well, I wene
> The Greekes letters he scant doth understand.[2]

With regard to what is here suggested, of our countrymen resorting to Greece for instruction, Rhenanus acquaints us that Lilly (the famous grammarian) was not only intimately acquainted with the whole circle of Greek authors, but with the domestic life and familiar conversation of the Greeks, he having lived some time in the island of Rhodes.[3] He stayed at Rhodes five years. This was about the year 1500. I have before mentioned a translation of the *Tactics* of Vegetius, written at Rhodes in 1459 by John Newton, evidently one of our countrymen, who perhaps studied Greek there.[4] It must, however, be remembered, that the passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among us till the reign of Henry VIII.[5] William Wey, fellow of Eton College, celebrated mass *cum cantu organico* at Jerusalem in 1472.[6]

Barclay, in the same stanza, like a plain ecclesiastic, censures the prevailing practice of going abroad for instruction which, for a time at least, certainly proved of no small detriment to our English schools and universities:

> But thou, vayne boaster, if thou wilt take in hand
> To study cunning,[7] and ydelnes despise,
> Th'royalme of England might for thee suffice:—
> In England is sufficient discipline,
> And noble men endowed with science, &c.

And in another place:[8]

Mount Quirinal, and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue. Jov. *ut supr.* c. xxxi. [But the *original* Medicean library, or a portion of it, formed the basis of St. Mark's Library at Venice, having been given to the republic under the reign of Francesco Foscari, while Cosimo de Medici was an exile on her territory. It was presented by the Duke Cosimo to San Giorgio Maggiore, but was afterwards amalgamated with the national collection. *Hist. of Venet. Rep.* iv. 370.]

[1] examined.

[2] Edit. 1570, *ut supr.* fol. 185, a.

[3] *Præfat. ad T. Mori Epigram.* edit. Basil. 1520.

[4] MSS. Laud. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. K. 53.

[5] See 1. *The Way to the Holy Land*, printed in 1515, and twice afterwards, by Wynkyn de Worde, and republished for the Roxburghe Club, 1824; 2. [*the pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*, (*Controller to Henry VII.*) *to the Holy Land*, printed in 1511, and reprinted for the Camden Society, 1851; and] 3. *The pylgrymage of Syr Richard Torkyngton, parson of Mulberton in Norfolk, to Jerusalem*, An. 1517 [now lately added to the Additional MSS. British Museum].

[6] MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vi. 153. See his *Itineraries*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 2. 12. [Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1857.] In which are also some of his English rhymes on *The Way to Hierusalem*, [of which there are other copies.] He went twice thither.

[7] knowledge.

[8] *Ibid.* fol. 54, a.

One runneth to Almayne, another into Fraunce,
To Paris, Padway,[1] Lombardy, or Spayne;
Another to Bonony,[2] Rome, or Orleaunce,
To Cayns, to Thoulous,[3] Athens, or Colayne:[4]
And at the laſt returneth home agayne,
More ignoraunt.

Yet this practice was encouraged by ſome of our biſhops, who had received their education in Engliſh univerſities. Richard Pace, one of our learned countrymen and a friend of Eraſmus, was placed for education in grammar and muſic in the family of Thomas Langton, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who kept a domeſtic ſchool within the precincts of his palace for training boys in theſe ſciences. "Humaniores literas" (ſays my author) "tanti eſtimabat, ut domeſtica ſchola pueros ac juvenes ibi erudiendos curavit," &c. The biſhop, who took the greateſt pleaſure in examining his ſcholars every evening, obſerving that young Pace was an extraordinary proficient in muſic, thought him capable of better things, and ſent him, while yet a boy, to the univerſity of Padua. He afterwards ſtudied at Bologna: for the ſame biſhop by will bequeaths to his ſcholar, Richard Pace, ſtudying at Bononia, an exhibition of ten pounds annually for ſeven years.[5] At Padua, Pace was inſtructed by Cuthbert Tunſtall, afterwards Biſhop of Durham, and the giver of many valuable Greek books to the Univerſity of Cambridge; and by Hugh Latimer.[6]

We find alſo Archbiſhop Wareham, before 1520, educating at his own expenſe for the ſpace of twelve years Richard Croke, one of the firſt reſtorers of the Greek language in England, at the univerſities of Paris, Louvain, and Leipſic: from which returning a moſt accompliſhed ſcholar, he ſucceeded Eraſmus in the Greek profeſſorſhip at Cambridge. Croke dedicated to Archbiſhop Wareham his *Introductiones in Rudimenta Græca*, printed in the ſhop of Eucharius Cervicornius at Cologne in 1520.

With regard to what has been here ſaid concerning the practice of educating boys in the families of our biſhops, it appears that Robert Groſſeteſte, Biſhop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, educated in this manner moſt of the nobility in the kingdom, who were placed there in the character of pages.[7] Cardinal Wolſey, Archbiſhop of York, educated in his houſe many of the young nobility.[8] Fiddes cites a record remaining in the family of the Earl of Arundel, written in 1620, which contains inſtructions how the

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[1] Padua.
[2] Bologna.
[3] Caen and Toulouſe.
[4] Cologne in Germany.
[5] See Pace's *Tractatus de fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, edit. Baſil. 1517, pp. 27, 28, in which the author calls himſelf Biſhop Langton's *a manu miniſter*. See alſo Langton's Will. (*Cur. Prærog. Cant. Regiſtr. Moone*, qu. 10). Biſhop Langton had been provoſt of Queen's College at Oxford, [and Biſhop of Saliſbury,] and died in 1501.
[6] *Tractat.* ut ſupr. pp. 6. 99. 103. Leland, *Coll.* iii. 14.
[7] "Filios Nobilium procerum regni, quos ſecum habuit domicellos." Joh. de Athona. in *Conſtit. Ottobon.* Tit. 23, in voc. *Barones*.
[8] Fiddes's *Wolſey*, p. 100. See what is ſaid above of the quality of Pope Leo's *Cubicularii*, p. 411.

younger ſon of the writer, the Earl of Arundel, ſhould behave himſelf in the family of the Biſhop of Norwich, whither he is ſent for education as page: and in which his lordſhip obſerves, that his grandfather the Duke of Norfolk, and his uncle the earl of Northampton, were both bred as "pages with biſhopps."[1] Sir Thomas More was educated as a page with Cardinal Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, about 1490.[2]

It is obvious to remark the popularity which muſt have accrued to theſe politer ſtudies, while they thus paved the way to the moſt opulent and honourable promotions in the church: and the authority and eſtimation with which they muſt have been ſurrounded, in being thus cultivated by the moſt venerable eccleſiaſtics. It is indeed true that the dignified clergy of the early and darker ages were learned beyond the level of the people. Peter de Blois, ſucceſſively Archdeacon of Bath and London, about the year 1160, acquaints us that the palace of Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was perpetually filled with biſhops highly accompliſhed in literature; who paſſed their time there in reading, diſputing, and deciding important queſtions of the ſtate. He adds that theſe prelates, although men of the world, were a ſociety of ſcholars: yet very different from thoſe who frequented the univerſities, in which nothing was taught but words and ſyllables, unprofitable ſubtleties, elementary ſpeculations, and trifling diſtinctions.[3] De Blois was himſelf eminently learned, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments of Becket's attendants. He tells us that in his youth, when he learned the *Ars Verſificatoria*, that is, philological literature, he was habituated to an urbanity of ſtyle and expreſſion: and that he was inſtituted, not in idle fables and legendary tales, but in Livy, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Joſephus, Trogus Pompeius, Tacitus, and other claſſical hiſtorians.[4] At the ſame time he cenſures with a juſt indignation the abſurdity of training boys in the frivolous intricacies of logic and geometry, and other parts of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy which, to uſe his own emphatic words, "Nec domi, nec militiæ, nec in foro, nec in clauſtro, nec in eccleſia, nec in curia, nec alicubi proſunt alicui."[5] The Latin Epiſtles of De Blois, from which theſe anecdotes are taken, are full of good ſenſe, obſervations on life, elegant turns, and ingenious alluſions to the claſſics. He tells Jocelyne, Biſhop of Saliſbury, that he had long wiſhed to ſee the Biſhop's two nephews, according to promiſe: but that he feared he expected them as the Britons expected King Arthur or the Jews the Meſſiah.[6] He deſcribes, with a livelineſs by no means belonging to the archdeacons of the twelfth century, the difficulties,

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[1] Fiddes, ibid. *Records*, No. 6, c. 4, p. 19.

[2] Mori *Utop.* cited by Stapleton, pp. 157, 138. And Roper's *More*, p. 27, edit. *ut ſupr.*

[3] *Epiſt.* vi. fol. 3, a. *Opera.* edit. Paris, 1519. [4] *Epiſt.* cii. fol. 49, b.

[5] *Ibid.* That is, "Which are of no real uſe or ſervice, at home, in the camp, at the bar, in the cloyſter, in the court, in the church, or indeed in any place or ſituation whatſoever."

[6] *Epiſt.* li. fol. 24, a.

diſappointments and inconveniences of paying attendance at court.[1] In the courſe of his correſpondence, he quotes Quintilian, Cicero, Livy, Salluſt, Seneca, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Ovid, Statius, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Horace, more frequently and familiarly than the fathers.[2] Horace ſeems his favourite. In one of the letters, he quotes a paſſage concerning Pompey the Great from the *Roman Hiſtory* of Salluſt in ſix books (now loſt) which appears at preſent only in part among the fragments of that valuable hiſtorian.[3] In the *Nugæ Curialium* of Mapes, or ſome other Latin tract written by one of the ſcholars of the twelfth century, I remember to have ſeen a curious and ſtriking anecdote, which in a ſhort compaſs ſhews Becket's private ideas concerning the bigotries and ſuperſtitious abſurdities of his religion. The writer gives an account of a dinner in Becket's palace, at which was preſent (among many other prelates) a Ciſtercian abbot. This abbot engroſſed almoſt the whole converſation, in relating the miracles performed by Robert, the founder of his order. Becket heard him for ſome time with patient contempt: and at length could not help breaking out with no ſmall degree of indignation: And theſe are your miracles![4]

The inferior clergy were in the mean time extremely ignorant. About 1300, Boniface VIII. publiſhed an edict, ordering the incumbents of eccleſiaſtic benefices to quit their cures for a certain time, and to ſtudy at the univerſities.[5] Accordingly our epiſcopal regiſters are full of licences granted for this purpoſe. The rector of Bedhampton, Hants, being an acolyte, is permitted to ſtudy for ſeven years from the time of his inſtitution *in literarum ſcientia*, on condition that within one year he is made a ſub-deacon, and after ſeven years a deacon and prieſt.[6] Another rector is allowed to ſtudy for

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[1] "Ut ad miniſteriales curiæ redeam, apud forinſecos janitores biduanam forte gratiam aliquis multiplici obſequio merebitur. Regem dormire, aut ægrotare, aut eſſe in conſiliis, mentientur. Oſtiarios cameræ confundat altiſſimus! Si nihil dederis oſtiario actum eſt. Si nihil attuleris ibis, Homere, foras. Poſt primum Cerberum, tibi ſupereſt alius horribilior Cerbero, Briareo terribilior, nequior Pygmalione, crudelior Minotauro. Quantacunque tibi mortis neceſſitas, aut diſcrimen exhæredationis incubat, non intrabis ad regem." *Epiſt.* xiv. fol. 8, b.

[2] Latin and French, the vernacular excepted, were the only languages now known. [Gilbert] Foliot, Biſhop of London, cotemporary with De Biois and Becket, was eſteemed, both in ſecular and ſacred literature, the moſt conſummate prelate of his time. Becket, *Epiſtol.* lib. iii. 5. Walter Mapes, their contemporary, giving Foliot the ſame character, ſays he was "vir trium peritiſſimus linguarum, Latinæ, Gallicæ, Anglicæ, et lucidiſſime diſertus in ſingulis. [Walter Mapes *De Nugis Curialium*, edit. 1850, pp. 19, 20.]

[3] "De magno Pompeio refert Salluſtius, quod cum alacribus ſaltu, cum velocibus curſu, cum validis vecte certabat," &c. *Epiſt.* xciv. fol. 45, a. Part of this paſſage is cited by Vegetius, a favourite author of the age of Peter de Blois. *De Re Milit* lib. i. c. ix. It is exhibited by the modern editors of Salluſt, as it ſtands in Vegetius.

[4] [The anecdote is in Mapes, *ubi ſupr.* pp. 41-2.]

[5] See his ten *Conſtitutiones*, in the *Bullarium magnum* of Laertius Cherubinus, tom. i. p. 198, *ſeq.* Where are his *Erectiones ſtudiorum generalium in civitate Firmana, Romæ, et Avenione*, A.D. 1303.

[6] Mar. 5, 1302. *Regiſtr. Pontiſſar. Winton.* fol. 38.

ſeven years, *in loco quem eligit et ubi viget ſtudium generale.*[1] Another receives the ſame privilege, to ſtudy at Oxford, Orleans, or Paris.[2] Another being deſirous of ſtudy, and able to make a proficiency, is licenſed to ſtudy in *aliquo ſtudio tranſmarino.*[3] This, however, was three years before Boniface became pope. Another is to ſtudy *per terminum conſtitutionis novellæ.*[4] But theſe diſpenſations, the neceſſity of which proves the illiteracy of the prieſts, were moſt commonly procured for pretences of abſence or neglect. Or, if in conſequence of ſuch diſpenſations, they went to any univerſity, they ſeem to have miſpent their time there in riot and idleneſs, and to have returned more ignorant than before. A grievance to which Gower alludes in the *Vox Clamantis*, a poem which preſents ſome curious pictures of the manners of the clergy, both ſecular and monaſtic.[5]

Et ſic Ars noſtrum Curatum reddit inertem,
De longo ſtudio fert nihil inde domum:
Stultus ibi venit, ſed ſtultior inde redibit, &c.

By Ars we are here to underſtand the ſcholaſtic ſciences, and by Curatus the beneficed prieſt. But the moſt extraordinary anecdote of incompetency, which I have ſeen, occurs ſo late as the year 1448. A rector is inſtituted by Waynflete, biſhop of Wincheſter, on the preſentation of Merton Priory in Surrey, to the pariſh of Sherfield in Hampſhire. But previouſly he takes an oath before the biſhop, that on account of his inſufficiency in letters, and default of knowledge in the ſuperintendence of ſouls, he will learn Latin for the two following years; and at the end of the firſt year he will ſubmit himſelf to be examined by the biſhop, concerning his progreſs in grammar; and that, if on a ſecond examination he ſhould be found deficient, he will reſign the benefice.[6] [This ſtate of ignorance probably led to the circulation of ſome of the ludicrous ſtories of the illiterate condition of the early Engliſh minor clergy, which are to be found in *A C. Mery Talys*, 1526, and other books of the ſame claſs.] In the Statutes of New College at Oxford, given in 1386, one of the ten chaplains is ordered to learn grammar, and to be able to write; in order that he may be qualified for the arduous taſk of aſſiſting the treaſurers of the ſociety in tranſcribing their Latin evidences.[7] In the ſtatutes of Bradgare college in Kent, given in 1398, it is required that the governor of the houſe, who is to be a prieſt, ſhould read well, conſtrue Latin well, and ſing well.[8] At an epiſcopal viſitation of St. Swithin's priory at Wincheſter, an ample ſociety of Benedictines,

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[1] 16 kal. Octobr. 1303, *ibid.* fol. 40.
[2] A.D. 1304, *ibid.* fol. 42.
[3] A.D. 1291, *ibid.* fol. 84.
[4] A.D. 1302, *ibid.* fol. 37, b.
[5] Cap. xvii. lib. 3. *MSS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon.* xxix. [Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1850.] "Hic loquitur de Rectoribus illis, qui ſub epiſcopo licentiati fingunt ſe ire ſcolas, ut ſub nomine virtutis vitia corporalia frequentent."
[6] Regiſtr. Waynflete, Winton. fol. 7.
[7] Statut. Coll. Nov. Rubric. 58.
[8] "Sciat bene legere, bene conſtruere, et bene cantare." Dugd. *Monaſt.* tom. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 118, col. 2.

William of Wykeham orders the monaſtery to provide an Informator or Latin preceptor, to teach the prieſts who performed the ſervice in the church without knowing what they were uttering, and could not attend to the common ſtops, to read grammatically.[1] Theſe, indeed, were not ſecular prieſts: the inſtance, however, illuſtrates what is here thrown together.

Wickliffe ſays, that the beneficed prieſts of his age "kunnen [know] not the ten commandments, ne read their ſauter, ne underſtand a verſe of it."[2] Nor were even the biſhops of the fourteenth century always very eminently qualified in literature of either ſort. In 1387, the Biſhop of Worceſter informed his clergy that the Lollards, a ſet of reformers whoſe doctrines, a few fanatical extravagances excepted, coincided in many reſpects with the preſent rational principles of proteſtantiſm, were followers of Mahomet.[3]

But at this time the moſt ſhameful groſſneſs of manners, partly owing to their celibacy, prevailed among the clergy. In the ſtatutes of the college of Saint Mary Ottery in Devonſhire, dated 1337, and given by the founder Biſhop Grandiſon, the following injunction occurs. "Item ſtatuimus, quod nullus Canonicus, Vicarius, vel Secundarius, pueros choriſtas [collegii] ſecum pernoctare, aut in lectulo cum ipſis dormire, faciat ſeu permittat."[4] What ſhall we think of the religious manners and practices of an age, when the ſubjoined precautions were thought neceſſary in a reſpectable collegiate church, conſiſting of a dean and ſix ſecular canons, amply endowed?[5]

From theſe horrid pictures let us turn our eyes, and learn to ſet a juſt value on that pure religion, and thoſe improved habits of life and manners, which we at preſent enjoy.

We muſt view the liberal ideas of the more enlightened dignitaries of the twelfth century under ſome reſtrictions. It muſt be acknowledged, that their literature was clogged with pedantry, and depreſſed by the narrow notions of the times. Their writings ſhow that they knew not how to imitate the beauties of the ancient claſſics. Exulting in an excluſive privilege, they certainly did not ſee the ſolid and popular uſe of theſe ſtudies: at leaſt they did not chooſe, or would not venture, to communicate them to the people, who on the other hand were not prepared to receive them. Any attempts of that kind, for want of aſſiſtances which did not then exiſt, muſt have been premature; and theſe lights were too feeble to diſſipate the univerſal darkneſs. The writers who firſt appeared after Rome was ravaged by the Goths, ſuch as Boethius, Prudentius, Oroſius, Fortunatus, and Sedulius, and who naturally (from that circumſtance, and becauſe they were Chriſtians) came into vogue at that period, ſtill continued

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[1] Feb. 8, 1386, MSS. Harl. 328.
[2] *Life of Wiccliffe*, p. 38.
[3] Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. iii. 202.
[4] Cap. 50. MS. apud Archiv. Wulves. Winton.
[5] "Statutum eſt, quod ſiquis convictus fuerit de peccato Sodomitico, vel arte magica," &c. From the ſtatutes of Stoke-Clare College in Suffolk, given by the dean Thomas Barneſley, in 1422, Dugd. *Monaſt.* ut ſupr p. 169, col. 1.

in the hands of common readers, and ſuperſeded the great originals. In the early ages of Chriſtianity a ſtrange opinion prevailed, in conformity to which Arnobius compoſed his celebrated book againſt the gentile ſuperſtitions, that pagan authors were calculated to corrupt the pure theology of the goſpel. The prejudice, however, remained, when even the ſuſpicions of the danger were removed. But I return to the progreſs of modern letters in the fifteenth century.[1]

[1] [It is neceſſary to point out that a gap in the numbering of the Sections has been occaſioned here by the re-arrangement of a portion of the work, and by the circumſtance of the laſt volume having been printed *firſt*; but the text is complete.]

END OF VOLUME III.

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